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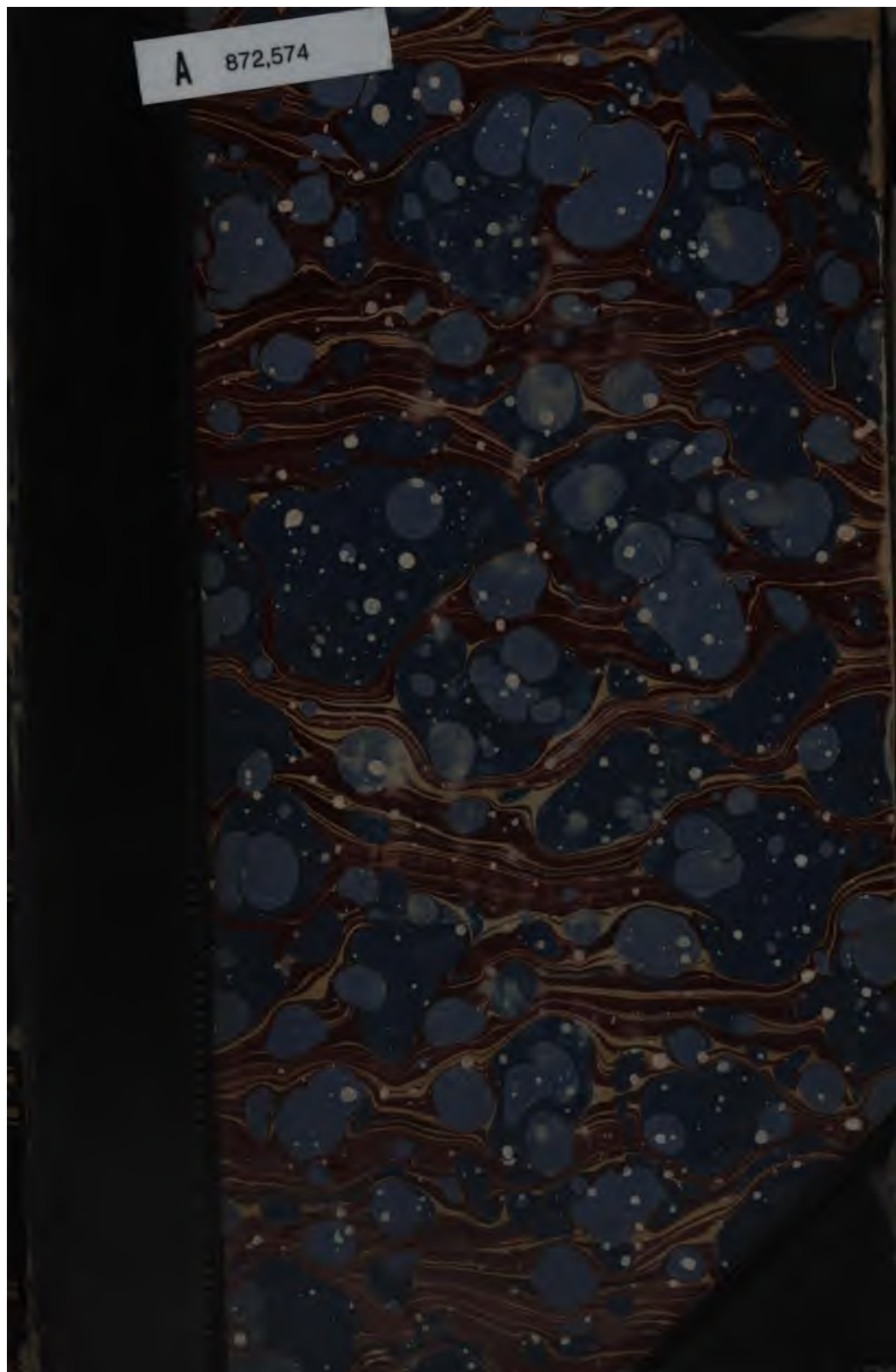
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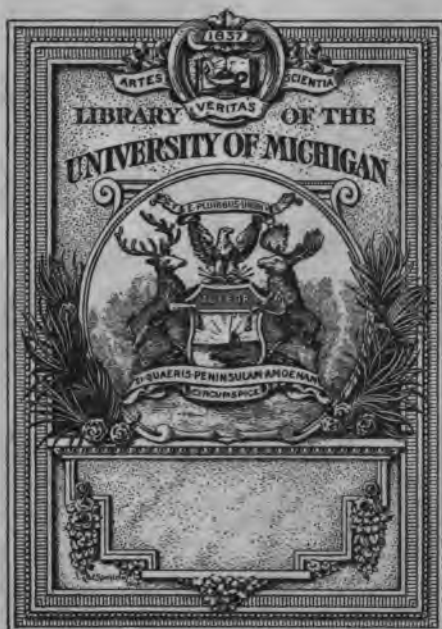
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CONTENTS.

ART. I.—DRYDEN AS A HYMNODIST	PAGE 245
---	-------------

Versatility of Dryden's genius: was he also a translator of hymns?—Was he the translator of the collection published in the *Primer* of 1706?—Critical reasons for thinking that he was: from internal peculiarities, &c.—Popular Catholic tradition supports the hypothesis that Dryden is the translator—Examination of the style and terminology of the hymns—Value of Mr. Saintsbury's new edition of Dryden's Works.

ART. II.—THE BATTLE OF THEISM	270
---	-----

Interest and value of Father Tilmann Pesch's book on the relations of modern science to scholastic philosophy—Influence exercised by Darwin in Germany: consequent attention now paid to experimental science—Danger in Germany and elsewhere of the advent of a "priesthood of science"—To restore the doctrine of final causes the present task of Christian philosophers—The genius of current philosophy—Successful struggle against it must be in constant appeal to Reason against Unreason.

ART. III.—CHRISTIANITY IN LANCASHIRE IN ROMAN AND CELTIC TIMES	290
---	-----

The most ancient remains of man in Lancashire—The Calder Stones at Wavertree near Liverpool—Roman conquest—Roman towns, roads, antiquities, and religion—Not a trace of Christianity in Roman times—Lancashire in the sixth century—Gildas, Maelgwyn, Rhyd-

derch, and S. Kentigern—S. Kentigern's birth, education, consecration as bishop—His journey through Lancashire and sojourn in Wales—S. Kentigern the only canonized saint who ever laboured in Lancashire—His journeys to Rome.

ART. IV.—ABYSSINIA AND ITS PEOPLE 316

The mythical Prester John in Abyssinia—Conversion of Abyssinia to Christianity, and its subsequent history—Geographical isolation of the country—The Nile is Abyssinia's gift—Flora and fauna—Race, language, and character of the people—Their morals, habits, and industries—Religion and the Church—Government and power of the King—Quarrels with Egypt: Gordon Pasha's mission to the King; its failure—Admiral Hewitt's mission—Recent Catholic missionary efforts.

ART. V.—THE VICISSITUDES OF "VIGIL" 345

Object to trace the varied use of the word Vigil—Used to signify a watch: then the time occupied by the watch—The Jewish vigils and the hour of the crucifixion—Apostolic and Patristical uses of "Vigil"—Later it comes to mean a fast, and the day itself of a fast—Vigils for the dead: Wakes—"Crossfigill" in Irish writings—Irish use of Vigil for Feast: how this is accounted for.

ART. VI.—THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND. A REPLY . . . 358

How far the writer dissents from Mr. Mivart's explanation of England's non-conversion—Ought such conversion to have been anticipated from the Tractarian movement?—Writer thinks such "confident hopes" were unwarranted—Mr. Mivart's contrast between Catholic and Anglican worship amazing: Music, "Italianism," Latin *v.* Vernacular—"Why *should* England be Catholic?"—English slowness to change; even Ritualist clergymen are sincerely Protestant—They have most frequently no consistent theory of a Church.

Contents.

iii

PAGE

ART. VII.—THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS AT THE HEALTH EXHIBITION	387
---	-----

Unanimous praise of Christian Brothers, during past three months, by English press and public—Present statistics of the Institute—Their founder, the father of popular education—Sketch of the life of the Venerable John Baptist de la Salle—Difficulties which he encountered : final success—His virtues—Noble conduct of the Brothers in the Franco-German War—Present persecution and abuse of them in France—Their exhibition exhibits as illustrative of their flourishing condition.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. ORDERING THE ROSARY DURING OCTOBER	412
--	-----

SCIENCE NOTICES	415
---------------------------	-----

The British Association—Arctic Exploration—Aéronautics—Meteorology—Prehistoric Finds.

NOTICES OF CATHOLIC CONTINENTAL PERIODICALS	420
---	-----

Revue des Questions Historiques—La Civiltà Cattolica—Katholik—Historisch-politische Blätter—Stimmen aus Maria Laach—Historisches Jahrbuch der Goerres-Gesellschaft.

NOTICES OF BOOKS	430
----------------------------	-----

Professor Mivart's Philosophical Catechism—Mgr. Dillon's The Virgin Mother of Good Counsel—C. Rohault de Fleury's La Messe—Metropolitan Bryennios's Teaching of the Twelve Apostles—Father Lehmkuhl's Theologia Moralis—Professor Fillion's Essais d'Exégèse—Father Corluy's Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum — A. Rimmer's Stonyhurst, Illustrated—Father O'Connor's Only Reliable Evidence concerning Luther—Bishop Conroy's Occasional Sermons—Abbé Blampignon's Massillon—Dr. Verres's Luther—Bishop Moriarty's Allocutions—Professor Jungmann's Historical Essays—Mgr. Ricard's Montalembert—Allocutions on Liturgical Observances—Rev. Pius Devine's Auxilium

Father Harper's Metaphysics of the School—Vibart's Translation of Chantrel's Church History—Life of St. Mildred—Lady G. Fullerton's Life of Lady E. Falkland—L. de Besson's Forces Morales de la Société—Dom G. Palmieri's Guide to Registers of the Vatican Archives—E. de Broglie's Fénelon à Cambrai—Cardinal Hergenröther's Regesta of Leo X.—H. Major's How to Earn the Merit Grant—Sir E. Beckett's Review of Hume and Huxley—Thring's Theory and Practice of Teaching—Hellmuth's Biblical Thesaurus—Furse's Mobilization and Embarkation of an Army Corps—Schütz Wilson's Studies in History, Legend, and Literature—Professor Blackie's Wisdom of Goethe—Rev. D. Eaton's Translation of Weiss' Biblical Theology—Arminius Vambéry—S. Taylor's Translation of Uhlhorn's Christian Charity—White's Translation of Spinoza's Ethic—Sir A. Phayre's History of Burma—Dr. Westcott's Epistles of St. John—Rev. T. F. T. Dyer's Folk-Lore of Shakespeare—Professor Max Müller's Upanishads—Dr. Edkins's Religion in China—Coupland's Von Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious—What to do, and How to do it—Brewer's Reign of Henry VIII.—Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson—D'Avenel's Richelieu—Chinnock's Translation of Arrian's Anabasis.

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ART. I.—THE FIRST SISTERS OF CHARITY.

*Histoire de Mademoiselle Le Gras (Louise de Marillac),
Fondatrice des Filles de la Charité. Paris: Poussielgue
Frères. 1883.*

WHEN we see in our city streets a Sister of Charity dressed in her simple blueish-grey and overshadowed by the large, white-winged, linen cornette, we are looking at a French peasant costume of two hundred years ago; and the first few peasant girls who came to Paris from their pasture watching, from their spinning-wheels, their lace-making, their work in the thatched huts and in the fields, and asked instead not only to serve but to be the very servants of the poor, are represented now by a multitude of more than twenty thousand spread to the ends of the earth, and doing a work of charity whose extent and worth is beyond all human calculation. In order of time as well as in numbers they rank first in the service of the poor; and how many religious orders have followed their initiative, we may judge from the statistics of France of late years; for in that one country in 1878, at the outbreak of hostility to the Church, there were no less than two hundred thousand nuns devoting their lives to the suffering and the poor.

Numbers tell but little here. If we multiply them beyond the grasp of thought, by thinking of the further extent of Orders of Mercy throughout the rest of the world; if we multiply again by glancing back at the long succession through these two centuries and more; we are only going through that process of self-delusion, which we fall into when numbers are beyond our conception and become words with no impression contained in them—such as the numbers stated but not understood in the facts of physical science. And when all attempts at imagining are

done, still there is before us the immeasurable future peopled with the active orders of charity ministering to the poor, each system receiving continually the fresh influx of new members and of youthful energy. It is only because the Sisters of Charity are best known to the world that their very name has become suggestive of sympathy; the Sister of Charity has become the type of compassion. What volumes of praise for the spirit of all the Catholic Orders of Mercy are implied in this one fact! And if the manner in which help and comfort are given can add without limit to the value of service, where are our numbers now, and who can measure the worth of the first step that was taken to lead out into the whole world's haunts of suffering this numberless and endless army of consolation? In going back to the origin of the Sisters of Charity we are about to look at the initiative in this boundless work of human compassion and of divine love. That origin could not have been more humble and simple than it was. It has three characteristics that are not without their suggestive side. First, the movement began through individual effort at a time of such broadcast calamity, such a dead-level of misery, that any human foresight would have said individual effort would be utterly thrown away. Secondly, the foundress, Louise de Marillac, accomplished a work that deserves to be counted an immense public service—a benefaction to the world and to all time; and yet she was of the most gentle minded, the most delicately sensitive type of womanhood, always in the background, always hidden, even now unknown—the Christian picture of the valiant woman, and the very reverse of the world's type of an active public benefactress, the proverbial “woman with a mission.” Thirdly, the whole work was a gradual and an unconscious one, without any previous resolve, without any design, with no idea of what was being accomplished; and yet those who had the labour had also the reward of seeing it completed. Every one familiar with the character of St. Vincent de Paul will readily understand how this great foundation was an unplanned work; it was one of the many examples of what in his own words he was wont to call his anxiety not to hurry and tumble over what God was working out. And as Louise de Marillac, or as she is oftener called by her marriage name Mademoiselle Le Gras, was for nearly forty years the friend and willing helper of the great apostle of the poor, it is easy to see how his spirit came to be hers, and how she laboured as he did, without solicitude, without ambition, only doing with earnest hands the work that opportunity cast in her way.

When we have glanced at these three aspects of the origin of the Sisters of Charity we shall have a mere outline of a wonderful work that Vincent de Paul always counted as directly divine.

And first we have said that it arose through individual effort at a time when any one would have thought such efforts were lost like drops in an ocean of misery. The place and time will be suggested to us if we make the Paris of to-day dwindle and change into the city of between two and three centuries ago ; and if to place a background to the latter part of our story we gather a few suggestions of the sufferings inflicted on the French people by the war of the Fronde. The whole history of the foundation may be matched side by side with English events, by noting that Louise de Marillac was born in 1591—that is, when Elizabeth's anti-Catholic laws were being worked in full fury at Tyburn ; and the death of the foundress occurred in 1660, about two months before that day of May when Charles II. landed. In the September of the same year, in Paris, a priest died, at an age halfway between eighty and ninety ; with bright intelligence to the last, and promising with his dying breath that God who had begun the work, which he humbly disclaimed, would also finish it. He died who had been the sanctifier of the priesthood of France, the apostle of the poor ; "Monsieur Vincent," as he was called, had seemed during his fifty years in Paris a character inseparable from it, a part of its life that could not some day be gone. And truly his work has never passed away ; it has become to us in the modern world an inseparable part of the life of charity, and the day will never come when it will be in the world's midst no more.

The Paris of our times is more than seven times larger than it was then. Northward of the Seine the old walls made their half-circle where now is the innermost circle of boulevards ; beyond the river the loop of wall was still more narrowed, and there one suburb surrounded the Abbey of St. Germain, and another in the opposite direction clung round the little tributary of the Seine as far southward as the present site of the Boulevard St. Marcel, thus enclosing the old Porte St. Victor in the town. All round the circuit of the walls the faubourgs were thrown out, like clustered villages leading in to the gates. Such were then those faubourgs, now buried deep round the heart of the great city—St. Honoré, Montmartre, St. Denis and St. Martin. The two last named had merged in one, ending in the monastery of St. Lazare, where we shall find St. Vincent and his priests during his later years. Passing on still eastward, there was the Faubourg du Temple, and farther yet, close to the rounded towers and loop-holed walls of the Bastille, there was another gateway with its faubourg branching out from it, that of St. Antoine. Tracts of cultivated ground filled the expanse between these faubourgs, and even within the walls there were broad spaces of open garden ground, such as the lands of St. Gervais and of Ste.

Catherine. Paris had, of course, its Louvre even then, partly palace and partly armoury, and its Tuileries, the old château in the midst of quaint luxurious gardens dating from the time of Francis I. ; and farther up the river, on the site known now only by the Théâtre Châtelet, the old Grand Châtelet with its cluster of round pointed towers, looked down upon the water, and upon its oldest bridges leading towards Notre Dame, and its crowd of boats moored along the shore lines. The islands had been but little built over, except the principal island, where the double towers of the cathedral and the high roofs of the Hôtel Dieu looked out over a close labyrinth of lanes. Two parallel lines of streets, continued beyond the river, traversed the whole city, in what may be roughly called a north to south direction. They are now represented by the Rue St. Martin taken with the Rue St. Jacques, and by the line of the Boulevard de Sebastopol and that of St. Michael beyond the river. The old street that traversed the ground where the demolition was made for the Sebastopol boulevard, after swerving at last a little more directly northward, passed under its gateway and out into the Faubourg St. Denis, where we shall find Mdle. Le Gras passing her later years in a house facing the monastery of St. Lazare. A former residence of hers was at La Chapelle ; it was then in the open country, but like many another village it has long ago been merged in the spreading city, and the railways of the north-east are bringing the traffic of our days into the modern capital, where Mdle. Le Gras once managed her country homestead and taught the children of the village. To fix the period before our mind we may note that she had nearly completed her nineteenth year when Henry IV. was assassinated by Ravaillac ; that she was married in her twenty-third year to Antoine Le Gras, who had held the office of secretary to the queen, Marie de Medicis ; that nearly thirteen years after her widowhood began, at the end of the year that had seen the Duke of Buckingham's suite dazzling all Paris when he came to bring away Henriette-Marie to be the queen of England ; that the Grand Monarque became the boy-king of France the year after the first Sisters of Charity had taken their first vows ; that the war of the Fronde broke out from the widespread enmity against the line of favourite ministers that culminated in Mazarin, at a time when the first Sisters of Charity were doing their full work, but without formal approbation as a religious society, and that already at that time the health of the foundress was so broken that her pale and fragile looks made her prolonged life a mystery ; and, lastly, we may notice that though the Fronde had formally ended in 1653, the evils it had wrought were still rife, when this frail life, that had seemed so weak and laboured so strongly, came at last to an

end in 1660. The miseries that flooded the land in the war of the Fronde were only the sudden and tenfold increase of an already existing state of disorder and wretchedness. France was divided into no less than seventy thousand fiefs and *arrières fiefs*, and while the peasantry, with their labour and their cottages, belonged almost absolutely, life and roof, to the lords of the land, a system of taxation, infinitely varied but everywhere extremely hard, kept the rural classes in discontent and hopeless poverty. The poorest found relief at the *châteaux* and the monasteries; even non-Catholic writers admit that of the two the monasteries administered their charity more wisely, while that of the *châteaux* was likely to increase the sense of servitude. Broad tracts of the country were densely wooded, and beside the local laws to reduce the cottager's yearly store in favour of his master, there were other laws to keep him from preserving his harvest from the wild animals that abounded on the fringes of the forest-lands; so that whether in favour of lord or of beast, the law seemed never to protect the men that called a field their own. Pestilence was constantly sweeping over the country. In 1631 the plague broke out, and spread through the whole of France; and when we hear of its increased virulence five years after, it is not because it had come afresh, but because it had never gone. At that time there was a law, made by Isaac Lafemas, of Champagne, ordering that any mendicant showing the least symptoms of contagious disease, should at once declare his ailment under penalty of being shot dead. Liable to be shot if he went abroad as a danger, the destitute man of the seventeenth century was clearly in that case on a level with the dog of the nineteenth. It is true there existed, in all the great towns, hospitals where the sick poor could be received; but they were insufficient at the best of times, and overcrowded in the years of pestilence, so impoverished that they had not even sufficient linen, and so ill-managed that their state was too repulsive for description. Many of the poor preferred to lie starving in their own homes, and not without reason. Some of the hospitals were little better than plague-pits, though we may hope the example at Rouen was the worst, where, on the same bed of contagion, seven or eight sick lay together, and we hear even of one living man thus imprisoned among a group of the dead. When the first efforts were made to arrange a better service in the hospitals, we must not imagine that the ladies of Paris and the *Filles de Charité*, acting as their servants, entered anything like the bright, airy, and well-ordered wards that we think of when we hear of a hospital now. But it was not only the hospitals that were in disorder, the very streets were in a state of disorder and danger that can hardly be realized. The streets of the capital from nightfall till dawn were in profound

darkness. It was only two winters after the time we are considering, in 1662, that carriers of torches and lanterns were commissioned by law to be stationed at the Palais de Justice, the Louvre, and the open street-corners of the city, to be hired by the hour from the patent-owners who had bought their right from the State. Among the rich, carriages of the immense, lumbering, glass-and-gilt kind were coming into vogue; there had been very few at the beginning of the century; and the passage of these huge carriages, with their following of lacqueys, made increased disorder. We hear, for instance, how, in a narrow street near the Louvre, the carriages of the Prince de Conti and of the Comte de Soissons one luckless day knocked together, and the blows exchanged by the two retainers did not settle the quarrel, for the collision was avenged next day in a street battle between seven or eight hundred men. Daylight disorder was nothing compared to the dangers of the absolute nightly darkness, when every man (through the custom of the time, till they were forbidden in 1660) carried pistol, sword or poniard, and beggars went in armed groups or bands—the highwaymen of the less frequented streets. When on the one side was the courtly life of wealth, and on the other, at untraversed distance, the squalor of poverty, it is no wonder that vice and poverty, violence and beggary, became associated in one contempt by the classes who were never forced by circumstances to get a nearer view. In the atmosphere of the Court, to be a servant was to be a soulless chattel; to be poor was to be contemptible; and seen from that distance poverty was a loathsome social pestilence, and mendicancy a system with crime and violence lurking behind it. To turn to a page of the book before us, the reason of this prejudice may be seen in the state of the worst quarters of Paris. As the biographer of Mlle. Le Gras tells us:—

Although its population had hardly yet risen beyond seven hundred thousand, it counted at that time no less than forty thousand poor of the begging and vagabond classes. Wandering in the streets, often asking alms with a sword at their side, stealing what they failed to get honestly, these wretched men only too frequently schemed to attract attention by pretended infirmities, and came even to the foot of the altar to trouble those who knelt there. At night they shrank away into what were known as the “Cours de Miracle,” filthy and infectious dens of which nothing in our day can give any idea. The greatest of these clusters of courts—to which all the rest were more or less alike—had its entrance from the Rue Neuve-Saint-Sauveur in the district of Saint Denis, and extended between the cul-de-sac of l'Étoile and the Rue de Damiette and the Rue des Forges. To get in there one had first to go through a labyrinth of horrible streets, miry, narrow and of ill-repute: then to go down a crookedly winding

descent that led out into a sort of square, where one saw standing in a great niche a symbolic statue of God the Father, stolen no doubt from some church, and surrounded here by about ten dens of habitations sunken below the level of the ground. Each of these contained more than fifty families crowded together; which gives us for this one court five hundred families and at least three thousand inhabitants—a hideous population, without religion or law, without sacrament or morality, always in revolt against the Church and in rebellion against society—as Bossuet said, “a godless people among the people of God, men dead even before death—reduced to the life of beasts—a hunted, banished, wandering, vagabond race.”

Such was the state of life in many parts of Paris until the founding of the Hôpital Général by St. Vincent de Paul through the instrumentality of the Duchesse d’Aiguillon. Such it was at the time of the Fronde, unreclaimed and deemed irreclaimable; and it was the home for the poor at St. Laurent where the Sisters of Charity undertook the work that suggested the idea of the Hôpital Général and began the first attempt at reclamation. As we have said, at the time of the Fronde no such charity existed: and when the war swept in upon the city a vast increase of population, the “Cours de Miracle” were still brimful of squalor and vice.

M. Antoine Feillet’s “*La Misère au temps de la Fronde*” has cast new light upon a war that had been regarded too much as a contest of private enmity, of romance, of frivolity, led by careless nobles and brilliant Court ladies like “*la Grande Mademoiselle*,” and bearing rich fruit in their memoirs written afterwards in idle hours. It is true that personal pique and hatred had a large share in it, for it was utterly different from the almost contemporary English Civil War, because it was directed not against principles but against persons. It is true also that it came to an end, leaving the political state of the country precisely what it had been before, Mazarin as powerful as ever, finance as disordered, taxation as galling, administration as bad. But it did not sweep the land and fade like a romance of war. It caused four years of appalling misery to the people, and many years passed afterwards before the poorer classes had risen out of ruin. When Vincent de Paul was crying out to Court and camp alike, imploring pity for the poor, it was not for one unfortunate section of the people that he pleaded. “The poor” meant almost the entire population. When he and his priests journeyed through the provinces where either army had passed like a blight, he told how one saw the people lying beggared in the streets, or in the fields and woods, unable to rise through weakness, scarcely covered with rags, dragging themselves along the ground like animals, in search of roots for food, and “having but one sigh between them and

death." Scarcely were they dead when the birds would gather to them unscared, and the beasts from the woods. He tells among the countless details of misery, how he went into two hundred houses, and found bread in only two; and how in fifteen parishes that he visited about the same time, there were fifteen hundred poor lying upon straw without food or remedy. The soldiers themselves were so ill provided that their commanders began to protest against being obliged in the winter to clothe their men out of pity; but in their turn, seized with a madness of destruction, they seem to have had little pity for others. Contemporary letters tell how in the armies there was neither obedience nor discipline; how the soldiers, "as if possessed by the devil," marked their path with destruction, outrage and sacrilege; how the terrified people abandoned their homes at the news of their approach, and how the harvests that were neither trampled nor consumed were beaten to the ground, probably lest the enemy might find provision afterwards in passing the same way. "The soldiers go to the farms," said a letter from Port-Royal; "they beat down the corn and will not leave a single miserable grain to the owners, who beg it of them for charity." The religious houses were in some places a refuge; with the doors barricaded, the courtyard crowded with poultry, the basement full of horses and cattle, and the very chapel stored with food, clothing, furniture—everything that could be saved for the poor villagers—the convents sheltered the countrywomen and the remnant of property, till their walls in turn were broken through. Round Paris the villages had been entirely deserted and nearly all the abbeys pillaged. The terror that overspread the country was no panic, but the result of known deeds of violence. The Mère Angelique Arnauld tells, in one of her letters, of a dying soldier who dreaded above all others one crime of his life; in the sacking of a convent a nun had fled out of his reach by climbing the ironwork of the grille, and he had shot her, while she hung clinging to the crucifix above. This then was the war at the height of which, in 1652, the first Sisters of Charity that left the soil of France set out for Poland, there soon after to begin fearlessly on the battlefields of strange nations their long career of service to the wounded.

But we have not yet outlined even in mere suggestion that sea of misery that made trial of the first years of the Sisters of Charity. "You need not go to Picardy and Champagne to see wretchedness," said the curé of St. Sulpice preaching to ask alms; "go to the faubourgs of Paris—go to the garrets, and to the cellars where the poor are lying on the ground without food or fire." Instead of one thousand there were three thousand sick in the Hôtel Dieu at the height of the Fronde, and the war had

taken away nearly all its revenue. Vincent de Paul and his priests of the mission, those apostles of the poor, themselves could hardly live. Even the rich had to make great sacrifices; the ladies of Paris were sending immense sums to the famine-stricken country, but they keenly felt the effort. Some there were whose generosity counted worldly goods as nothing; Madame de Miramon, that great-hearted lover of the poor, in 1652 sold her necklet of pearls for a sum that in our days would be a thousand pounds; and the next year she sold her household silver. The plague was adding to the misery of the city; it was raging, in 1652, when Condé, besieging and burning the Hôtel de Ville, was stupefying with terror a people already starving. A few days before a petition had been sent up to Parliament praying for freedom from rents, and showing that all business had ceased; the shops were closed, and workmen were dying every day from sheer hunger and exhaustion; it stated how no resource was left to them but to sink among the throng of mendicants, and how even then they could not hope to get relief, because of "the infinite number of the poor that are in Paris." In the faubourgs alone there were counted twelve thousand families of the respectable class that sinks secretly to starvation, or as the French call them the "*pauvres honteux*;" and the destitute who did not attempt to conceal their state were reckoned as a hundred thousand. Such was the sea of manifold misery in which the first Sisters of Charity laboured; and their labours were not lost, but, perpetuated, have come down to our time multiplied a hundredfold.

Let us turn now to the second aspect of their origin, and consider the character, or, as we might better say, the personality of the foundress, noticing, as we go, how shrinking from publicity, and without any previous design or ambition, she did a great work for all time. From first to last she had no idea of coming forward in the world; nor did she come forward. Her name is even yet but little known. Let us go to the chapel of the Sisters of Charity in the Rue du Bac, and read her epitaph there on the slab of black marble near the altar, before we look at the greatness of her heart and the beauty of her soul. The inscription runs: "Here lies Dame Louise de Marillac, widow of M. Le Gras, Secretary to Queen Mary du Medicis, the Foundress and First Superior of the Sisters of Charity, the Servant of the Sick Poor." Then, after noting the various transferences of her remains rendered necessary by the desire of the sisters to possess them and by the troubles at the time of the first Revolution, it ends by recording the hope that the sacred dust resting here may remind others of her charity, and may enkindle the spirit of her who was "the true mother of the poor."

There was always in the character of Louise de Marillac what St. Vincent called her touch of seriousness, and perhaps this had some share in her first youthful desire to consecrate herself to a religious life; she thought of a most austere Order that had recently come to Paris—the barefooted thorn-crowned Filles de la Passion. But hers was no hard or cold seriousness. It sprang from an earnest nature and a warm heart. Of this warmth of heart we have proof at every turn in her life. Half-orphaned from her birth she had no chance of answering a mother's love, but her father, in his last will, wrote of her that she had been his greatest consolation in this world, and that God had given her to him to be the repose of his spirit under the sorrows of life. After his death she began her thirteen years of marriage; and of the happiness of the union we know but little except what is told by the touching fact that afterwards, through all her life, she kept religiously the anniversary of her marriage day. One child was born to her, that Michel for whom her tenderness was so great that St. Vincent at one time declared no mother could have been more a mother than she, and at another wrote to calm her anxiety: "In the name of God leave your son to his heavenly Father, who loves him even more than you do." In the fate of her uncles she suffered keenly—those two famous De Marillacs who lost their lives to Richelieu's vengeance after the "journée des dupes." Michel was her favourite of the two, the Keeper of the Seals, that noble man in whose sanctity there was something of the ring of the antique knightly holiness. He wore out the end of his days in lonely imprisonment at Châteaudun; there it is on record that his gaoler refused the petition of a veiled woman who had come from Paris to see the prisoner, and there is evidence that this was Mdle. Le Gras. Faithful to the last, as her affection was, she had been the comforter of the mourning household when the other De Marillac was executed, and in sharing their grief she had tried to take away any trace of vengeful bitterness. If we look on still farther, and see the new community rising round her and spreading through the various parishes and through the country, the same tenderness of heart is still proved. The news of the death of any one of her scattered sisters had to be broken to her with cautious management, so really did she cherish them individually; and after her death, all who had been under her roof declared that no one had ever seemed to be surpassed by another in her affections. But the glory of her great heart was her love for the poor. Its motive and its manner can be summed up in one word: she realized that the service of the poor is accepted by Jesus Christ as the compassionate service of Himself. It was always to her as if the Redeemer, whom she could not see, was disguised

and waiting in His own world to receive through His suffering creatures the sympathy of those who remembered His word—"Ye have done it unto Me." That was the word that inspired Vincent de Paul and the first Sisters of Charity and uncounted myriads more; and the change those words have wrought in the world since eighteen hundred years ago—the life that is in them to raise up systems of charity to comfort the poorest, the helpless, the despised—this must surely tell us how beautiful an office have the Sisters of Charity in common with the other great orders of mercy, no less than the office of preaching by deeds not words the divinity of Christ; since no voice but the voice of God could have so awakened the heart of man, so changed the world by one utterance, so provided an everlasting impetus for the comfort of all human sorrow, not as a dry work of duty, but as a labour of reverence and love.

Louise de Marillac had possessed from childhood a bright intelligence. Her education was the work of her father rather than of the convent at Poissy; we are told that she studied philosophy "in order that the highest science might be open to her." One of St. Vincent's letters shows that she had learned Latin, and her father's one care seems to have been that her education should not incline her to waste mind and heart afterwards in a weak and frivolous life. After her marriage we see her clear intelligence at work, and in the charge of the household and the assistance of her husband in his worldly affairs, she reminds us irresistibly of the "valiant woman" who had looked well to the ways of her house. In her widowhood of nearly thirty-five years, entirely devoted to the poor, the same intelligence was shown in her management of each new work of charity as it was placed in her hands; she was always ready to undertake more and more, and to organize the service at her disposal, so that there was no failing, no giving up, even when hospitals, schools, prisons, forsaken children, refugees of war, all came successively as the sphere of work enlarged. But, above all, her clear intelligence showed itself in her piety, where, eagerly embracing every practice approved by the Church, she shrank from self-satisfaction and novelty as selfish waste of time, declaring her dislike of "those little practices which only serve as a sort of amusement, and are nothing compared with real virtues." This led to a simplicity, a sincerity, that marks her life and all she did, and every page that she wrote with swift pen to guide those whose sanctity she was forming. She had a great devotion to the hidden life of our Lord, and to that still more hidden life in the bosom of Mary which has attracted the adoring wonder of many saints. One beautiful thought of hers was that the Christian life of the individual ought to correspond to God's plan

in creating the whole race ; for the plan of creation embraced the Incarnation also, and the plan of a life ought to embrace mortification as the means of restoring the soul to its first paradise of purity. So much for her hidden spirit ; and yet her soul—that garden of the Spouse—had vast regions of beauty that tempt us to linger. Many things we hear of her, such as are noted in lives of canonized saints—her being discovered crucifix in hands in transports of love and sorrow, her confessions with heartbroken weeping, her tears of joy on the communion cloth where she had received, her kneeling without a stir, leaning against the altar rails during the whole time of Mass, when she was known to be weak and ill, and her wondering word to the sister who expressed surprise : “ Ah, if one realizes it ! ”

Her outer life was marked by poverty. It was her great desire, as she simply said, “ to imitate in all things the poverty of our Lord and of his Mother.” So we see her pale and fragile, worn out by the loving labours of her life, walking the streets of Paris dressed always as a poor widow, with patched cloak and uncovered hands ; and even the last of her fortune, which she never used for herself, she would have entirely given away but for St. Vincent’s advice. Her interior life was distinguished by desolation and suffering—for suffering was hers in soul as well as in body—that earthly crown of sorrow that seems to be the inheritance of all the noblest and purest lives. We shall not delay here over her bodily infirmities ; she was sinking to her death during twenty-three years. What we would notice is the delicate sensitiveness of her humble soul ; she suffered intensely for years from the grief with which she mourned those faults that a less pure conscience could not have perceived ; and so truly did she dread her own unworthiness that she sorrowed for every misfortune of her house and for the death of her sisters, as if her own defects were causing the affliction of others. Such was she who for thirty-eight years St. Vincent de Paul had rejoiced over as “ a soul always pure.” And when worn-out with age and labours she expired, M. Portail, who had heard the confession of her whole life, standing by her death-bed, exclaimed aloud, after the last breath had passed : “ Oh ! beautiful soul that has gone in baptismal innocence ! ” No strength of will, no mere natural force of character, above all, no ambition of publicity, led to the work done by Louise de Marillac. Her deep humility caused a complete self-abandonment to the guidance of others, who interpreted God’s will to her ; her strength was what the poet describes in the Sir Galahad of romance, whose strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure ; and in place of ambition she had an indomitable and persistent courage inspired by her faithful love of Christ. To

Him she had consecrated herself for ever, and her service of Him interprets her favourite word—"our dear lords and masters, the poor." Could any public beneficence have a more unearthly origin? Could any human work spring more directly from divine seed, the lowly virtues of a hidden soul?

And now we have come to our third and last characteristic of the origin of the Sisters of Charity. It was unsuspected by those who were engaged in it. St. Vincent de Paul always disclaimed it either for himself or for Mdlle. Le Gras, who is in fact styled the foundress, not as the designer, but merely as the one who moulded the first group of sisters and became the first "*sœur servante*," as they call the office which in other houses is called that of superior. "Do not delude yourselves," St. Vincent said, speaking to the first sisters, "God alone has founded your Society. We never formed an idea of it. Ah! who would ever have thought there were to be Sisters of Charity when the first of you came to serve the poor in a few districts of Paris? Oh! my children, I did not think of it. Your '*sœur servante*' did not think of it either. It is God that was thinking of you; it is He that we must call the author of your Society—for truly there was no other." The gradual development that led up to the Sisters of Charity can be traced, beginning dimly and far back in the life of Mdlle. Le Gras. First, the De Marillacs had as a family a certain resoluteness in the service of God, and there was no doubt a tradition of charity; the marriage had a bond of sympathy in the love of the poor, for which her husband's family was already renowned. The name of Le Gras was to become still further celebrated, for it is not as Louise de Marillac but as Mdlle. Le Gras that the name of the foundress is known.* The charities of her married life were like the first dawn before the sunrise of the future work; whatever time she had at leisure, after the care of her child and of her household, was devoted to the poor, and she not only gave them food and tender service in sickness, but with her own hands she helped in the burial of the dead. The next trace is a vow that, should she survive her husband, she would devote the rest of her life entirely to our Lord. After this vow, made on the 4th of May, 1623, she spent a month of great trial of mind till the day of Pentecost, when her threefold trouble vanished, and as she afterwards wrote her own account of it, she was given a consciousness that "a time would come when I should be in a state to make a vow of poverty, chastity and obedience, and that I should be with other persons, of whom some would make the same vow. I felt then that I would be so placed as to be helping

* The rank of Antoine Le Gras, not being of the noblesse, did not permit her to assume in those days the title of Madame.

my neighbour, but how this could happen I was unable to understand, because going about would be necessary." This expression of hers reminds us of the tremendous and, at the time, almost startling change that was made in the idea of the religious life by the founding of the Sisters of Charity. Hitherto all women vowed to religion were veiled, and shut off from the world in the enclosure of the cloister. Because of pre-existing ideas, the Sisters of Charity have always disclaimed the name of nuns, and, strictly speaking, they are a congregation or society, and not a religious order, though the distinction is hardly discernible to the outer world, now that there are many religious orders not cloistered.

The next step towards the unknown future work is traceable after the death of Antoine Le Gras, at the close of 1625; his widow then began the fulfilment of her vow by removing to one of the most wretched quarters of the city, the Rue S. Victor, far from all friends and old associations, but close to the devoted apostle of charity whom all Paris knew as Monsieur Vincent. At the Faubourg St. Victor she remained for ten years. Having a great desire to do something for the poor, she was first permitted, in 1627, to collect alms for St. Vincent and his priests of the mission, who were journeying through the country districts, as he himself said, "to preach the Gospel to the poor, brightly and simply, as our Lord did." In 1628, a step in advance, she was employed in finding places for country girls sent to Paris. Next year, again, we find her trying to spread the "*Confrérie de la Charité*," or as it was commonly called, "*La Charité*," which he had already established in some of the parishes.

Twelve years before, in 1617, "*La Charité*" had been founded. Monsieur Vincent had been on his way to the pulpit in a country church at Chatillon, when a lady asked him to recommend to the people a case of extreme distress—a farm household about a mile and a half distant, where nearly all the children and the labourers were lying sick and in great poverty. After vespers that day, M. Vincent was on his way home, when he was astonished to meet troops of people coming towards Chatillon, and some, by reason of the summer heat, were resting under the trees exhausted. It was the concourse returning from the home of the poor family, after carrying to them an abundance of bread, meat and wine. And seeing that his words had an effect beyond expectation and beyond the actual need, his practical mind thought at once, "These poor sick people must have too much provisions now all at once; some of it will be spoiled and good for nothing, and then they will be as destitute as before." So conferring with the most zealous members of the parish, he put order in the work of charity, which had so suddenly kindled at his word; he

arranged a rule and meetings every month. And so the recommendation from the country pulpit, and the unthinking generosity of the response, led to the founding of "*La Charité*," in whose ranks a few years after even the brilliant and noble of the Court enrolled themselves and served. And out of this Chatillon incident, as we shall see, sprang the beginning of the Sisters of Charity—an origin small and remote as the first moisture on the rocks, before it has even become the stream that is to swell into a river. Two things we gather from the incident: first, the persuasive power that must have come from the voice, and not from the voice alone but straight from the heart of Vincent de Paul; and the other, the characteristic of all his foundations of charity—that he did not plan beforehand, nor was he solicitous to do any one great work, but as occasion offered he was ready to make the greatest use of it.

In 1629 Mademoiselle Le Gras was sent on her first tour of surveillance to see that *La Charité* was well administered in the country districts, and we find her desiring the coarsest fare and the meanest shelter on these laborious journeys, "in order to share still more the sufferings of the poor." But soon a difficulty arose. The first members of *La Charité* had belonged to country homesteads, where the women were accustomed to work. It had sped to the châtelaines of the country-houses, and to the great ladies of Paris. The rules called them the servants of the poor, and obliged them to take a day each in turn to serve, themselves buying the bread, the meat, and the wine for the sick, to prepare the dinner, and to carry it with their own hands, "at nine in the morning, and to do likewise for a supper at five in the evening." When the first heat of zeal had cooled, the members of high station could not attempt these duties, and to hand them over to their servants would be a dishonour to the high motive of the charity. St. Vincent, out of the embarrassment only built his work higher and more firmly. One by one he began to call from their spinning, their lace-making, or the watching of the sheep, the peasant girls who had signified to him a special desire to devote themselves to God. These at the different villages became humbly the servants of the ladies of rank in their waiting upon the poor. Little did they dream in that humblest service that St. Vincent de Paul was to call them the precious stones laid in the foundations of the temple. Wearing as they did the simple blueish-grey dress and the white linen cornette with its wide upturning wings—the country costume of their villages—they little dreamt that they were the first of the glorious band, the countless host, of Sisters of Charity.

The very first to serve was Marguerite Naseau, an orphan girl, who, while guarding the pasturage, had taught herself to read by

asking the names of the letters from passers-by, and with the same energy she had begun to teach the poorest of the country children. . . She served the confraternity at Villepreux, and then was sent by St. Vincent to Mdle. Le Gras in Paris, who gave her to the confraternity in the parish of Saint Nicolas du Chardonnet. Scarcely was her work begun, when the parish was infected by the plague, and meeting in the street a poor woman already stricken and houseless, Maguerite Naseau took her to her house. There the woman recovered, and the poor Sister of Charity was taken to the Hospital of St. Louis to die instead. She was the leader of the long train of martyrs of compassion that has not ended in our days with the Sisters of Charity who sacrificed their life in the Crimea, and thirteen years ago in France.

The new Society—or, as St. Vincent called it with his playful touch, his little snowball—was imperceptibly enlarging at every turn. In the autumn of 1633, to give the rustic members a high idea of the Christian life, and also a few rudiments of education, a sort of noviciate was begun; Mdle. Le Gras received three or four aspirants into her house, and consecrated herself to the work by an irrevocable vow, on the 25th of March, 1634. Hers was often a hard task. A constant stream of possible “servants of the poor” came from the country districts; and most of them, not requiting her labour, went away after a short time, though her own patience with human frailty and her indulgence with the weak are said to have been inexhaustible. Many of these young peasants were of an ignorance and a roughness that was hard company day and night for a woman of gentle birth, very sensitive and exquisitely refined. But where the raw material was coarse, there was all the more reason for preparation; for were not these the hearts and hands that were to wait upon “our dear lords and masters, the poor?” And the rustic material became under her teaching as beautiful, as refined by grace, as the few that were finer by nature. At first but rarely the daughters of the rich came into the little company; but so well was her care rewarded that all stood on one level, all poor alike, and all beautified by the reflection of the spirit of her whom they regarded as a mother. To see how high was the standard placed before the first Sisters of Charity, we need only read of Jeanne d’Allemagne, who, seeing hard bread handed to a beggar, gave her own food secretly instead, and when it was discovered said simply, “One must not give to God anything that is not good.” Or we can listen at the deathbed of the Sœur André, and hear how her only trouble was that her own pleasure in life might have been too great, for, as she explained, the service of the poor had been so sweet to her that for very delight she had felt as if she went on wings.

In 1634 St. Vincent began those conferences that lasted until his death, and the account of which is now a most precious treasure to the sisters. It was there that he talked with them as a father among his children, telling them at one time how since Solomon placed precious stones in the foundations of the Temple, their lives must be beautiful as jewels, worthy to be the beginning of a work for God. At another time he explained how they were to have for their convent the house of the sick, for their cell some hired home, for their chapel the parish church, for their cloisters the city streets or the hospital wards, and obedience for their enclosure, and the fear of God for their grated screen, and holy modesty for their veil.

The next step in advance was the service of the Hôtel Dieu—a very great step, for it is in the hospitals that the Sisters of Charity have won their greatest fame. Like many works of St. Vincent, the initiative was given by another, and he, assured of the wisdom of using the opportunity, turned to it his untiring genius of charity. Madame de Chassaigne, of whom the name alone is known now, had occasioned the establishment of La Charité at Chatillon. Madame de Gondy, sister of the Archbishop of Paris, took the initiative of the country missions by giving funds to found them, and thus arose the Priests of the Mission. The Présidente de Herse gave alms for another work—retreats before Holy Orders—and thus began another undertaking by St. Vincent. And now it was the young Madame Gous-sault, famed for her brightness, her beauty, and the charm of sanctity that sped from her simple ways, that conceived the idea of having the greatest hospital of Paris served by the ladies of La Charité, and by the young girls now trained who were acting elsewhere as their handmaids. In its twenty halls the hospital received from 1,000 to 1,200 patients; 20,000 to 25,000 passed through it every year. It was already in the charge of Augustinian nuns, but they were almost powerless because of the lack of funds and the badness of the administration. “The sphere of your work is enlarging,” said St. Vincent to Mademoiselle Le Gras; and with her trained sisters to wait upon them, the ladies of La Charité, with the highest names of Paris, were daily to be seen passing through the wards from one bedside to another, braving contagion in personal service, and out of their wealth giving largely to the revenue of the hospital. They had been enjoined to ask to enter there as the assistants of the nuns, and our Filles de Charité ranked last and least, the servants of all. They, too, did their part for the revenue, though in the most humble way. There had been a large room hired near, where they made jellies, confectionery, and other delicacies for the patients of the hospital, who had hitherto suffered from

the want of suitable food ; they made a large quantity besides specially for sale, and many a table in Paris paid for its confectionery to the advantage of the Hôtel Dieu. Before a month the confraternity numbered 120 members. Amongst other good works they had secured for the hospital a sufficient number of chaplains ; and for their consolation of the sick and the hundreds of conversions that had been made, St. Vincent de Paul wrote their praise tersely in one of his letters—"God has written their names in the Book of Life." But meanwhile the servants in peasant dress, who were preparing the food and doing the hardest work, were to be in the long future the established guardians of the hospitals. Their special talent seems to have been activity in the simplest ways. We have seen them increasing the revenue by their skill in preparing dainty food ; and we find amongst them at this time a lace-maker, who was of great use, because she taught the poor women how to earn a living when they were restored to health.

In May, 1636, Mdlle. le Gras removed into the country to La Chapelle, and with her sisters taught the Catechism to the village girls and women. It was the beginning of the immense work done ever since by the Sisters of Charity in the teaching of the poor. In the summer of that year, when the invasion by the Spanish army under John de Werth was sweeping the population before it towards Paris in its advance, the household held their ground bravely, and sheltered all they could. "Since that time war has never driven back the Sisters of Charity, nor has the tumult of arms stopped their good deeds."

Other works awaited them. In that city of misery which underlay the luxury of the capital, it was reckoned that every year between three and four hundred children were abandoned. If they had not perished before being found, the officials of the State placed them at a house called "La Couche," where their fate was still worse. Badly managed, with insufficient pay instead of charity, the refuge was so miserable and fatal that Mdlle. le Gras had already brought it under the notice of Vincent de Paul. Most of the wretched infants there were half-poisoned with sleeping draughts, others were sold even for a few pence, and became part of the stock-in-trade of the beggars ; or, worse still, after the sale their death yielded innocent blood for the horrors of sorcery. One night, when that figure whom even the criminal classes respected—"Monsieur Vincent"—was in the dark streets under the shadow of the city wall, he came upon a beggar man disabling an infant so that it might be shown as an object of pity. "Cruel wretch !" he cried out in his indignation, "at a distance I mistook you for a man !" And rescuing the little victim, he carried it away in the shelter of his mantle.

From that moment he was resolved to rouse public charity and save the forsaken children. It was the beginning of the homes of the "Enfants Trouvés." At Lyons and Marseilles they were already in existence, but their immense development is due to St. Vincent de Paul and the first Sisters of Charity.

In 1641, Mdlle. de Gras removed to the Faubourg St. Denis, opposite St. Vincent's house of St. Lazare, and opened a school for the poor; and yet another branch was added to their work of mercy when the sisters were admitted to the prisons—seventeenth-century prisons, let us remember, of the horrors of which there is now no example in civilized lands. Every apparent chance was adding to the form of the young society; and now, borrowed from another congregation, St. Vincent brought the title of "sœur servante" given to the superior, and about the same time he heard and reported a touching form of vows "to serve our lords, the poor." As the result of his words, the sisters petitioned to bind themselves by vow; permission was granted to make simple vows binding only from year to year, and this is still the custom of the Sisters of Charity, who nevertheless in heart and desire have given themselves to Christ and His poor for ever. The first four made their vows on the feast of the Annunciation, Mdlle. le Gras renewing hers with them, in 1642. The 25th of March is still the day of the vows that are now made by a world-wide union of twenty thousand.

During the war of the Fronde, the sisters journeyed through the country to serve the poor; the little community remained at the Faubourg St. Denis, even when the army of Condé was encamping about St. Lazare, and when its advance guard was attacked and destroyed by the royal army close by at the Porte St. Martin. "The greater part of the people are moving away," wrote Mdlle. le Gras to St. Vincent. "It seems to me that Paris is abandoning this faubourg to its fate; but I hope God will not abandon us, and that in His goodness we shall find mercy." Good works were carried on without interruption, though not without the endurance of terror and privation. In the midst of the danger, the new foundation spread beyond its native country; four sisters, invited by the Queen of Poland, set out on their long journey. Not long after their establishment on new ground, Poland was devastated by the Swedish invasion, and at that time began the long career of the Sisters of Charity in braving the peril of battlefields to tend the wounded.*

* For their work in the ambulances of our time see M. de Lyden's "Les Sœurs de Charité." His account of the Crimean war abounds with military and medical testimony to their worth. Their bravery was above praise, whether in contending with the epidemic of cholera, or rescuing the sick from the burning hospital at Smyrna, or on the battle-

The development of the work was complete. It received the formal approbation of the Church in May, 1655, with the words, "Your Society shall bear the name of the Sisters of Charity." On the 8th of the following August, the act of establishment was signed by M^{lle}. le Gras and her first sisters, and signed and sealed by Vincent de Paul; even the stamp of the seal told the spirit of the enterprise, for on the wax can still be seen the figure of the world's Redeemer with arms opened wide to all.

In 1657, the new Society received the royal authorization, and Louis XIV. placed it with special privileges under the protection of his successors.

This authorization to some extent saved the Sisters of Charity in the storm that has recently broken over the Church in France. As yet they are nowhere disturbed in their own houses; but they have been replaced by lay teachers in the public schools, where they had been doing incalculable good, working as they were—not, like the new teachers, for the pay of the State, but with a zeal inspired by the highest motives. Other great works had been in their charge: they had served in the prisons, in the asylums of the insane, in the orphanages and the famous homes of "Enfants Trouvés;" above all, they had been in the hospitals. As nurses of the sick, they had a world-wide fame; and, while their tender sympathy had consoled thousands of friendless deathbeds, and their sweetness of charity had won numberless souls to faith and repentance, in the nursing of the sick they had a success that made them valuable to the medical staff of the hospitals. One word will speak volumes in proof of this—the name of Florence Nightingale has become a byword for skill in hospital and ambulance treatment; but it is not generally known that Florence Nightingale received her first medical training from the Sisters of Charity in Paris, at the Rue du Bac. And what is their position in the care of the hospitals now? Until two years ago the hospitals of Paris were entrusted to nuns—not always the Sisters of Charity, for several religious orders shared the charge. Two years ago, M. Charles Quentin, the chief of the Assistance Publique, began the expulsion of religious from the hospitals. The sisters could not be suddenly swept away, as other nurses had to be trained and provided; but hospital after hospital went through the process of "laïcisation," and there are now in Paris only three or four where the sisters remain, holding their footing till the order comes to bid them go. So from the sick wards of Paris the Sisters of Charity have been all but entirely excluded. It is not only the patients but the doctors that complain of the inefficiency

field at Sebastopol, where they had to be prevented almost by force from entering the trenches under the fire of the Russian guns.

of the new service. Even if hired hands could have—and they cannot have—the tenderness of the hands that work for love, the continual changing of nurses is a loss to the sick and a difficulty to the medical staff. As one doctor lately said of the hospital to which he is attached, the new nurses change like the slides of a magic-lantern show.

But the consecrated “servants of the poor” have passed through other overclouded periods; far worse was the close of the last century, when they had even to disguise their dress; and some day yet they will resume the work to which for two centuries they have earned their title. For the rest, their spirit has not changed, whether in our midst or amongst strange nations and strange tongues; in the orphanages of the African or the Chinese missions, it is still to-day the spirit of the first Sisters of Charity, the spirit of Vincent de Paul and of Louise de Marillac. Still to-day are they bringing down into our cities the Sermon on the Mount; poor to the last degree, the meek, the merciful, the pure in heart, the mourners with all who mourn, the peacemakers, the seekers of justice in their own hidden life—can we wonder if they are to have also the beatitude of the persecuted, and if men take from them the only thing they ask of the world—the permission to comfort the afflicted?

Those who would desire to know intimately their spirit to-day and its origin two and a half centuries ago, cannot do better than follow the history of *Mdlle. Le Gras* as it is told by her nameless biographer. It is no mere compilation at second-hand. The only work existing before it dated from 1674, re-edited with a few new details, but now almost unknown. Here we have the result of original research, and new information furnished by documents never published till now. Nor will the copy of the autograph letter be without interest, telling as it does, with “the touch of the vanished hand,” about “*le service des pauvres pour l’amour de Dieu.*”



ART. II.—RECENT EDITIONS OF ARISTOPHANES AND SOPHOCLES.

1. Various Single Plays of Aristophanes. Edited, with English Notes, by W. C. GREEN, M.A., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, &c. London: Rivingtons, Longmans, and the Cambridge University Press. 1868 to 1881.
2. *Aristophanis quatuor Fabulæ, Equites, Nubes, Vespa, Ranae*. Ad plurium codicum MSS. fidem recensuit, &c., FREDERICUS H. M. BLAYDES, Æd. Chr. in Univ. Oxon. quondam alumnus. Londini: David Nutt. 1862.
3. *Sophocles*. Edited, with English Notes and Introductions, by LEWIS CAMPBELL, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews. In Two Vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press Series. 1881.

COMEDY and tragedy sprang side by side, as it were two opposite shoots on the same vine-stock, nearly contemporary products of the same Dionysiac *cultus* of which the vine was an adopted symbol. Of neither, save so far as a choral dance is the crude form of both, do we find any type in the Homeric poems; as neither does Dionysus himself seem to have won his way as yet to fully recognized deity. The *comus* and the *dithyrambus* are the immediate germs from which these two perennial forms of poetry sprang; the former retaining rather its human level of festive jocularity, the latter grouping gods and heroes, as well as Dionysus, its great original, among the motives of its lays. Comedy, if we may use the name for the regulative element applied by Susarion to the vague festive licentiousness of the *comus*, is somewhat older than tragedy as dating from Thespis. But, on the other hand, the dithyramb of the satyric type (which latter was, subsequently, precipitated into a separate form as true tragedy developed itself) is unquestionably older than he. Both these older germs—*comus* and dithyramb—appear to be of Dorian origin; and it was not until they were fecundated by the Ionian genius of narrative and dialogue that their intrinsic fertility was revealed. Thus Athens became the real cradle and home of each of them. They rise parallel to her political greatness, and follow, although with unequal movement, its decline. Both are really the outgrowth of the maxim, long afterwards formulated by Pope, that—

The proper study of mankind is man.

Comedy fructifies nearer the level of the average human soil from which it springs, and in comedy accordingly a more racy vigour is

apparent. Where that humanity attained the amplest development, individual, civil, and social, in the ancient world, was where their fertility was most spontaneous and their development most perfect. A similar condition accounts subsequently for Attius, Pacuvius, Nævius, Ennius, and Plautus, so far as they were original, on Italian soil, although of the last only have we any entire remains.

The Dorian school promised, at one time, an early dramatic development of its own, in the person and upon the model of Epicharmus, whose refined miscellanies (as perhaps we ought to call them rather than comedies) contained at once the grave and gnomic wisdom of Pythagoras, whose pupil their author is said to have been; and keen, shrewd sketches of character, drawn from human intercourse and common life, besides flavouring the whole with the broad buffoonery thrown off always by the Hellenic animal spirits when roused by festive concourse. We hear of a Dorian school of similarly antique comedy at Megara—there too, however, probably quickened by the Ionian affinities of neighbouring Attica. Yet these isolated outgrowths came eventually to nothing; and while philosophy, whether moral or natural, as well as rhetoric and logic, recruited its studious ranks from the whole Græco-Roman world, the ancient drama, alike in the peculiar loftiness of its ideality and in the rich fecundity of its growth, is specially an Attic product. The ancient drama of Hindostan lies too far aloof, and is too barren of progeny, to be taken here into account.

Whilst human nature and life, in the most refined and complex form of it then known, is reflected in the ancient stage, the ideal relations of humanity with the gods and unseen powers—man, in short, as controlled by some law higher than himself—became the determinate type of tragedy. Comedy, on the other hand, took humanity, not as saddled, bridled, and curbed by Zeus or Destiny, but as furnishing its own law—*i.e.*, indulging its own license. The keynote of its choral utterances was struck in the Agora or the Pnyx. Thus it became the exponent of that text of life which lived before the eye. It took the popular hero of the hour and the humours thereof, showing, through the medium of the poet's own view, how unheroic he often was. The mask of early comedy was moulded on the actual features of the contemporary stage of history, not merely so far as real-life personages were caricatured on the stage, but as regards the whole interest of the situations and ἦθος of the characters. Thus the stage-deities of comedy have no elevation. Trygæus, in the "Peace," invades heaven familiarly on his dung-beetle; knocks up the god Hermes, and bids him "Now call Zeus for me;" to whom we have Hermes replying, "Ha, ha, ha! so you've just missed them! they're all 'not at home'—went yesterday!"

Deities, to the comedian, had no more sanctity than any other stage-properties. Nay, the very origin of comedy from a religious rite only opens a wider door to a burlesque of Olympus itself. Thus, Professor Kennedy has remarked, that nearly a third part of the entire drama of the "Birds" is "occupied with ridicule of the gods and their priesthood, and with details of their humiliation and defeat." There was no sanctuary from the "Iambic idea."

Thus while political or patriotic crises might, as in the "Eumenides" and the "Persæ," and to some extent in the "Œdipus Coloneüs," they notably did, furnish an occasional motive, or contribute a partial element to tragedy; such situations formed the staple of comedy, and the public opinion of the hour was the atmosphere which gave it breath. If there were a lull in the political sky, any phase of social life lying uppermost at the moment would fix the topic of the comic stage. Not only potent and formidable persons, but the Athenian public itself, personified in its depraved habits, its tyrannous humours, its false taste, its vicious current standards, were assailed without stint or scruple. The sovereign people were at once the spectacle and the spectators. The one thing which follows us, as we read Aristophanes, is the poet's intense consciousness of the audience. The theatre was the focus of all the converging rays of social and political life, whither thronged all orders above the servile. The historical Athenian people, that which made war or peace, or legislated, was there before the poet's eye—not, as with us, a mere amusement-seeking section. Hence the close and vivid touch of its public, which older comedy never seems to lose. You may read the great tragic trilogy through without the fact of its public representation being ever forced upon the mind. It is impossible to read a scene of Aristophanes, unless in his "Plutus," where he drops to "middle" comedy, or rather perhaps to "new," without feeling the breath of the Athenian populace in your face as you read. Thus the interpretation of political ideas is common to poet and public; thus the bond of sympathy between them is close and hearty. He may, without offence, hit them the most stinging blows, assail their most cherished *idola fori*, so long as he is entertaining and amusing, and observes the spirit of the game. No English public, probably no European or modern popular gathering whatever, has ever endured or can be conceived as enduring such home-delivered hits at their own weak points and frailties, as we find over and over again in the "Acharnians," "Knights," and "Wasps." A fawning sycophancy towards the British public used to be the traditional attitude of our stage in its most intensely national period—a fact reflecting no credit on either. Garrick's and Kemble's "public" would have smashed the benches and chandeliers if anything like such denunciatory

diatribes, however flavoured with humour, had been attempted by them as won popularity for Cratinus and Aristophanes.

What an enormous advantage the poet obtained from this thorough understanding between stage and benches is obvious. He had never to play up to his audience, as the modern dramatic author has to do, from a level of assumed inferiority. There was nothing of that social jealousy which leads a modern public to resent the author's assumption of equality, and makes him, so far as he is not purely impersonal, their humble servant for the time. Aristophanes is never himself so much, never so triumphant and felicitous, as when audaciously battering some public prejudice, or exposing some popular foible. The hammer is nothing without the anvil; and the sovereign people was *his* anvil. The grand forces of ocean are never so impressive as when they burst upon an iron-bound coast. Over the rocks of popular opposition his torrent of inspired vituperation seethes and scours, enveloping the whole surface and drenching every crevice. It is just conceivable that on the modern stage, long success and established popularity in author, manager, and actor combined might give that vantage-ground on which attack on established prejudices might be conducted. But at Athens this position was ready-made for the comedian. The leverage was his to start with, which a combination of happy auspices, precarious and rare, may possibly secure for the modern as a crowning felicity.

This inextinguishable spirit of fellowship between the poet and his audience was such that it overpowers those illusions of the stage on which drama depends for success. Place the scene where he would, Attic conventions force their way and find their place. Thus, although in the "*Birds*" he lays it at the Hoopoe's haunt in some sequestered wild, the moment the owl appears, the exclamation is "*What! bring an owl to Athens?*" and this, although shortly after in the same scene, when the birds show fight, the adventurer to the scenic bird-land feels that as an Athenian *abroad* he may reckon on the neutrality at any rate of the owl (301, 358). In the impetuous outbursts which marked the *parabasis*, as the chorus wheeled round and fronted the audience, the whole house drank its movements sympathetically as a cloud drinks light; the distinction between "before and behind the curtain" was effaced, till you could only distinguish performers from audience by their places, masks, and dresses. The impetuous chaunt rolled forward from the orchestra involving the entire public in its torrent of emotion. The feeling manifested, when the present century was young, on the announcement from the stage of news of a victory of Nelson, received during the performance, with the whole house rising to chorus "*Rule Britannia*," may give us a notion of the conflagration of excitement which prevailed. But such an occasion

on our stage would be a *hors d'œuvre* interrupting the performance. On the Attic stage it was a normal element of it. Thus the ancient author kept his public in hand; and, with such genius as flooded the stage of Athens with sarcastic wit, could wield them almost at his will.

Thus comedy lived, and in the sense of those older masters, could only live in the open air of outspoken thought. The sense of freedom inspired courage in the poet, because it implied a palladium of protection. The serpents of vituperation might hiss and sting, and then creep into the sanctuary.

Sub pedibusque deæ clypeique sub orbe teguntur.

Thus when oligarchical forces were at intervals in the ascendant at Athens, we find repressive laws against the license of bringing real persons on the stage; and thus when Athens lay at last crushed at the feet of her oligarchic rival in 405 B.C., the poet found no rostrum for his political sermon. He was a caged bird now, and those "native woodnotes wild" of old comedy were hushed. He could no longer quiz a demagogue, "strip the gilding off a knave," lay bare speculation, pull the masks off from shams and braggarts, "chaff" his public, chide their leader on equal terms, and crack his jokes on all personages high and low, from Zeus to Kinesias. With the prostration of his country the comedian of the older school found his "occupation gone," his office superseded.

But tragedy dropped down more completely than comedy. Mediocrity is most tolerable in comedy, of all forms of poetry, and in tragedy least so. They were therefore unequally matched. The fifth century B.C. includes so nearly all that was noblest in ancient tragedy, that its subsequent losses leave us little to regret. Agathon, perhaps the best of the second-class tragedians, was dead in 406 B.C., when the "Frogs" appeared. Comedy found human nature practically inexhaustible, and continued its latest form of polish and finish in Philemon, Menander, and others, differing from its older form as a charming piece of ornamental water, into which native streams have been lured to enliven its repose, differs from the bold cliffs and tumbling billows of the seashore. Still, the loss of the last MS. of Menander, after the revival of Greek letters in Europe, is the most provoking and tantalizing of all the thefts of time. Specimens of the rhetorical tragedy as in Theodectes, or mere debased imitations of the older masters, are all that tradition tells us of, until we come to the studied obscurities of Lycophron, designed as it were to give the maximum of employment to the grammarians amongst whom he flourished. The genius of Athens had gone away into philosophy and rhetoric, as that of Alexandria soon after into grammar and astronomy, as that of imperial Rome still later into jurisprudence.

The appearance of two superior editions of the greatest surviving masters of ancient tragedy and comedy, Sophocles and Aristophanes, duly recorded at the head of this article, together with a valuable series of several single plays of the latter poet, gives occasion to the above remarks; as also to one further consideration before we come to the merits of those editions, that, viz., of the motive, political and poetical, of that unique specimen among the extant dramas of the ancient world, and grandest of the triumphs of its comic muse which we inherit, the "Birds" of Aristophanes. Its interest turns in no degree on the resources of vituperation, and there is hardly a coarse jest in the whole play; while for brilliant audacity of invention, duly subjected to judicious development of interest, sustained by suitable incidents, embellished by lofty bursts of poetry, and animated by not mere lively sallies but a continuous stream of wit, it stands without a rival. Cratinus, the Æschylus of comedy, relied too exclusively on invective. Of his work we have no adequate specimen; but the way in which amongst the moderns Swift treated Marlborough in the columns of the *Examiner*, may probably give a notion of the sardonic and sarcastic bitterness of the manner of Cratinus. Coarse, vigorous, and unswervingly direct in his onslaught, he seemed to seek not so much to give mirth to the public as to crush the victim with obloquy, and make comedy the scourge of a merciless censor. That Aristophanes too could wield at will the same knout, we have abundant evidence. But his character seems to have been more genial than would lead him to prefer it, while his genius, so far as we can judge, was more varied and fuller of resources, which enabled him to dispense with it, and rise superior to it. Thus in his masterpiece, the "Birds," he seems entirely independent of it, and soars above the usual personalities of comedy, as he does above Athens and *terra firma* itself. Mr. Green, the latest editor who adopts an English vehicle, holds with calm good sense the balance between opposite theories as regards the motive of the "Birds," when he says (interpreting Kock, a recent German editor) that the poet,—

moved by the events of the time (the Sicilian expedition among the rest), and in a certain frame of mind, hit on the idea of migration to a Paradise of Birds as a relief to himself and his audience. But being once there, he was no longer bounded by facts, but developed the idea in full freedom of fancy. . . . The "Birds" was written by Aristophanes, who was probably in a gloomy frame of mind about Athens, to relieve and amuse his audience. Let us not forget that he wrote mainly to amuse. In working out the details he gave free scope to fancy, but we still find him ridiculing and keeping out of his happy airy realm the very things which he elsewhere abuses. So far he is consistent: otherwise he is *lege solutus*. Hence the charac-

ters are more general, they suit all time (Introduction to the "Birds," pp. xi., xiii.).

At the same time that we recognize the moderation of this view, it seems rather too colourless and negative to explain such a salient specimen of genius in a poet who, to judge him by his other works, never wrote without a strongly didactic motive. We doubt, moreover, the "gloomy frame of mind" above ascribed to the poet. Süvern first suggested that the poem had its origin in the Sicilian expedition, "to dissuade which, by exposing its folly," the poet conceived this splendid allegory. The *prima facie* objection is, that the "Cloud-Cuckoo Colony" is *not* drawn as a failure, which this motive of the play would require, but as a splendid success. It was brought out the very first spring (414 B.C.) after that expedition had sailed, while it still bore unimpaired the full cargo of patriotic hope for which all things nearer home stood still and drew stunted breath; and while Alcibiades its prime author was, although a suspect, not yet a public criminal. There was nothing yet to suggest failure, or damp enthusiasm. There had been no time for the irresolute fickleness of the Athenians to betray their greatest venture, and let this their costliest expedition dwindle and decay. The poet in this delightful play skims the very cream of that enthusiasm which he evidently shares. A positive cornucopia of golden possibilities filled the public eye, and the poet was not the man to miss the full vision of their glories. What was to hinder the reunion of the sporadic Greek settlements, which lay thickly but loosely strewn along the western wind on the southern and eastern edges of Italy and Sicily, far away to Marseilles? Might they not form the germs of a grand imperial confederation, concentrated under Attic hegemony, even as the Ægean chief islands and Ionian chief cities had been similarly united eastward by the policy of the great half-century between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars? The rapid growth of many of those western colonies in wealth, populousness and civilization, was well known in the "old country," and had formed, doubtless, a tantalizing contrast to the bitter experience of Athens during the first nine years of the war. Hence they might well be said to live in a perpetual honeymoon (161). Was it such an Utopian chimera to think that the experiment might be repeated with advantage, and the doors of western exploration, hitherto either engrossed by Carthage, or only passed by handfuls of petty Greek adventurers, be thrown open to the competitive enterprise of Athens? Thus the ægis of Athené Polias was to project its shadow over the far Tyrrhenian main. The Greeks of the coast and island colonies were to be invited to rally round their natural protector, to be cemented and consolidated under Athenian energy. What a vista of political and commercial grandeur seemed to open here!

It is represented by the Athenian adventurer, Peisthetærus in the play, with his secondary Euelpides, becoming the founder of a new city of all the birds of the air, hitherto dispersed and devoid of common policy, but taught by the guidance of a master's eye the insuperable advantages of combination. His first quest is the haunt of the Hoopoe (Epops), Tereus, who, having "from a man become a bird," and taken a bird wife, represents the spirit of migration. The part of Epops, however, is but introductory; in the latter half of the play he is without function, and utters not a single line.

But the great achievement of the airy league is the blockade and starving out of "the gods;" against them the tactics of the entire drama are directed. Co-tenants of the upper region with the birds, they have a rival interest, which was supposed by Süvern to be that of the Peloponnesians. But the gods are made to suffer by their supplies of sacrifice, &c., being cut off. The Peloponnesians were then deriving no such supplies which the Sicilian expedition could divert. We must look somewhere beyond the horizon of Greek associations for the antitype of the Aristophanic "gods." We know that Carthage and her western emporiums were among the stimulants to Athenian ambition when the venture was being still discussed (Thucyd. vi. 15). More probably therefore the "gods" represent the Carthaginians, hitherto remote and unassailable, and drawing to themselves the vast trade-profits of the western waters, as well as no doubt during the Peloponnesian war diverting some portion of that of the Levant and Egypt. This monopoly the success of the commercial side of the project might be expected to break up. With them are linked the uncouth deities whom the poet calls "Triballi," taking a designation from the nearest known barbarian group in Thrace (Thucyd. ii. 96), as typical of the autochthonous tribes, who may thus early, as we know the Celtiberians did later, have begun to flourish under Punic commercial influence. It is noteworthy that the select representative deities are, beside these, Herakles and Poseidon; Herakles having Punic affinities through his analogue the Syrian Melkarth, while Poseidon, the god of the sea, embodied most aptly the maritime ascendancy of the Phœnicians. Homer, we may remember, makes Poseidon the tutelary of the Phæacians; the favoured race with whom deities lived on familiar terms of intimacy, and in whose luxury, acquisitiveness, remote position, and nautical proficiency, we have probably a poetical reflex of the Phœnicians. And this view at once accounts for the cuckoo, not the most dignified of birds, becoming the eponymus of the new bird-colony. To him in this play is assigned a special function in regard to the Phœnician race, his note being their signal for harvest labours (505-6).

When the cuckoo crieth "cuckoo," on the far Phœnician plain,
All the wheat and barley growers will be harvesting the grain.

We may remember how Hesiod in Bœotian latitudes connects the same note with the wished-for spring rains and the "landscape turning grey," no doubt under the budding shoots of olive and vine.* This bird was the harbinger of opening spring to the Greek, but to the precocious plains of Egypt and Syria of harvest. There were probably sanguine ideas afloat that the smart intrigues of Alcibiades and the high character of Nicias would win their way by persuasion and influence, and that the imposing force of the Athenian armament would only be wanted for a "naval demonstration" in Sicilian waters. Indeed, negotiation was the task to which the commanders first devoted themselves, and at the time of the play's appearance could not be known to have failed or to be delusive. Thus the Aristophanic "Assembly of Fowles" hardly make more than a feint of hostilities against the bold explorer of their haunts, which gives way at once, before the glib persuasiveness of the adventurer, to parley, truce, and boundless confidence. "Chum-win," as one might render Peisthæterus, expounds his political philosophy amidst eager acceptance and rapturous applause. It is nothing else than an appeal to their selfish interests, and wins in a moment the golden opinions of the bird-brotherhood, as it had before done those of the Epops, their chief—such opinions as were customarily lavished in the cities of Hellas on a popular sophist who came amongst them with his alluring advertisement of "New lamps for old." Not till he has acquired this ascendancy does he declare his name, although he has all along been at work with the gift which it bespeaks—that power of subtle suggestion of which the following is a specimen (163 foll.), containing the key to the entire drama:—

PEISTHET (*with a long slow whistle*). Whew-w-w!

I see a vast design within the scope

O' the feather'd race—a pow'r which might be yours,
If you'd be ruled by me!

EPOPS.

How ruled by thee?

PEISTHET. How ruled? Thus—cease those habits flit-about
With mouths agape. Fly-catching's but poor work.

* * * * *

EPOPS. What then wouldst bid us?

PEISTHET.

Join and found one city.

The action taken on this advice and its results form the sequel

* ἤμος κόκκυξ κοκκύζει δρυὸς ἐν πετάλοισι
τὸ πρῶτον, τέρπει τε βροτοὺς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαίαν,
τῆμος Ζεὺς ὕει τρίτῳ ἡματι μὴδ' ἀπολήγοι, κ.τ.λ.

Hes. Opp. et Di., 468-8.

of the play; the upshot being that the gods surrender on terms highly advantageous to the Bird community, whose chief, the successful adventurer, demands and obtains the Lady Sovereignty (Basileia), daughter of Zeus, in marriage. An advantageous alliance with Carthage and the practical supremacy of the far-west is probably allegorized in this.

But while he thus dangles these brilliant prospects, the poetic reflex of their own excited mood, before his fellow-citizens, the poet is yet conscious that the basis of it is all up in the air. They *may* win by tact and wheedle by dazzling appeals to their cupidity the scattered denizens of the west, but they may also fail. There was, we know, a strong animosity against the venture; and the poet cannot have been insensible to the fact that in fits of popular excitement the chances are in favour of the weight of reason being with the minority. How far he may have personally felt that weight we cannot tell. It was enough for him that the die was now cast, and the city fully committed to the attempt. His eye, "in a fine frenzy rolling," pictured forth a prospect almost without any practical horizon. But then he could not be wholly passive to the doubts and qualms of the minority. He therefore sets in motion an undercurrent of playful satire. Apollo has a "second string" to his bow, by virtue of which the whole project is a mere holiday humour, or "Midsummer Night's Dream" of the poet, who is thus provided with a loophole of retreat in case of failure. If all went well with the mighty squadron and its golden hopes, then the poet, in the person of his Peisthetærus, might claim oracular honours. If otherwise, then it was but the fancy sketch of an Athenian humorist—"Don't we all, you and I, fellow-citizens, alike long for some such Paradise? Wouldn't we tramp a long way to find it—whether up in the air or beyond the sea—

Some happier island in the watery waste,

where the din of dicasteries and the dodges of the hireling informer should not follow us, nor the 'Salaminian' cast anchor in the offing to fly the flag of the inevitable 'summons' in those quiet waters? No doubt, this Athens of ours, 'where the bonny triremes are' (108), is 'a capital city to live in, to lend, and to spend, and to give in' (*ἐναπορίσαι χρήματα*, 38); but who wouldn't, if he could, seek wings to fly away and be at rest from debts and duns (115-16), to find some sheltered nook, well pillowed and blanketed, to dose and dream in (121-2). That's the sort of city to suit you and me, isn't it? You thought I was propounding a grand political conception to suit your imperial appetites. Not a bit of it! It was only a story of a cuckoo on a cloud, and 'who would set his wit to so foolish a bird?' You took it for an empire in Sicily, while I only meant it for a 'castle in Spain'—

a brace of quixotic citizens, one of them with a longish tongue, gone to beat up the Hoopoe's quarters and beguile the simple race of birds. But who would think the Athenian public so easily gulled?" Thus, half in the spirit of a holiday gambol, and half with a grand political possibility peeping out under it, the poet wreathes the cap and bells of folly with laurel.

But who can say that the project itself, sanguinely conceived, was impossible, or if possible, impolitic? We only know how near in its first stage it came to success. A little more promptness and persistency in the Athenian home government, a little longer procrastination at Sparta, and Syracuse, with Sicily to follow, would probably have been won that same year. Then there opened out a limitless expanse of enterprise for policy and conquest. The "blockade of the gods"—*i.e.*, the reduction under Athenian influence of the Carthaginian and Celtic world, might all have followed; for Athens would have seized in Sicily, as the Romans found later, the key of the western Mediterranean basin. By her might have been gathered the gold of Tagus, the tin of the far north-western isles, the amber of the Northmen, the coral of the Hesperian coasts, all wrapped in bales of Tyrian purple. Might not all have been grasped securely, if only seized in the nick of time? So should the channel of history have been dammed up by one colossal success and the course of its stream turned. Measured by results, we may condemn the idea as quixotic, but the chances were heroic.

Mr. Green gives a series of single plays, following sometimes Dindorf's, sometimes Meineke's text, and prefixing to each play a comparative table of the readings of the two, in selecting from which his choice seems judicious. His notes are always clear and sensible, often with a touch of humour, as befits the commentator on such a text. Sometimes they might with advantage go a little deeper. We may illustrate by selections from the "Birds" as well as from any other play. There is a very good note on ἐκπερικίσαι (768), recognizing the pun on πέρδιξ and Περδίκκας; ἀλωπεκίζειν, *wasps* (1241), might have been compared. But in 168 he has left ὁ Τελέας unexplained. Is it a proper name here? may be a question. As such it certainly occurs (*inf.* 1025), and again in the "Peace" (1018). But whether common or proper, Mr. Green tells us nothing about the office or person referred to. The difficulty in ὁ Τελέας is that a proper name of a person in familiar life, when used in the nominative case and without any adjective, hardly ever has the article in Aristophanes. It is probable that the same person is intended here and in 1025; and that here the true text is τίς ἐστιν οὗτος; Τελέας ἐρεῖ ταδί, but that the line lacking cæsure (as do 189 and 1028), some critic cobbled it by reading, against the poet's usage, ὁ Τελέας. Who

then was this Teleas? Probably a member of that branch of the executive which dealt with aliens. From 1025 we gather that a commission derived from him was borne by the *ἐπίσκοπος*, a sort of consular agent, resident in a subject foreign city, with a salary (*μισθός*) paid from local resources, but to which he was appointed from Athens, *τῷ κνάμῳ λαχὼν*, by ballot. We have only to suppose a corresponding Home Department, with charge not of the resident (*μέτοικοι*) but casual foreigners; and we may assign to it a police character, since amongst such waifs and strays many suspicious persons would be found. The *Τελέας* of the "Peace" is no doubt wholly different.

At "Birds" (169) *ἄνθρωπος ὄρνις* form a compound predicate, "a man-bird," answering the question, "Who is this fellow?" or else read *ὠνθρωπος ὄρνις*, subject and predicate, "the man (is) a bird," which equally answers it. Again (*ib.* 181), Peisthetærus is explaining the position of the axis in respect to the sphere, as follows:—

*ὁτιγὲρ δὲ πολεῖται τοῦτο καὶ διέρχεται
ἅπαντα διὰ τοῦτό γε καλεῖται νῦν πόλος,*

which the editor renders, "because this (the pole) turns, and all things pass (move about) through this," &c., adding, "the phrase seems intentionally obscure." Not so, surely, if rendered "because it passes through all things," a sense justified by Plato ("Timæ." 15, 40), *γῆν . . . εἰλλομένην περὶ τὸν διὰ παντὸς πᾶλον τεταμένον*; where *διὰ παντὸς*, as here *ἅπαντα*, is the entire of earth and sky. Thus "axis" rather than "pole" is the equivalent of *πόλος* in modern nomenclature. Mr. Green has good clear notes on "Clouds" (380), *δίνος*, and (394) *ὁμοίω*. But on 398, *Κρονίων* should have been explained as a genitive plural of an adjective, *Κρόνιος*; and in referring on *βεκεκσελέηνε* to Herodotus' story (ii. 2) of the children crying *βεκός*, it might have been well to notice that the cry *βεκ-(ός)* was probably their imitation of the goat's bleat (cf. *μηκ-άδες αἴγες* found in Homer).

On "Wasps" (1172), *σκόροδον ἡμφιεσμένω*, the Homeric *κρομύοιο λοπὸν* (Od. xix. 233) is a parallel which should not have been missed, as it helps to explain the puzzle. On *ib.* 1248, *πολλὰ δὴ διεκομίσας*, it is noticed that "Burgess' *δεκόμπασας* has great probability." It is in fact proved by the Schol. *ad. loc.*, *ἐπεὶ κομπαστῆς ἦν*, and should certainly have been adopted, perhaps with the further correction of Meineke, *νῆ Δι' ἐκόμπασας*.

To prefix to each scene the names of the interlocutors is a useful help, which in some later plays Mr. Green has adopted, but not in these earlier ones.

Before passing to the more elaborate critical edition of the four plays, separately published in successive years from 1873-8 by Mr. Blaydes, it may be as well to give some slight sketch of the older MSS., with a view of having some principles by which to estimate their authority, as he has given us no index in the present volume of what value he attaches to them. Nor does he, in his copious tables of MSS. (each with its catalogue-mark, &c.), anywhere hint at the century to which it probably belongs. There *may* be such index or hints given in the four previously printed in Germany; but if so, he nowhere refers to it in this volume. It appears that Mr. Blaydes has collated, out of sixteen MSS. of the "Knights," six entirely and six others in parts; out of sixty-eight of the "Clouds," eight entirely and over sixteen *passim*; out of eight of the "Wasps," three entirely; out of thirty of the "Frogs," three entirely and eleven *passim*. He says that he has been over twenty years engaged on the work, which shows resolute industry, and we hope his eyesight has not suffered from the strain. He must therefore have had abundant opportunities of forming a judgment on this question, which in outline we proceed to touch upon here.* The Ravenna MS., ascribed by Bekker and most recent critics to the eleventh century, although some have contended for the tenth, is the oldest extant; and next to it, at the interval of half a century, comes the Venetian. These two have, by some critics, been referred to the same archetype; but this seems rather a possibility than a proved conclusion. The Greek monastic houses in the eleventh century were still in the enjoyment of ample revenues, and seem to have cultivated dramatic and literary tastes. They were plundered by a subsequent emperor, although not dissolved—a precedent of rapacity perhaps unknown to our Henry VIII. and his agent Cromwell. This MS. was, it seems, made for such a fraternity, and contains the eleven extant plays entire. The first printed edition (Aldus, Venice, 1498) has only nine, and was therefore probably not taken from it; but bears considerable resemblance to two MSS. now in the Vatican, both probably of the same (fifteenth century) date. They are Palat. 128 and Vatic. 1294. The same nine constituted the next edition (Junta, Florence, 1515); but in 1516 appeared a supplementary volume from the same press, containing the two omitted plays, "Lysistrata" and "Thesmophorizusæ." The Ravenna MS. (which is denoted by R.) seems to have reached the Duke of Urbino's collection about the turn of the century. At any rate, it was not yet there in 1463,

* These are founded on a paper in the Cambridge "Journal of Philology."

which date is ascribed to a catalogue of classical MSS. in that prince's possession, and which, among a long list of Greek poets, does not contain any mention of Aristophanes. It is said to contain pencil-marks corresponding with the pages of the Juntine edition, leaving no doubt that it was used by Junta for the same. How it subsequently came to Ravenna does not appear. The favourite plays at the revival of learning were the "Plutus," "Clouds," and "Wasps;" and next to these the "Knights" and the "Birds." The Venetian MS. (known as V.) contains, besides these five, the "Frogs" and the "Peace."

Next in value to R. and V. comes one of the fourteenth century in the Ambrosian Library at Milan (L. 39 in its catalogue), but cited by Mr. Blaydes as Med. 8. It supports in turn each of the two former, and has a few readings distinct from both, and may be supposed to have been corrected if not to have entirely proceeded from some distinct source. Thus it sometimes furnishes a valuable clue where the corruption seems incapable of remedy from other sources, and where it confirms either R. or V. may be worthily followed against the other alone. Of the rest the three Laurentian (Florence) MSS. 1006 are of unequal value, 1 the oldest being of value next to Med. 8, and next to this the oldest Parisian, A. A late thirteenth century MS. at Modena (iii. D. 8 in its catalogue), may be placed as nearly equal in value. The rest of the MSS. are of inferior authority, and thus the *apparatus criticus*, which looks so imposing, is found, when estimated by weight rather than number, to lie within narrow limits. The last named Modenese MS., it should be added, is nowhere cited by Mr. Blaydes in the volume before us. The collation of R. and V. by Bekker was done with perhaps excusable but still deplorable superficiality. Dindorf, who professed to have collated the Laurentians and some others, really left the work to other hands. It should be laid down as an invariable canon that no collation is trustworthy which has not been rigorously checked, and that no editor should incorporate the results of collation without knowing and stating who is responsible for them. It would be well if the great libraries where MSS. repose would keep a register of such collations, to be shown to any labourer in the same field, and prevent that *actum agere* which is so wasteful of valuable powers. At the same time it is worth notice that the staff of the library itself ought to contain a reasonable number of experts at collation, and to make it their business to sift the treasures therein contained. Surely the work of making these available to the utmost not only includes classifying and cataloguing but collating also. Thus the work might be done deliberately, and not as a match against time—a condition under which no such work can ever prosper; and this is

why we find such collations as those which bear the distinguished names of Bekker and Dindorf so untrustworthy as they are. After every acknowledgment of pertinacious industry, zeal, and acuteness has been made, the value of the net result is still an open question, so long as the vouchers for that part of it which is the foundation of the whole are withheld or cannot be verified.

One source of authority, often very valuable, but always of variable value, the *lemmata* of the scholia on the plays, seems very seldom referred to by Mr. Blaydes. Thus he omits *διασχίζων* ("Knights," 818), and *κόπριος* for *-ειος* (*ib.* 899), confirmed by Suidas, as cited. In "Wasps" (528) Scaliger is cited for *φανήσῃ* (text *φανήσει*) where the lemma confirms the *ει*; 554, *ἐμβάλλει μοι τὴν χεῖρ'*, the common reading is that of the lemma too; 1178, *ὁ Καρδοπίων* the *ὁ* is doubtful, and the lemma omits it; 1265, *δὴ 'δοξ' ἔμειναν*, is Mr. Blaydes' reading here, and is partly confirmed by the lemma, *δὴ 'δοξα*.

The chief complaint which we have to make of Mr. Blaydes may seem to argue ingratitude. But with all due acknowledgment for the wide range and subtle tact of his scholarship, we think a respectful protest necessary against the accumulation of subsidiary authorities to an extent which by over-illustrating tends to obscure. "Rem acu tetigit" used to be the highest compliment to a critic; but it would feebly express the recognition due to Mr. Blaydes. Not content with touching with a needle's point, he seeks to transfix his subject with as many points as a porcupine. He has a wide eye for the sympathies of language, and with a scope and retentiveness perhaps unsurpassed since the days of Porson, he goes on strewing flowers in the way till we positively cannot see the path. If his object were the accumulating materials for a treatise on the finer distinctions of Greek idiom, all, or perhaps more than half, his citations might be in their place: "sed nunc non erat his locus." The temptation which they hold out to the student to bewilder himself overbalances their illustrative value. Thus the critical annotation on "Knights," 1230, contains, besides conjectural emendations of Bentley and others, a dozen of the editor's own, nearly all fortified by citations of various authors, from Æschylus to Plutarch. On "Clouds," 423, the discussion glides easily from the question of the reading into that of the construction—the one being a key to the other. Starting from Reiske and Dindorf, who cites Bentley, the editor here impugns their view, and maintains that an ellipse common enough in Plato (*ἄλλο τι* for *ἄλλο τι ἦ*), finds place here. Then follow from Plato twenty citations, some inserting *ἦ*, some omitting it, every one of which we should be glad to take for granted if Mr. Blaydes would only let us. Not content with this, he then proceeds to lavish similarly needless wealth on the phrase

νομίζειν or ἡγεῖσθαι with θεοὺς or θεόν, heaping Plato on Xenophon and Lysias on both. We ought to add that, in our judgment, Dindorf's remark, which all these elaborate earthworks are raised to batter, seems to be correct. Again, on "Clouds," 987, *ἱματίοις προδιδάσκεις* is the editor's text, who first gives a note of Dindorf's, with his citations in support of it, favouring a rival reading, then conjecturally corrects each of these citations either *de suo* or after Porson. Here then a third of a page of very close print is trifled away in a *tour de force* of ingenuity and erudition. Corinna told young Pindar to "sow with the handful, not with the sackful." Will Mr. Blaydes kindly remember that venerable proverb in the next Greek classic that he edits, and not insist on piling Pelion upon Ossa in order to build his own shanty or bury another man's? These are no exceptional instances, they represent the staple of the book. Seventeen large consecutive octavo pages, from page 101 ("Clouds") to 116 inclusively, contain only one hundred and fifteen lines of the text, or less on the average than seven lines on a page which would well hold over forty—"a rivulet of text" in "a meadow of" criticism. For all this is not exegetical, contains not a word of commentary, save so far as apt illustrations in due measure might indirectly supply its place. It is nothing else than the varieties of reading, the authorities in favour of the variations, and the citations in favour of the respective authorities, with occasionally a critical demonstration against one, or more, or all of them; then a string of conjectures which might be brilliant if they could keep out of each other's light; then more citations in support of the conjectures. Human life is not long enough nor the world of book-space big enough for this union of the far range of the telescope with the minuteness of the microscope concentrated upon a single author. If books are to be edited at this rate, the next generation will have to build libraries "*iactis in altum molibus*." How Aristophanes, we might conceive, would lash out could he only know that his text was thus being larded with learning from all the authors whom the Alexandrines have transmitted!

Of course there is plenty—only too much—that is valuable in this. The note on "Clouds," 439, shows admirable care. The suggestion, *τὰς ὁδοὺς* for *τὴν ἔδραν* (1507) is probably correct; so also *ἀνακοινῶσαι*, aorist, for *ἀνακοινούσθαι*, 470. The note supporting *ἐάν* alone against *ἐάν περ* or *ἐάν γ'* is excellent, but we could spare the two-and-thirty lines of citation from Dindorf. How the editor must have loved his work, to overload it thus! There is not a trace of the journeyman scholar in the whole of it.

We have now the second volume of Professor Campbell's Sophocles, completing the seven plays with the fragments.

We think him a little too tenacious of what is untenable in the text; and the theoretical views which defend this in the "Essay on the Language" of the poet show in their elaborate analyses a tendency here and there to draw the wire too fine. These volumes contain a sketch of the history of the text and early editors &c., a commentary, which seems just full to the brim without spilling, a rather slender array of variants and critical remarks occasionally upon them, and a carefully wrought analysis of the plot, characters, and situations of each drama. In these last the editor screens his author's weak points too much. Let us take the "Trachiniæ." Herakles had been erected into a demigod by myth, but is too intractable material to awaken tragic interest. He is not the good man struggling with adversity, but a man of violent lust and a shedder of innocent blood by treacherous assault. Sophocles does what he can to force an interest for his hero by making the death of Iphitus a recompense for insolent treatment by Eurytus his father. But the gods take a different view, and Zeus lays on him the ban of servitude to Omphale for a year. He returns, and takes his revenge by making havoc and massacre of the city and family of Eurytus, and carrying away captive Iole, which suggests the suspicion that the possession of her, and not so much the wild honours of vengeance, formed his prompting motive. The older legend, as Sophocles found it, was probably even less favourable to Herakles. Certainly, if still as Homer left it,* it was so. But even with all the extenuation of Sophocles it forms an ugly piece of savagery. The hero's previous massacre of his own wife Megara and children is prudently kept in the background. He was mad *then*, and had since obtained ceremonial expiation; so there was an end of that. He has now a fond and faithful wife, whom he seems to neglect, and with whom he is prepared to domesticate a rival on his return home at last. The legend is followed with tolerable closeness in the sequel, and refined feeling would be out of place in judging of its details, as applying a standard out of harmony with the age in which it arose. Hyllus has to bring his mother the news of the dreadful issue of her own blind act, has then to bring his father the news of her suicide, has then to fire the pile which consummates that father's long-drawn mortal anguish, witnessing all the while his terrible pangs, and finally is to espouse Iole, who passes thus from the father's concubine to be the son's wife. Against this last item in the tale of repulsive duty he himself protests, *not*, however, on the ground on which it is most repulsive to *us*; but because she, a helpless captive, had provoked Deianira's sus-

* See Hom. Od., xxi. 25, foll.

pitions of her husband's fidelity, and so been a purely passive link in the chain of events which drew on the death of both. Then the dramatic mechanism is ill put together. Deianira's first soliloquy has no adequate motive, and smacks rather of Euripides' manner than Sophocles'. The speech of Lichas (248 foll.) is as obscure a piece of narrative, partly perhaps through corruption of its text, as can be found in Greek tragedy. The oracular warning of a crisis in Herakles' fate just then impending, we take to be a playwright's own device (166 foll.), and that a clumsy one, being too purely mechanical an attempt to bolster up dramatic interest which there is otherwise nothing in the facts to create. All that we hear of a hero before he appears, even from his enemies, ought to raise our sympathies and procure him a warm reception. All that we hear of Herakles, even from wife and friend, has the opposite effect. The conclusion of the drama, with its protracted physical anguish, is too repulsive to dwell upon; and the whole is only redeemed by the character of Deianira herself, the most interesting study of a wife which the ancient drama has left to us. But Herakles, *per fas et nefas*, was the popular character, and had to be put through the parade of a heroic end without any of the moral accessories and preliminaries, and he makes that end without a word of regret for his faithful wife, whose purity of intention he had notwithstanding learnt from Hyllus. Now Professor Campbell does not seem to feel these defects, or only in a most inadequate degree. He says: "If there are weak places in the 'Trachiniæ,' they must be sought for towards the end." They may be sought and found very early and very often, as we have shown.

We turn to a few passages in detail. The "conservatism" which Professor Campbell acknowledged in his preface to his first volume as a distinctive character of his text, is a reaction from the school of conjectural emendation, which Bentley, "*felicissime audax*," started at the beginning of the last century. A good instance of it is "Trachin.," 614-15:—

καὶ τῶνδ' ἀποίσεις σῆμ' ὁ κείνος εὐμαθὲς
σφραγίδος ἔρκει τῷδ' ἐπ' ὄμμα θήσεται.

The conjecture of Billerbeck, ἐπὶ δὲ μαθήσεται, is specious and captivating, and has gained general currency; but it just dislocates the mosaic of language, gives prominence to a detail, viz. the fact of the σῆμα, "device," *being upon* that which bore it, and imports in εὐμαθὲς . . . μαθήσεται, an iteration, which blemishes the phrase, as the editor points out. But the dislocation lies in the fact that this reading makes the "device," σῆμα, be borne not by the seal, σφραγίς, itself, but by its setting, ἔρκει, which error, although minute, is a fatal flaw, and has not, we believe, been

noticed before. As regards the construction of δ and $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\varsigma$, we think the editor less felicitous in making " $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ to have an active meaning, and δ to be governed $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ by the whole clause," with a reference to the "Essay on Language," at the occasional over-refinement of which we hinted above. There is no need to make $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ here anything else than "clearly recognized," referred to δ . And the two together form the object $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ of the whole, because $\epsilon\pi'\delta\omicron\mu\mu\alpha$ $\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ implies $\delta\psi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. Neither at 872 need we make $\pi\acute{o}\mu\pi\iota\mu\omicron\nu$, conversely, passive; it may suitably mean "processional," in reference to the intent declared in 608-13. But having laid down a canon, the temptation grows upon a commentator to bring instances under it. Here and there where the slightest of slight changes would clear away a haze from a line, an editor should suggest it, whether he gives it a place in his text or not. Thus in the passage, 627-28:—

*ἀλλ' οἶσθα μὲν δὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς ξένης ὁρῶν
προσδέγμαι, αὐτὴν θ' ὡς ἐδεξάμην φίλως,*

there seems little doubt, from the pointlessness of the second member, and the false emphasis forced upon $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\eta\nu$, that $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\eta\nu$ should be read. Then the delicate relations between the ladies speaking and spoken of give a point worth making, and $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\eta\nu$ is exactly in its right place, meaning, "me, the speaker," and borrowing its personality from the closely following verb. Whenever in a writer, whose organ of language is sensitive, an unemphatic word is found in a place of emphasis, a corruption may always be suspected. There is another passage in "Oed. Col." in which we recognize the same tenacity of holding to what will not stand. It is 277-78:—

*καὶ μὴ θεοὺς τιμῶντες εἶτα τοὺς θεοὺς
μοίραις ποιῆσθε μηδαμῶς ἡγείσθε δέ, κ.τ.λ.,*

with variants $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\varsigma$, $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\nu$. The editor renders, "Do not, while ye think to honour the gods, in reality make the gods of no account." How $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ can mean "in reality," or $\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon$ $\mu\eta\delta\alpha\mu\omega\varsigma$, "make of no account," he does not explain, and suggests no analogy; $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ should mean "in" or "by their functions." The best conjecture is (Wunder's, if we rightly remember) $\mu\omega\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ = "of no account," in which the change of vowels is very slight, when $\mu\eta\delta\alpha\mu\omega\varsigma$ only reiterates the negative with added urgency. The corruption may easily have been earlier by far than our oldest MSS., and have tainted the whole family to which they belong. Another such instance is "Philoct.," 425, $\text{Ἀντίλογος αὐτῷ φροῦδος ὅσπερ ἦν γόνος}$. The three last words are a pointless encumbrance of the sense, and Musgrave's correction, $\delta\varsigma$ $\pi\alpha\rho\eta\nu$ $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, is decidedly preferable. On the

other hand, at 350-1 of the same play, Professor Jebb's suggestion is, we think, rightly rejected. Neoptolemus there says he made all speed to Troy:—

μάλιστα μὲν δὴ τοῦ θανάτου ἡμέρῃ,
ὅπως ἴδοιμ' ἄσπτον οὐ γὰρ (Jebb, εἰ γὰρ) εἰδόμην

There is no real difficulty here to demand a change, however neat and happy the sense resulting. From the former line *θανόντος* distils an influence into both clauses of the latter; and οὐ γὰρ *εἰδόμην* has *θανόντα* for virtual object, or rather *τεθνηκότα*, as resulting from it. Thus we reach, "that I might see him *before* his burial, for I had not seen him *since* his death." *

In the immediate sequel (426-7) the editor follows the reading, which has strong support of MSS. —

οἱμοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ δεῖν' ἔλεξας, οἷν ἐγὼ
ἤκιστ' ἂν ἤθελσ' ὀλωλότιν κλύειν.

Mr. Jebb notices that a scholiast gives δὲ αὐ τώδ' for δὲ αὐτῷ; also that the Laur. MS. has an erasure of two letters after δεῖν'; also, that a change of εἰ for α (no very uncommon one), with δρ (the supposed lost letters) added, would, if we adopt the scholiast's reading, yield οἱμοὶ δὲ αὐ τώδ' ἄνδρ' ἔλεξας. This gives a suitable antecedent for οἷν, which, in spite of Mr. Campbell's attempts to force one, it cannot in his text be said fairly to have. Nor is it easy to see how αὐτῷ can mean, as he would have it, "in those few words."

But again, in "Ed. Tyr.," 1341, τὸν ὀλεθρον μέγαν, the last words, feeble and ill reinforced by the ellipse of ὄντα, added by Hermann, should probably be ὀλέθριόν με γὰρ.†

In the partially corrupt and much debated lyric passage, "Philoct.," 852 foll., in spite of the strong plausibility of Mr. Jebb's proposal of αἰδοῦμαι for αὔδωμαι, we think no strong objection exists to the latter words, and that Mr. Campbell, who reads,

οἶσθα γὰρ ὃν αὔδωμαι
εἰ ταύταν τοῦτ' γνῶμαν ἴσχεις,
μᾶλα τοι ἄπορα πυκνοῖς ἐνιδεῖν πάθῃ,

defends his position effectually. A few lines later stands another *crux* to commentators:—

* It may be worth notice as regards plot, that Sophocles in the legend of Neoptolemus conspicuously alters the generally accepted order of events in the later tale of Troy, in making the fetching of that hero to Troy precede that of Philoctetes, and in making Thersites survive Achilles. See Procli, "Chrestom." ed Wesphal. § 3, § 13-5, and cf. Soph., "Philoct.," 442, foll.

† Proposed by Mr. R. Hobson Smith, "Journal of Philology," vol. ix. No. 17, pp. 71-4.

τὸ δ' ἁλώσιμον ἀμὰ φροντίδι, παῖ, πόνος
δ' μὴ φοβῶν κράτιστος.

Here, according to Mr. Jebb, the words τὸ ἁλώσιμον mean "the prey" as that which "may be caught"—i.e., Philoctetes, now asleep after his paroxysm of pain: He therefore renders, "to my mind that plan of action is best which does not scare the prey."* While Mr. Campbell maintains the traditional rendering, "So far as our minds can grasp . . . the toil that frightens not is best;" which views τὸ ἁλώσιμον as apposed to the sentence following it.† This Mr. Jebb condemns as "a most arbitrary distortion of plain words, and utterly foreign to the manner of Sophocles," such as "no one, I think, can fail to see." We shrink from attempting "tantas componere lites." How far, we regret to think, is posterity yet from any chance of a definite appreciation of the finer points of tragic style, when two such scholars can so differ! Similarly, in Aristoph. "Frogs," 719–20, Mr. Blaydes retains in his text a phrase, "quod certo non scripsit (poeta) neque scribere potuit," at least according to Meineke.

The genius of Sophocles seems to have led him to eschew politics and avoid political allusions in his plays. He teaches the great lessons of humanity as apart from their temporary manifestation or perversion in the world's passing scene. Thus, although Attica had at the close of his career (to which period the "Œdipus at Colonus" belongs) been for many years experiencing the bitter enmity of the Thebans, there is no parade of hostile feeling towards them in this play, although its plot and incidents give repeated occasion for smart and telling allusions to their enmity. That Athens should be safe from the hostile assault of Thebes by giving the suppliant outcast Œdipus a sanctuary and a sepulchre,‡ is indeed stated, and may be a recognition of the fact of such hostile attempts within the consciousness of poet and audience. Theseus also significantly hints to Creon, who perhaps embodies Theban aggressiveness as against Athens, "that he durst not have presumed so far in hostile violence, unless he had some secret support on which to rely."§ This may be perhaps a glance at a Theban faction specially or oligarchic faction generally within contemporary Athens. But it springs so naturally from the dramatic circumstances, that one hesitates to ascribe significance to it. And these are the strongest indications of *animus* to be found in the play.

* "Journal of Philology," vol. ii. No. 3, p. 78.

† Mr. Campbell in his "Essay on Language" (§ 33), has given some instances from Sophocles of a phrase apposed to a sentence not very unlike the above, e.g.—"Antig." 44, Θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πάλει.

‡ χοτῶς ἀδῆον τήνδ' ἐνοικήσεις πόλιν

σπαρτῶν ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν.—Ced. Col. 1533, 4.

§ ἀλλ' ἔσθ' ὅτε σὺ πισ τὸς ὦν ἔδρας τάδε.—*Ibid.*, 1031.

The patriotism of the drama is intense, but the antagonism which so often springs from the former feeling is minimized. The poet, true to his higher calling, has given us the honey without the gall.

In the fragments, which with their commentary occupy the last eighty pages of the volume, we hardly think the editor has been so successful as in the entire dramas. Many of them require more elucidation than he has bestowed upon them. Homer and the early Greek lyric and iambic fragments, would have furnished pertinent illustration here and there. Fragment 34 should have been noticed as containing a proverb found in a fragment of Praxilla,* which bids "look for a scorpion under every stone;" and in Aristoph. "Thesmophor." (529), where "spouter" (ῥήτωρ) is facetiously substituted for "scorpion."

It seems strange that at 141 no notice should have been taken of the similar fragment of Æschylus (Dind. 166), not only introducing a similar comic incident, but having an entire line in common with the Sophocleān text here. Both are contained in the same passage of Athenæus (i. 17 and foll.). They illustrate the manner of the two poets by a point of closer contact than we can commonly find. At 190 it should be noted that the *Επις was probably like the Υβρις (604), a Satyric drama. At 201 a note informs us of the conjugal relations of Hermione with Orestes and Neoptolemus, leaving the reader free to suppose that to be the only dramatic version of the story; there being in fact two others, equally in conflict with it and with each other, to be found in Eurip. "Orest." (1658-6, 1658-9), and "Androm." (29-31, 157-9). In 218 occurs the rare and probably exotic word μαγάδιδες; with which might have been compared Alcman (91) [87], Bergk. (p. 859), μάγαδιν δ' ἀποθέσθαι. Both these again are found in the same passage of Athenæus (xiv. pp. 637a, 636f.). On 235, κάποπερκούται, a citation should have been made from Hom. Od. (vii. 126), ἔτεραι δ' ὑποπερκάζουσιν, from which it is supposable that χυποπερκούται may be the true reading here, denoting by ὑπε the gradual change of the ripening colour. In 266 the word ἐρίθων, apposed to ἀραχνᾶν, might be aptly illustrated from Theocritus (xv. 80), ποῖαί σφ' ἐπόνασαν ἔριθοι. But perhaps the most singular omission is that on 279, ἐξ Ὠλένου γῆς φορβάδος, where "Philoct." (700), φορβάδος ἐκ τε γᾶς ἐλεῖν, shows the poet repeating here his own phrase. We look equally in vain at that place for any reference to this fragment; and this suggests the conclusion that such cursory afterthought as has been given to these latter results in hardly more than a running sketch, hit

* Praxilla fragm. 4; Bergk, Poetæ Lyr. Gr., p. 1225.

off from Nauck and others. On 293, ἐνήλατα ξύλα τρίγομφα διατορεύσαι σε δέεται, there is a corruption in the last three words, for which read perhaps διατόρευσον ὥς σε δεῖ τάδε. At 343 it might be well to notice that the legend of Æneās there embodied, contradicts the more popular one followed by Virgil, in making that hero retire from Troy with his migratory band before the sack of the city. It is from the Laocoön, and its line 5 is corrupt, and has been badly corrected by Reiske, so as to read (which the editor accepts)—

συνοπάσσειαι δὲ πλῆθος οὐχ ὅσον δοκεῖς.

The MSS. here appear to give *δοκεῖς (*οἱ) δοκεῖ σοι, which suggests that πλῆθος οἱ, ποσον δοκεῖς; is the true text, since the spirit of the passage is in favour of maximing rather than minimizing, as οὐχ ὅσον would do, the number of followers.

At 403, from the Nausicaa, a reference to Hom. Od. vi. 64, would have been appropriate, also a notice that Sophocles himself performed the heroine's part, and "flung the ball capially" (ἀκρῶς ἐσφαίρισεν, Athen. i. p. 20).*

On 418, ὤμοις ἀθηρόβρωτον ὄργανον φέρων some explanation is needed. It is still the "oar," spoken of in 417, previous fragment, as τὸ δῶρον, "the offering," and that 417 ends with ἀμφὶ παιδίοις ἔχων ὤμοις. Professor Campbell seems to doubt the fitness of the phrase τὸ δῶρον and suggests τὸδ' ἔργον, at once needless and flat. δῶρον recognizes in the "oar" an offering made to some deity, and therefore the religious spirit of the whole scene, which ἔργον would miss. With both these fragments should be compared Hom. Od. xi. 127-8:—

ὅππότε κεν δῇ τοι ξυμβλήμενος ἄλλος ὁδίτης
φήη ἀθηρηλοῖγόν ἔχειν ἀνὰ φαιδίμφ' ὦμφ.

Here then Sophocles changed the Homeric ἀθηρηλοῖγόν, "winnowing shovel," into ἀθηρόβρωτον, "porridge-spoon," but retained the rest of the phrase. On 459, 2, θαλλὸν χυμαίραις προσφέρων, comp. Hom. Od. xvii. 224, θαλλόν τ' ἐρίφοισι φορῆναι. On 469, Φοινικίοις γράμμασι refer to Herod. v. 58, who says that the Ionians continued to apply the term φοινικία to the letters of the alphabet, "as was but just;" also to Franz "Elementa Epigraph. Gr.," p. 107, showing a Teian inscription where φοινικία stands actually for "characters" or "lettering." A note on 459, 1, explains ἐξοπίσω χερὸς ὄμμα τρέπουσ' as "averting her eye from what her hand performed." It seems more likely

* A noteworthy deviation from Dindorf's text is here left unnoticed. He edits πέπλους τε νῆσαι νεοπλυνεῖς τ' ἐπενδύτας, for which epithet Professor Campbell, who only refers generally to Nauck for these fragments, gives λινωγενεῖς.

that *χερὸς* is to be taken in the abstract sense of direction, as in *ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ* or *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ χειρὸς*, common in various poets early and late;* comp. 538, 1, *τὰ δ' ἐξόπισθε χειρὸς εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ*, where the word *χειρὸς* seems to hang in Sophocleān ambiguity of construction between *ἐξόπισθε* and *δεξιὰ*. The rare word *ἐξιονθίζω* in 656, might be illustrated from Hom. Od. xiv. 50, *ιονθάδος ἀγρίου αἰγός*, as a parallel to which it is cited by Apollonius Lex. s.v. *ιονθάδος*. On *ἀρύστεις*, 693, 2, the editor, demurring to the sense "a ladle" for *ἀρυστις*, says, "should it not rather mean 'a draught' or 'potation?'" But why does he not cite Hesychius, who exactly so explains the word, *τὰς ἀπνευστὶ πόσεις—i.e., a long draught without taking breath?* The *Threicia amystide* of Hor. Carm. I. 36, 14, is an obvious parallel, as well as a singular *παρονομασία*. The phrase *γράμμα κηρύκειον*, 711, for which "written proclamation" is suggested by the editor, probably refers to the *σκυτάλη*, or scroll wrapped on a staff, which the *κῆρυξ* carried.† The evidence is certainly sufficient to warrant 739 being referred to the play of "Meleager," as the note with a "perhaps" suggests. On 754 it might have been noted that the metaphor is that of a boar blindly grubbing with his snout. On 774 refer to Homer Od. xviii. 261 foll., where the warlike prowess of the Trojans is described in similar terms. It should have been noted that 794, *βομβεῖ δὲ νεκρῶν σμῆνος ἔρχεται τ' ἄλλη* (where the editor's *ἄλις* for *ἄλλη* is a good suggestion), is evidently from some description of a *νέκεια* or *Inferno*; compare some parallel descriptive phrases from the *νέκεια* of the "Odyssey"—e.g. xi. 605, 633, and *ταὶ δὲ τρίζουσαι ἔποντο, ὥς αἱ τετριγυῖαι ἄμ' ἦσαν*, xxiv. 5, 9, of the Suitors' Shades passing on their way. At 811, *δάφνην φαγὼν κ.τ.λ.*, might be cited Juvenal's "laurumque momordit," "Sat." vii. 19, and Lucian "Bis Accus," i., *μασησαμένη τῆς δάφνης* (of the Pythia). It is possible that 872 may have been taken from some drama (perhaps the *Ὀδυσσεὺς ψευδάγγελος* spoken of Aristotle, "Poet." 1455 a. 13) founded on the attempt of the Suitors to bend Odysseus' bow; and that the exclamation is that of one of the competitors, "how wonderfully slippery the bow is," a condition arising perhaps from their attempts to supple it, as recorded in Od. xxi. 178–85. At 877 the *paronomasia* on the name Odysseus should have been cited, Od. xix. 407–9, *πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἰκάνω . . . τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομα*

* Alcman, 32 [114], Bergk, *ub sup.* 844, [ἄρκτονδ'] *ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χερὸς ἔχων*; *σύ τοι σχέθων νιν ἐπιδέξια χειρὸς*, Pind. Py. vi. 19; *ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα*, Hom. Od. v. 277; *ἄλις δὲ σφισιν ἦδε τῆς ἐπὶ δεξιὰ χειρὸς*, Thocr. xxv. 18.

† Comp. Archil. fragment, 89 [60], Bergk, *ub sup.*, p. 708, *ἐρέω τω' ὑμῖν αἶνον, ὃ κηρυκίδη, ἀχνημένη σκυτάλη*.

ἔστω ἐπώνυμον. The reader will probably conclude that the editing of the fragments has been only perfunctorily done as by one wearying of his task. We should add that it is hardly worth while to edit fragments at all, unless "chapter and verse" are given to show by whom they are quoted. Interesting literary anecdotes are often connected with them, and at any rate they have always a setting of their own, unless they merely occur in the commonplace book of a grammarian. To wrench them from this is a critical offence, worse than a mere oversight. In the case of those of Sophocles, thankful as we are for the seven masterpieces which have been preserved, we feel all the more sorely what a treasure of sublime beauty the world has lost in the plays of which these shreds and tatters alone remain. We have only to add, that Mr. Campbell's commentary is honest and lucid; although, of course, in places where we think the text he follows indefensible, we should vote the commentary mistaken. His illustrative quotations from Shakespeare and Milton, though here and there a little vague, are mostly felicitous and well-chosen; and on the whole he has trimmed the lamp well. The mellow largeness and winning grandeur of the ideals of Sophocles, as well as the floating film of subtlety in his language, have found an equable and judicious exponent in Professor Campbell.

H. H.

ART. III.—IVAN TOURGUENIEF.

1. *Sochinenia I. S. Tourguénieva.* (Works of I. S. Tourguénief.) 10 vols. Moscow. 1880.
2. *Západnoe Vliánie v novoi russkoi Literatourye.* (Western Influence in Modern Russian Literature.) By ALEXIS VYSELOVSKY. Moscow. 1883.

IT was late one night in the winter of 1882 when I found myself among a small group of friends seated round a table in a Russian drawing-room. We had only just returned from one of those small genial gatherings which, in hospitable Moscow, are prolonged to a sufficiently early hour of the morning, and where opinions are emphatically expressed and often rather energetically maintained. We were about retiring to our own several apartments when some one espied the latest number of the *European Messenger* upon a table; the number for November, 1881, had arrived that evening; it contained Tourguénief's "Song of Triumphant Love," a short prose composition of which the scene is in Ferrara in the sixteenth century.

In a moment, almost as if by mesmerism or instinct, we had taken our places round the table upon which the lamp-shade concentrated most of the light. Various members of the family read out the romance by turns, and it was listened to with rapt attention until its conclusion. The story was welcomed with equal eagerness by thousands of readers throughout Russia, and I narrate the above experience merely to show the favour enjoyed by Tourguénief among his countrymen, and the enthusiastic interest with which any production from his pen was awaited and devoured by intellectual circles in Russia. And it must be borne in mind that it is not those whom we should understand by the class of mere novel-readers for whom Tourguénief's works exerted such attraction.

The outcome of a highly educated and reflective mind, distinguished far more by subtle analytical power than by constructive and inventive capacity, Tourguénief's writings are not of a nature to captivate the ordinary commonplace mind of the middle and lower classes of Europe. His works can be thoroughly enjoyed only by those who are able to enter into the spirit of their author, and who consequently must possess in common with him, at least to a degree, some of the endowments which have conduced to their creation. The artistic perception of delicate shades of difference, the joint result of education and observation, is one of Tourguénief's most striking characteristics, and its manifestation can only be enjoyed to the full, as it can only be completely appreciated, by those who have these by no means common qualifications. Keen observation generally begets deep reflection, though the converse is by no means true. A close observer detects minor links in the chain from cause to effect, which act upon us as a stimulus in the exercise of tracing the connection between them, while a less observant nature fails to perceive such links altogether.

For the calm necessary to produce a close observer the conditions of our modern life "at high pressure" are eminently unfavourable, while they are equally uncondusive to the reflective temperament. The turmoil and busy movement of every-day life, the increasing burden of its sordid cares and solitudes, the gradual loosening of those ties which in an earlier stage of society bound individuals and classes together, with links that lay nearer the heart than those of mere material self-interest, are influences which tend to isolate the individual, to throw him upon his own resources and deliver him over to the struggle and strife for existence, and to concentrate all his faculties in battling with the waves of life lest the world's tide should sweep him under in its onward rush.

These tendencies, leaving out of consideration the factor of

heredity, must, it would seem, increase rather than diminish, and the circumstances which withdraw men from their influence must be the exceptional ones of wealth and a thoroughly artistic temperament where material gain is not the predominating stimulus.

In such circumstances Tourguénief was born and lived the greater portion of his career. Under no necessity of prematurely curtailing his education, of writing for his bread, and therefore, as is mostly the case, not unfrequently even with genius, of writing to please others rather than satisfy oneself, a situation which involves a sacrifice of truth and consequently of art, or of writing hurriedly, equally free from the desire for any unworthily bought popularity, Tourguénief was one of the most delicate and refined writers of the realistic school.

Born on October 28, 1818, on the paternal estate near Orel, he was from an early age surrounded by the influences of culture and placed under the care of numerous tutors, not one of whom, however, was a Russian. Indeed, the young Ivan's first acquaintance with his native language, of which he became such a master, and of his country's literature, of which he was destined to form such an ornament, was acquired from an old servant of his mother. In 1834 the future novelist entered the Moscow University, which, however, he soon quitted for that of St. Petersburg, where he began his essays in literature, and where he received valuable counsels from Plétnyef, then professor of Russian literature.

Tourguénief narrates, himself, how, one day after lecture, Plétnyef beckoned to him in the street, and after severely criticizing an effort which the young aspirant had submitted to his judgment, said, "I had something in me." This so encouraged Tourguénief that he shortly afterwards brought some poems to the professor, who selected two of them, which were published in the *Contemporary*, the Russian magazine then in highest repute.

In 1838 Tourguénief went to Berlin to pursue his studies, deeming, as he tells us in his "Memories," that the best education Russia had to give was but preparatory, and that the founts of learning must be sought beyond the borders of the Czardom. Some idea of the state of teaching in Russian academies may be gathered from his statement that while attending at Berlin the lectures of the celebrated Zumpt and Böck, he found himself obliged to study in private the rudiments of Greek and Latin grammar. He made two sojourns of about two years at Berlin, latterly devoting his studies to the Hegelian philosophy. Dissatisfied with the social relations of his own country, pained at the frequent bad treatment of the serfs by their lords, he plunged, he says, into "the German ocean" which was to regenerate him, and from which he emerged a lover and advocate

of western civilization, and remained so to the day of his death. By this he does not mean that he in any sense repudiated his country, as so many held it fashionable to do; but he could not fail to recognize the folly of ignoring all the advances won by the Western nations of Europe as the fruit of centuries of struggle. On the contrary, Tourguénief felt keenly the separation from his country, but it was utterly impossible with his kindly and genial soul and cultured mind to take his place amongst the ignorant and apathetic country squires. But in his "Vospominania" Tourguénief has left a very exact record of the feelings and motives which determined his action at this turning-point in his career. We cannot do better than quote his own words:—

Each one of us felt exactly that his *country* (I do not mean his fatherland in general, but the moral and intellectual heritage of each) was large and fertile, but that it lacked order. I am able to say of myself that I personally recognized keenly all the disadvantages of such a wresting oneself away from one's native soil, resembling, as it did, a violent rupture of all the ties and bands which attached me firmly to that existence in the midst of which I had grown up . . . but there was no help for it. That existence, that medium, and especially that section or stratum of it, if the expression may be used, to which I belonged—the section of landed proprietors—the feudal section . . . held out nothing which could detain me. On the contrary, almost everything that I saw around me awoke in me a feeling of confusion, indignation, and, in a word, disgust. I could not long hesitate. There were but two alternatives, either to fall quietly into the ordinary routine and follow the beaten track, or else turn at once and for ever one's back upon it, although in doing so one must perforce "thrust all and every one" from one, and even hazard the loss of much that was dear and near to my heart. But this was the course I took. . . . I plunged headlong into the "German Ocean," which I considered would purge and regenerate me, and when at length I emerged from its waves, I emerged a confirmed *západník*—a Western (*i.e.*, one who is imbued with European theories of civilization, and who advocates the spread of that civilization,) and remained a *Western* for ever.

It could not enter my head to blame those of my contemporaries who attained by another less dearly bought way to that freedom for which I was myself striving. . . . I merely wish to declare that I saw no other road open before me. I could not breathe the same air, I could not remain on a level with what I loathed. For that I was probably deficient in the requisite persistence and firmness of character. It was indispensably necessary for me to place myself at a distance from my enemy so that I might have room to assail him all the more powerfully. In my eyes that enemy had a definite form, bore a known name: that enemy was serfdom. Under this name I comprehended and concentrated all that against which I had

determined to struggle to the end, all that with which I swore never to be reconciled.

In 1841 he returned to Moscow, where his mother was now residing—his father had died when he was only seventeen. There he mixed with the Russian world of letters; there he became acquainted with Aksakof, Chomiakof, and the Kiréefs, whose Slavophil opinions could not shake his solid appreciation of Western culture.

In 1843 he published a poem, "Parasha," which elicited the lengthy and fervent praise of Byelinsky, the critic, and was followed by other poetical compositions, which however met with no marked success. Subsequently he was asked to write something to complete a number of the Russian *Contemporary*, and contributed a short sketch entitled "Khor and Kalynich." This was given by the editor somewhat apologetically as from the "Jottings of a Sportsman," a title which was afterwards adopted by Tourguénief for a series of pictures of rural and sporting life in Russia, written for the most part in Paris. Unexcelled for their marvellous truth to Nature, vividness, and delicacy of touch, they manifested at once the author's keen observation and masterly delineation, and laid the just and solid basis of his enduring fame. Tourguénief was not wholly to escape the vicissitudes that beset a career of letters in Russia, and in 1852 he was arrested on account of an article by him which appeared in the *Moscow Gazette*, upon the death of Gogol, whose pungent satires upon Russian corruption the official class was eager to resent.* After a month's confinement,

* The following letter written by Tourguénief to the Crown Prince at the time, and published only last January, can hardly fail to be of interest:—

"YOUR IMPERIAL HIGHNESS,—On April 16 last I was placed by Imperial order under arrest for a month, after the lapse of which time I was to remain in the country. This punishment has overtaken me, I believe, in consequence of the appearance of an article by me in the *Moscow Gazette* upon the late Gogol. I submit without murmuring to my sovereign's will, and with the sole wish of exculpating myself from the accusation of any intentional insubordination, I venture to lay before the gracious view of your Imperial Highness, with entire sincerity, the real state of the case.

"On learning the death of Gogol I penned a few lines, in which I wished to express the sorrow which that news caused me. The article was at first communicated to the *St. Petersburg Gazette*, but was not inserted; then I sent it to the *Moscow Gazette*. I knew that there also the article would be subject to all the established regulations of the censorship, and therefore did not hesitate to give it to a journal published in the city where Gogol died. I embolden myself to assure your Imperial Highness, that in despatching my article to Moscow, I not only did not intend any insubordination to authority, or oppose it in any way, but I

he was ordered to retire to his country estate, where he remained for two years, passing his time chiefly in sport, to which he was always ardently addicted, until overmastered by gout. This rustication, he used afterwards to say, was all for the best—it forced him to bring his powers of observation to bear upon those features of Russian life which would otherwise have escaped his notice, and supplied materials for the brilliant portraiture of Russian provincial existence which the world owes to his genius.

After the Crimean war, Tourguénief quitted his native country, as he then believed, for ever. He, however, made subsequent visits to it from time to time. During the next few years were produced some of his best known works, “Roudin,” “A Nest of Gentlefolk,” and “Fathers and Sons,” which have all been translated into English. The design of the last-named novel was conceived while the author was at Ventnor. In it he gives expression to the two great currents of Russian political thought and striving, and the clamour of admiration or depreciation which it provoked from the opposite camps was loud and prolonged. The abuse of the Liberals was bad enough: what, however, galled him more was the approbation of the reactionary party; but he was too true an artist to make his work the mere vehicle for an idea. He said he did not create types, but transcribed Nature, with its faults and inconsistencies. Bazárof, the prominent personage in “Fathers and Sons,” is indeed a figure which will remain immortal in Russian literature. The original of the portrait was a provincial doctor whom the author had met in 1860. The masterly delineation of this figure affords a vivid picture of a Nihilist, and indeed it is Tourguénief’s application of the philosophical term *Nihilism* to Bazárof’s peculiar views which has enriched the political vocabulary of the world with a new word to designate a phenomenon which has left a deep mark upon the history of the world.

had not even the remotest idea that I was offending the law. I should at once have destroyed my article, could I have foreseen that it would have been accounted wanting in submission to authority. At present, unaware of any other offence, I am in police custody, and am uncertain as to what is to be my future treatment: this suspense is rendered doubly anxious by the circumstance that the state of my health makes it necessary for me to have frequent advice from St. Petersburg physicians.

“In this situation I can only have recourse to the gracious mediation of your Imperial Highness, and beg that you would bring my sincere representation to the knowledge of His Majesty, so that at least I may be able to justify my intentions in his eyes. To one benevolent attention on the part of your Imperial Highness I already owe an alleviation of my lot. Your Imperial Highness’s most humble

“IVAN TOURGUÉNIEF.

“St. Petersburg, April 27.”

"What is this university friend of yours?" asks the father of Arcady, who is home for vacation.

"He is a Nihilist."

"What?" said Nicloaï Petróvich, while Paul Petróvich remained immovable, his knife pointing upwards with a piece of butter on the blade.

"He is a Nihilist," repeated Arcady.

"Nihilist, that is from the Latin *nihil*—nothing, I suppose," said Nicolaï Petróvich, "and means a man who believes in nothing."

"Say rather who reverences nothing," put in Paul, helping himself to some more butter.

"A man who regards everything from a critical point of view," observed Arcady.

"Well, is it not all the same?" said Paul.

"Not at all. A Nihilist is a man who bows to no authority whatever, who accepts no principle on faith, no matter how much it may be respected."

"Virgin Soil," also translated into English, is another of the works by which Tourguénief will be best remembered, and in which he has depicted with vivid and vigorous touch individual struggles in the cause of progress, against persistent opposition or chilling indifference.

It would appear that in consequence of the storm aroused by the appearance of "Fathers and Sons" Tourguénief was confirmed in his resolution of living abroad. In 1863, he bought a piece of land in Baden-Baden, and built a villa, where he lived till the Franco-German war, after which he resided in Paris and at Bougival, where he enjoyed the society of many eminent Frenchmen, and whence he made occasional visits to England, and less frequently to Russia. For many months before his death, last autumn, his sufferings from gout and angina pectoris had been terribly severe. They alone prevented the gratification of his ardent desire to revisit once more his native country.

It is not easy to say why Tourguénief is less known in England than in either France or Germany, in both which countries numerous translations of his works have appeared. In France, a translation occasionally by the author himself sometimes appeared before the publication of the Russian original. It is said even that many of his readers in that country believed him to be a Frenchman. In Germany, too, his writings have been much more widely read than in this country, the same work having, in some cases, had several distinct translations. The excellence of German translation in general may partly account for this perhaps, while here, on the contrary, many of the English versions of foreign works seem to prove that our publishers consider translation not an art but a mere mechanical process, and

choose their workmen accordingly, while the public, of course, must ascribe to at least many of the defects of the work to the author of the original. The German language is no doubt a wonderfully plastic vehicle in which to convey the thoughts of another, and seems capable of being adapted to the genius of other language to a degree that is unequalled in other tongues. Certainly the German versions, in many instances, are a far nearer approach to the original Russian than is found in other translations. The workman is generally not a half-educated hack, but a literary man with university education, and the wide knowledge, beyond a mere linguistic ability, which a good translator must bring to his task. The Russian language itself is a very fine and delicate vehicle for expression—pliant, euphonious, incisive, and above all capable to a wonderful degree of expressing fine shades of meaning. Tourguénief himself, who has contributed not a little to refine Russian style, expressed himself thus in June, 1882:—

In days of doubt and sad pondering over the fate of my country, thou alone givest me consolation and courage. O great and potent, free and truthful Russian language! Were it not for thee, how could I banish despair when I see what is taking place in my native land? It is impossible to believe that such a tongue was given to any but a great people.

It may be that the large number of native writers of fiction in England is one reason why Tourguénief, in common with many other foreign novelists of celebrity, is comparatively unknown in our country. The general ignorance, however, in England of matters connected with Russia, one of the first-rate Powers of Europe, whose interests meet ours in so many points, is astonishing. In America, Tourguénief is far better known; almost all his works have been there translated. Tourguénief himself told his friends of one eccentric American who had come expressly from New York to Paris to see the author of the tales and sketches which had given him so much pleasure.

One chief reason, perhaps, why Tourguénief is “caviare to the general” in this country, is that his works present to a great extent character sketches rather than the complicated plot, and succession of incident and situation, which the mass of English novel-readers prefer. Tourguénief, indeed, does not fill his pages with those lengthy psychological analyses which Dostoevsky, Pissemsky, and many other Russian writers prolong to an extent that would certainly weary the English reader out of all patience. For the most part, his personages speak out their own natures, or develop their characters by a hundred minute traits, which are seized and depicted with feminine tact and instinct. It is in this respect precisely that Tourguénief’s truth and art

lies. The physical movement in his stories is slight, the train of incident meagre, the conclusion unsatisfactory and incomplete.

They resemble glimpses of life rather than histories from it. And it was their author's avowed aim to delineate from life, to transcribe Nature literally, and eschew idealization. In this will be seen the influence of Western modern schools of literature upon him. His treatment was thus such as to harmonize with the modern realism, but his subjects were nearly always Russian. While understanding and sympathizing with the West, and imbued with its art, and therefore able, more than any of his countrymen have been, to make himself and them intelligible to the West, he is a Russian to the backbone. His face and frame were even typically Russian. He wrote for Russians and to Russians. He was indeed too deep a lover of his country to do otherwise, and when with the impartiality and soundness of judgment which were begotten of his experience and culture, and in knowledge of men no less than of his inborn frankness and loyalty, he painted national shortcomings in such clear colours as could not fail to draw down well-deserved ridicule upon them, he was pursued by the invective of large numbers of his countrymen, and abused as too corrupted by the "decayed West" to see any virtue in his own compatriots, or to retain any love of country. It may be doubted—or rather it may not—whether his patriotism or theirs was the most genuine and the most valuable to their common country. Tourguénief's power of seizing the subtle traits which manifest human character was equalled by his grasp of Nature's poetry. The following extract will help to show this:—

The sight of a boundless forest embraced on all sides by the horizon reminds one of the sea, and it awakes the same feelings. That primeval inviolate dominion stretches immense and majestic before the eye of the beholder. From the depths of its secular shades, from the bosom of the everlasting waters, rises the same voice: "I have no part with thee; I reign: thou, busy thyself to keep off death a little longer." So speaks Nature to man. But the forest, more monotonous and mournful than the sea, especially a forest of firs, is the same at all seasons, and almost soundless. The sea threatens or caresses; twinkles with a thousand hues, speaks with a thousand voices. It reflects the firmament, whence also comes a breath of eternity—but an eternity which does not seem alien to us. The sombre and unchanging forest is lugubriously silent or vocal only with a hollow moan, and the sight of it penetrates the heart of man with a sense of his own nothingness. The creature of a day, born yesterday, doomed to expire to-day, it is hard for him to support the cold compassionless gaze which the eternal Isis fixes upon him. Not alone the daring hopes and dreams of his youth pale and perish beneath it, numbed by the chill

breathing of Nature's forces, but even his very soul sinks and dies within him. He feels that the last of his race may disappear from the face of the earth and not a single needle will quiver on those boughs; he feels his loneliness, his impotence, his fortuitousness, and he turns away from the mysterious dread which he feels rapidly creeping upon him, to seek relief in the petty cares and toils of his life; there he finds himself more at ease, in a world created by himself; there he is at home, and there he dares believe in his own importance and in his own power.

It was in his "*Zapiski Ochótnika*," or "*Jottings of a Sportsman*,"* that Tourguénief manifested his faculties of keen observation and his apprehension of Nature in her various moods, no less than his deep sympathy with the people and compassion with the inflictions endured by them, and which his pen laboured effectively to remove.

The "*Jottings of a Sportsman*" are a series of short sketches of country-life—a number of minute character-portraits suggested to the author in the course of his roving in quest of sport, chiefly in the Orel,† Kur and Toula Governments, set in a harmonious framework of landscape description.

The first of these, as we have said above, was published in the *Russian Contemporary*. It at once touched a chord which vibrated powerfully in the breasts of his countrymen, and secured its author a place in their affections which he has never lost, although his name was afterwards undeservedly overshadowed by some passing clouds.

Tourguénief himself says that he should never have written these sketches had he remained at home. Professor Vesselovsky, pointing out (pp. 198–9) that Western influence impelled Russians even to investigate their own language, literature, ancient customs and superstitions, says of Tourguénief, "that it would have been natural enough for him to have contributed a large share of 'Westernism' to his country's literature, but that it was precisely he who in his '*Sportsman's Notes*' gave the first genuine picture of home country life, in aspects which Gogol had left untouched, and tinged it with the warm glow of real and deep humanity."

Notwithstanding his deep aversion to the traditions of serfdom—traditions which were preserved and practised with

* An English translation, from the French version of these sketches, edited by J. D. Meiklejohn, was published in Edinburgh in 1855, under the title "*Russian Life in the Interior; or, the Experiences of a Sportsman*." M. Polevoi remarks in his "*Observations of a Russian Bookseller*," that comparatively small numbers of the "*Jottings of a Sportsman*" were printed in Russian, but that the impressions were soon sold off.

† Pronounced Aryól.

rigour on the paternal estate—Tourguénief yet seems to treat the institution rather with the placid impartiality of a judge than the animosity of a satirist. His feelings were too deep on the subject to regard it as the mere material of a picture, although, like an artist, he looks at it on all sides, gauges its chiaroscuro, and is quite ready to see a bright side. He neither dogmatizes as a doctrinaire, nor vituperates as a politician. It must be remembered he was a landed proprietor himself, and the circumstance adds weight to his testimony in favour of the peasantry.

Before Tourguénief, others had directed their pens against the serfdom. Nicholas Pavlov, in the novel called "*The Name-day*," had painted the European slavery in darker hues than it is to be found elsewhere, even in the writings of the celebrated Herzen. Neither of these authors, however, wrote with the consummate art of Tourguénief. Perhaps matters were not so ripe for the emancipation, at all events they were far from obtaining the universal recognition which the later writer found.

It is with country life and the peasants that Tourguénief's warmer sympathies lie. This is apparent not only in his "*Sportsman's Jottings*," but throughout his works. As a child he felt this for the servants on his father's estate. From one of these he obtained his first acquaintance with his country's literature; in them he may have found an appreciative return for his sympathy, and doubtless in some of their hard moments his commiseration, which proved a grateful memory throughout his life. On the whole, too, perhaps he speaks with kindness of the village clergy, chiefly recruited from their own families or from the peasantry, although he was the last not to be aware of their ignorance and the small esteem of their parishioners for them, as well as the little moral influence of the State Church.

No doubt the emancipation of the serfs, though an act of humanity and justice due to the nation, and to be accomplished at all costs, had some immediate consequences which were far from beneficial. Many of the large properties became insolvent. Parties of all shades admit that production slackened, and that the former serfs abused their untried freedom, gave way to idleness, debauchery and excess, and sank into pauperism. Nor will those who have had the best opportunities of knowing, dispute that the amount of live stock and the area of cultivated ground decreased, the value of land declined, and the morality of the peasants deteriorated. Emancipation in America presented many similar effects. The peasantry was ignorant and servile, with the servility of mind and character begotten during generations of serfdom, and evils of this kind were natural, perhaps inevitable; but this was an accident merely. So long as the proprietor had his gains to count from his serfs, it was to his interest to care for their welfare, and even to attach them to him. When the old relations

were abrogated, all this was changed, and while the peasants who had been attached to the lands of grinding and despotic squires gained, there can be no doubt that those on well-managed estates, and under humane proprietors, lost in many ways.

Not only in the "Sporteman's Jottings," but in "Rudin," "Mouma," and other tales, the arbitrary power of the landed gentry over their serfs is painted in strong hues. The proprietress, Madame Kuntze, in "The Wayside Inn," is not by any means the worst type.

Lizaveta Prochorovna Kuntze was the widow of an officer in the Civil Engineering Service, and, like him, a native of Mitau, where she still had numerous poor relatives, about whom, however, she did not much trouble herself, especially since the time when one of her brothers, an infantry officer, had come to her house in desperate straits, and next day had given way to passion to the point of calling her a "beggarly hag," and almost of beating her, although the evening before she had been his "dear sister and benefactress." Lizaveta Prochorovna scarcely ever left her fine domain, which had been acquired by her late husband. She herself managed the estate, and managed it by no means badly. In everything she took good care to have her full due, and she had a marvellous knack of turning every circumstance to her own advantage. Thanks to her German extraction and her capacity for business, she would make a copeck go as far as another would ten. Attached immediately to the household she had a number of servants, especially girls, and she took care that they thoroughly earned the bread they eat; and from morning to night their backs were bent over their work.

"The Wayside Inn" itself is certainly one of Tourguénief's most powerful stories, and is marked by more vivid and rapid incident than most of his works. It is therefore somewhat remarkable that it has not found an English translator. It is a forcible illustration of the despotic power which rested in the hands of serf-owners to use for good or ill. Akim, the most conspicuous figure, is a favourite serf of the avaricious and despotic widow Kuntze. Temperate, industrious and sagacious, he amasses enough money to set up a posting-house or wayside inn, which he manages successfully. He remains, of course, still a serf, and pays his yearly *obrok*, or money due to the serf-owner, with punctuality. Akim, who is nearer the close than the commencement of middle life, is foolish enough to marry a young and pretty orphan, one of the domestics attached to the manor-house, and takes her home to the newly built inn. Here Akim's ruin begins. The serpent comes in the form of Naoum, a young travelling tradesman, to whose wiles Akim's young wife, Avdotia, succumbs. But this is only the beginning of the tragedy—tragedy it may be called, for the whole treatment is such as fairly to lift the work into the region of tragedy. Naoum

presents himself one day before Madame Kuntze, and offers to buy Akim's inn. The widow, yielding to the persuasion of her maid Kirilovna, no less than to her own avarice, strikes the bargain with Naoum, and sells Akim's roof—his home, his all, on which he had spent so much labour and centred so many hopes—over his head and without his knowledge to a stranger. What a case for a Tenants' Improvement Bill! Naoum, become proprietor of the inn, steps into the inn one morning as Akim and Avdotia are at breakfast. His visit is by no means welcome to the former, who has begun to suspect his relations with Avdotia. The story is powerfully written, and as it has not been translated into English it may be here noticed more fully than the space at disposal will allow for enlargement upon other productions of the author.

"Good morning," said Naoum, as he entered, taking off his cap.

"Good morning," replied Akim, with set teeth; "whence has God brought you here?"

"From the neighbourhood," answered the other, who had seated himself on a bench. "I have just seen your mistress."

"The mistress!" repeated Akim. "Was it on business?"

"Yes, on business," to Avdotia—"Avdotia Aréfiévna, my respects."

"Good morning, Naoum Ivanich," replied she; and then there was a pause of some instants.

"That is soup you have there?" said Naoum, suddenly.

"Yes, it is soup," said Akim, growing quite pale; "but it is soup that is not good for you."

Naoum looked up in surprise.

"Why not good for me?"

"It is not good for you." There was a momentary flash in Akim's eyes, and his hand descended with force upon the table. "I have nothing in the house which is good for you—do you hear?"

"What is wrong with you, Akim Semenovich?"

"I! there is nothing wrong with me; but you are not wanted here, Naoum Ivanich. That is what is wrong!"

The old man rose, his frame shook with suppressed passion. "You visit this part of the country too often; that is what is wrong with me."

Naoum rose also. "Can you be in your senses, brother?"* said he, with a cold smile. "Avdotia Aréfiévna, what has happened to him?"

"It is to me you have to speak," cried Akim, his utterance interrupted by the storm of his feelings. "Depart! I tell you! What have you to say to Avdotia? Depart!"

"What do you mean?" said Naoum.

"I tell you to leave this at once. This is my hearth, and there is the door."

* Brat', Brátýetz; brother, brotherkin, a common vocative epithet.

Naoum advanced a step.

"For Heaven's sake do not fight, my father,"* stammered Avdotia, aroused from the kind of stupor in which she had been sitting as if petrified.

Naoum gave her a glance. "Do not be alarmed, Avdotia," he said, "why should we fight? Come, brother, no need to make such an outcry; no need to fire up! Was ever any one driven out in this way, and from his own house too?"

"What do you mean, from his own house?" cried Akim, in utter amazement.

"I mean what I say, from his own house," replied Naoum, displaying his white teeth.

"What! Do you imagine, then, that I am not master here?"

"No, you certainly are not."

"Then who is?"

"You are very dense, brother. I am master here."

Akim's eyes opened wide with astonishment. "What nonsense is this? You must be out of your senses. How on earth can you be master here?"

"There is no use in wasting words with you," said Naoum, with a gesture of impatience. "Do you see this?" continued he, taking from his pocket a legal paper. "Do you see it? It is a deed of sale; do you understand that, a deed of the sale of your inn. I have bought your inn from Madame Kuntze. The contract was signed yesterday. So you see it is I, and not you, am master here; so pack up your traps this very day, and let there be not so much as the smell of you here to-morrow; do you hear?"

Akim remained some moments as if thunderstruck.

"Villain," cried he at length, his voice trembling with passion, "villain. Oh! Fed'ka, Mitka (to his servants), wife, wife, seize him, grasp him, hold him!"

He was beside himself.

"Come, come, none of this folly, old man," said Naoum, with an authoritative gesture.

"Seize him, I say; woman, strike him," cried Akim, overcome with rage, and vainly endeavouring to get free of the bench and table where he had been sitting. "Villain, robber! She is not enough—you must take my house, and all. But, no!—stop—it is impossible—I will go—and tell, myself. What! robbed of all at one blow?—wait."

And he rushed out of the house without pausing even to take his cap.

"Whither are you running, Akim Semenovitch? Whither are you going, my little father," cried the workwoman Fetinya, whom he met on the doorstep.

"Let me go. I am going to the mistress. I am going to seek

* "Batyoushka," grandfather, father, also a common vocative appellation implying somewhat more of respect than "Brat'."

justice." And perceiving Naoum's horse and cart still before the door, he mounted it, seized the reins, and drove off at a gallop to the manor-house. "Our mother, our mistress," he muttered to himself all along the way, "will not suffer me to perish. Have I not ever been a zealous servant to her?"

On Akim's arrival at Madame Kuntze's house, however, the maid Kirilovna prevents his having an interview with her, and he returns without having gained anything. A prey to utter despair he takes the road mechanically back towards his former dwelling; on his way he meets his wife, who is running across the fields, wildly wringing her arms, scarcely recognizable with her pallor and her dishevelled hair streaming in the wind. Here is the climax of the story. Avdotia too, contrary to her expectations, has been driven away by Naoum; she throws herself in the dust before her husband and confesses that the money which Naoum had paid the previous day for the inn, was Akim's hoard which she had stolen from its hiding-place beneath the flooring.

Akim, maddened at the thought of this blackness, would have killed her, had not Ephrem, the subdeacon, whose head the situation somewhat clears from the vapours of recent potations, interposed and taken off Akim to his house.

Here Akim gives way to drink, and frenzied by intoxication and despair, attempts in the night-time to set fire to Naoum's newly acquired premises, but is caught and detained. Ephrem again intervenes, and Naoum renounces his intention to prosecute Akim.

"Naoum Ivánof, hear me," says Akim; "I am to blame. I wished to take justice into my own hands, it is God who has to judge us. You have taken everything I have, as you well know—everything. Now you may complete your work. But hear what I have to say: If you let me go now, I shall be resigned; let everything be yours; I consent, and wish you success. Yes, I say so before God: if you let me go you will have no cause to repent. God be with you!"

The mixture of base motives which induce Naoum to assent is well brought out; indeed, he is one of the few downright rascals of Tourguénief, who for the most part prefers to delineate the less extremely marked characters and mixed motives which furnish the more ordinary figures of every-day life.

Akim's nature with its mixture of peasant subjection, fatalism and religion, is a careful study, and the whole story puts in a strong light some of the direst potentialities for evil of the whole system of serf-owning. But the reader closes the book with some sense of dissatisfaction at the want of any poetical justice. The author, in pursuance of the realistic view of his art, leaves the

fates of the parties undecided, and the chief misdoer in the enjoyment of ill-won prosperity.

As a rule, Tourguénief is not kind to Germans: the characters he gives them in most of his works are, to say the least, unamiable, as in the foregoing example of Madame Kuntze. To this treatment, indeed, an exception is found in the sad and disappointed but pathetic figure of Lemm, the musician, in "*A Nest of Gentlefolk*," who, though not without artistic ability, has only been able to earn an obscure livelihood by teaching music in a Russian provincial town.

For the qualities, however, which have made Germans successful in so many occupations in Russia, Tourguénief is ready to give them full credit. Their cleanliness, self-denial, providence, sobriety, punctuality and business habits are not unfrequently favourably contrasted with opposite characteristics in the natives of the Czardom. And, very unfortunately for the nation, Russians themselves, as well as those acquainted with Russian life, are ready enough to admit the validity of the contrast. On the other hand, integrity and humanity are not always by any means, in his hands, their distinguishing characteristics.

"Do you see that German there with moustachios?" says one guest to another at a provincial dinner-party; "he is the architect; he has no knowledge of architecture; but what does that matter to him, so long as he makes a good income, and sticks as many pillars as possible in the fronts of the houses of the rich people who consider themselves the pillars of the national aristocracy?" *

Russians are ready enough to admit many of their shortcomings, and Tourguénief is no exception. Here is a humorous rap in a conversation between two sleepless guests who have been allotted the same apartment in a country-house:—

"I am vastly astonished that there are no bugs in this room; one would have thought they would have found a home here if anywhere."

"Are you then sorry to find none?"

"Oh! no, I am not sorry, but this apartment was evidently constructed merely for a bedroom, and I am an advocate for consistency in everything!" †

Here is an impression of a Russian factory:—

But not only did the eye nowhere light upon anything reflecting tidiness and precision, cleanliness was quite as much absent, and the opposite features of neglect, dirt, and rust were everywhere visible; here a broken pane, there the plaster fallen away, in another place

* "*Zapiski Okhotnika*," viii.

† From "*The Hamlet of the Stchigrobsky Township*."

boards had vanished, or a door which could neither be quite closed nor opened stood ajar. The middle of the courtyard was a black morass, with stagnant iridescent pools; further away were, not stacks, but disorderly heaps of bricks; bits of matting, wisps of hemp, ends of cord, fragments of boxes were littered over the damp ground; lean shaggy dogs wandered about without even the energy to bark; a child, four years old, with uncombed hair, grimy with soot and coal-dust, was sitting in a corner crying bitterly as if all in the world had abandoned him. Near him, surrounded by a litter of young pigs, was a sow, who rivalled him in her sooty condition, devouring cabbage-stumps; while ragged linen was hanging out to dry upon a line—and then, what execrable smells pervaded the whole premises! In fact, an unmistakably Russian factory, and not a French or German establishment.” *

Even had not Tourguénief found cause enough in his young years to beget aversion to the social condition of his own country before he had yet left it, it would have been impossible for him, as Mr. Vesselovsky remarks, to have thrown himself into studies at Berlin without becoming a confirmed “Western;” there he rubbed elbows with an active civilization, the outcome, as it had been for centuries, the concomitant of the ever-vigorous Western Church. Writers too often do not recognize that the civilization of the Western world is really the child of Christianity, and is none the less so that it has remained in nations whose faith proved too weak to resist the tide of revolt against religious authority, which swept over such a large area of Europe in the sixteenth century. Mr. Vesselovsky, however, is too widely informed and, I may add, too far beyond these prejudices which find their mainstay in ignorance, not to recognize, as he does, in an earlier page of his work, the grandeur of the ideal of mediæval Christendom. Few are found to dispute that the Russian Church has but little religious power over the masses; among the higher, and especially the cultured, classes, it seems to be almost ignored, beyond such occasions as baptism, marriage, &c., when the laws render its ministrations necessary, and they are resorted to as indispensable formalities in a way which is by no means without a parallel in this country, although no such legal necessity exists. There is, too, comparatively little of that active intellectual antagonism which is to be found in Western Europe between a large section of the leaders of contemporary secular philosophy and Christians. This remarkable difference is certainly not due to any elasticity of dogma in the Russian theology, but is rather to be explained by its absence of vitality, its inferior intellectual equipment, and the consequent contempt

* “Nof,” chap. xvi.

felt for it as an opponent. The tide of Voltairianism which swept over all that portion of Russian society that could pretend to anything of culture, was unopposed by any resistance equal to that it encountered in other European countries. Scarcely any figures are to be found who may compare with Lacordaire, Ravignan, Gerbet, Montalembert, Chateaubriand, Parisis and others, who rallied the forces of Catholicism in the West.

This is an aspect of his subject which Mr. Vesselovsky heeds too little, and yet one which the critic and historian, whatever his theological views, cannot neglect if his judgment is to be complete. If the Russian Church were really a living branch of Christendom, a quickening operating organism, how is it that the country of her Apostolate, instead of displaying any internal development, has had to seek abroad the civilization which is the temporal dowry that the Western Church has bestowed upon Europe?

The question is surely a natural one. Mr. Vesselovsky, with a wide knowledge of the chief literatures of Europe, shows with great clearness the influence of the West, especially of the literary activity of France, England and Germany, upon the letters of his own land; but, like so many of his countrymen, he under-estimates the vast influence of religion in the connection, and seems unconscious of the impeachment against the Russian Church which his whole volume thus contains. If the princes and prelates and heroes, whose figures are the foci of history, are deservedly addressed in the lines with which Tourguénief apostrophizes them in one of his early poems, opportunely quoted by Professor Vesselovsky, no wonder that the gloom of the past overclouds even the future.

"I ask you," saith the youth, "ye our forefathers! What have ye done for us? Say. But see what greatness our own courageous efforts have conferred upon our nation, while ye hastened from fruitless toil to unthinking repose."

Of Tourguénief's pictures of the Russian *Chinovnichestvo* or bureaucrats, and others among the higher classes, we have in the present article no space to speak. If they are less humorous and piquant than the satirical sketches of Stchedrin, it is only because they are more true to the quieter tones of real life. Nor have we yet had room to speak of Tourguénief as a dramatist. His theatrical pieces, however, have not hitherto met with success. Though there are good situations in them, the movement is probably not rapid enough. His comedy "*Unwariness*," was said to be rehearsing in St. Petersburg, and its forthcoming performance looked for with eagerness; but as it is sure to have at least a *succès d'estime*, it will be difficult to judge how far it is really suited for the stage.

We conclude our remarks with a couple of the "Prose Poems," written by Tourguénief at different periods. Some of them almost remind one of the characters of Theophrastus, while the moralist can find nothing truer to instil than is contained in others.

THE EGOTIST.

He was endowed with all that was requisite to make him the scourge of his family.

He was born robust, he was born rich; and in the course of his long life he remained rich and robust, never committed a crime, never made a mistake, never once uttered a word, or did a deed, too much or too little.

His integrity was above reproach, and proud in the knowledge of this, he made all—relatives, friends, acquaintances—feel his pride.

His integrity served him as a capital for investment, and he exacted usurious interest.

His integrity gave him the right to be pitiless, and to do only obligatory good; and he was pitiless, and he did no good; for obligatory well-doing is not goodness.

He never was solicitous except about his own exemplary person, and was sincerely grieved when others were not as genuinely concerned as himself about it.

But at the same time he did not consider he was selfish; indeed, he was particularly severe and reproachful towards egotists and egotism! Naturally! The egotism of others was in the way of his own.

Unconscious of the slightest failing himself, he tolerated none in others. In general, everybody and everything was unintelligible to him; for he was entirely surrounded on all sides, above and below, before and behind, by himself.

He did not even know what it was to forgive. He had nothing to forgive himself, wherefore should he forgive others?

Before the judgment of his own particular conscience—before the face of his own particular god—he, this miracle, this monster of virtue, raised his eyes to Heaven, and said with clear and steady voice: "Yes; I am a worthy, a moral man!"

On his deathbed he repeated these words, and even at that moment no quiver of misgiving agitated his stony heart—his faultless and flawless heart.

Oh! hatefulness of self-sufficient, inexorable, cheaply won virtue—art thou not more hideous than the hatefulness of open sin?

TO-MORROW! TO-MORROW!

How idle, vain, and insignificant is each day of our past life! How few marks has it left behind it! With what senseless folly have we lived through hours upon hours.

But still man clings to existence, still he cherishes life, stakes hopes upon it, upon himself, upon the future—oh! what happiness he awaits from the future!

But why does he imagine that the fresh days to come will be different from those that have only just gone?

Well, he does not imagine that, indeed he dislikes brooding; and he is right.

To-morrow! to-morrow! is the unction he lays to his soul—until the “to-morrow” comes that is to precipitate him into the grave.

Well that, at all events, will interrupt his day-dreams.

G. V. STARATSKY.

ART. IV.—THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

THAT Christianity is the highest form of religion which the world has yet seen, is a proposition which can be denied by no one who understands the nature of that religion and the needs of the human soul. It is no less certain that signs are wanting of any other religious system coming to take its place, as Christianity took the place of antecedent Paganism. In spite of the many efforts to deride, to explain, or to improve upon the Christian system, in spite of the extent to which all faith in Christianity may here and there have died out, no rival system has been able, since the cessation of Mahometan invasion, to obtain a firm foothold in any Christian land. The “religion of humanity” may boast of a few eccentric enthusiasts amongst the cultured, as “spiritualism” may count its thousands amongst the less informed; but neither possesses the qualities necessary to rival the Christian system as satisfying the intellect, filling the heart, and dominating the will. The future life set forth by “spiritualism” may indeed be called a state of “other-worldliness.” That system is emphatically an un-spiritual religion.

Our Positivists proclaim “altruism” with such a wealth of declamation, an eloquence so sweet, so winning and persuasive, that one is amazed that they exhibit so little practical evidence of actual devotion and self-denial. We are far from wishing to imply that our Positivist friends are not fully as good as the bulk of their fellow-men, but it is a simple fact not only that none amongst them conspicuously follow the glorious examples of Catholic saints as to charitable self-denial, but that even the altruistic asceticism of the Buddhists is not publicly known to exist amongst them.

The great process of evolution, of which this planet has been for untold ages the theatre, must then be admitted to have so far culminated in the religion of the Cross. Since also the spiritual development of man is the highest form of development

known to us, it follows that every one who believes that a "purpose" underlies the whole course of Nature, must also admit that the events which were instrumental in spreading Christianity were designed to spread it.

Very naturally therefore, and justly, have Christian writers dwelt upon the external development and diffusion of Christianity as the main final causes for the formation of the great Roman empire. No one can deny that the vast extent of that empire, and its well-organized means of communication, did facilitate the diffusion of the Gospel, or that its hierarchical system of government and centralization at Rome, did aid in the organization of the Church. To deny that these wonderful functions were assigned to the Roman empire by the Cause of all things, is, in effect, to deny the action of Divine Providence altogether. To say that such action of the empire was not its main action and prime function, would be to put the material before the spiritual and to seek to subject mind to matter.

A similar phenomenon on a smaller scale was displayed in the sixteenth century by the wonderful extension over the earth's surface of the power of Portugal and Spain. No Catholic can doubt, no Christian can deny, that the main purpose of that great extension was the propagation of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and America.

Another power has now succeeded to a vast imperial rule, and a more than imperial influence—the power of England. Throughout the whole ordering of God's providence in the world's history few things are more wonderful than the extent of power which has been accorded to the people of that small island of North-western Europe, which is our own beloved home. Very few persons realize how enormous is the multitude of souls under the dominion of the English empire. Were it only the vast territory of Hindostan, with its teeming millions, together with the great continent of Australia, it would be wonderful and admirable. But in our widely stretching North American territory we have another enormous region, and one which is most interesting, including as it does all the remains of ancient France. Its French population, happily for themselves, have been sheltered under our rule from the blighting blast of Jacobinism, and preserved as a happy "survival" of a former better state of their own fatherland, as the contented inhabitants of the Channel Islands (the relics of our old Duchy of Normandy) have been protected in the tranquil enjoyment of their ancient institutions, from the tyranny and disorder of the adjacent mainland. Glancing over the map of the world, how many, various, and widely scattered are the stations and islands which own our sway—Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Egypt, Aden, Mauritius, Sarawak, Fidji, New

Zealand, the Falkland Islands, Jamaica and other West Indian islands, the Bermudas, St. Helena, and the Cape!

But wide-stretching as is our empire, the extent of our influence far exceeds that of our possessions. The people of the United States are agents for the extension of what are in the main English ideas and sentiments, and the English language, destined in the unprejudiced opinion of De Candolle* to become the language of civilized mankind, is already the all but universal language of commerce, while our political conceptions and customs are being, however imperfectly, even more widely apprehended and imitated in the various countries of Europe. Moreover, as Cardinal Newman has so well and so eloquently pointed out,† the cause of virtue and religion has no reason to dread the spread of our own mother-tongue; for English literature, in spite of its being non-Catholic, contrasts most happily with the literature of France and Italy, which minister powerfully to irreligion and immorality. Spanish literature is no doubt wonderfully pure, and its purity is probably one of the greatest glories of the Spanish Church, to the influence of which that purity is due; but neither the Spanish race nor the Spanish tongue has that presage and promise of universal diffusion which the language of Shakespeare, Milton, and the "authorized version" of Scripture—by so rare and marked a privilege—possesses.

But it is not only the diffusion of the English race, English power and the English tongue, which are thus noteworthy. Yet more important is the diffusion of that love of freedom combined with order, and that desire for justice and fair-play, which are generally admitted to characterize our fellow-countrymen, and the results of which have been so beneficial to us as Catholics. The inhabitants of more than one so-called Catholic country regard our condition with wonder and admiration, while the Supreme Pontiff himself does not refrain from according us his weighty word of commendation. Our population continues steadily and rapidly to augment, and however great may be the disorders amongst us, however gross and obtrusive may seem our coarser vices, yet at heart the public sentiment is universally enlisted in the cause of morality, the claims of which are fully

* See "*Histoire des Sciences et des Savants depuis deux Siècles*," par Alphonse De Candolle, Geneva, 1873. From the present rate of multiplication of the different populations, this author estimates that in a century the three principal languages will have increased in the following proportions:—

English	will have increased from	77	to	860	millions.
German	"	"	"	62	to 124
French	"	"	"	40½	to 69½

† "*Lectures on University Subjects*," Longmans, 1859, pp. 93-100.

recognized, while cynicism, like that so rampant by the Seine, dares not to show itself publicly in our midst.

What is the meaning and purpose, what will be the result of the wonderful power and influence thus accorded by the Divine will to imperial England?

At first it might seem as if it would mainly serve for the spread and invigoration of Anglicanism. The number of Anglican Sees has greatly increased, and with their multiplication in different lands and amongst diverse races of mankind, the Anglican Church certainly tends to become less identified with the State, and to simulate a Catholicity resulting in Pan-Anglican synods and other more than national manifestations, thus rendering it less evidently open to some of the objections so forcibly made to it by Cardinal Newman in his lectures on Anglican difficulties.

Every Catholic, however, must needs see a very different purpose in English imperialism. The English Catholic—his natural bias in favour of his nationality apart—cannot fail to regard the spread of English power and influence with feelings of religious satisfaction and devout thankfulness; for the spread of the Church and of the Holy Father's spiritual dominion must, in his eyes, be the only adequate object for our empire's existence. To doubt this, would almost amount to doubting the truth of Catholicism itself. And what a glorious prospect this interpretation of God's purpose opens to our imagination! With English perseverance and determination, English wealth and power, English earnestness, morality and piety, once enlisted in the Church's cause, the Catholic world would be abundantly consoled for the defection of more than one European State. Moreover, this *à priori* judgment as to God's gracious purpose in England's exaltation, has been confirmed by very significant events which have taken place during the past half-century.

Nevertheless, Divine Providence seems, as it were, to have persistently and studiously withheld its blessing from each and every effort made to effect the conversion of our country by force, or by skilfully contrived devices. Not man, but God, overthrew the Spanish Armada. Elizabeth was upheld securely on her throne despite the anathemas of the Lord's Vicar; nor could all the plans invented to overthrow the first James, or to maintain or restore the second, secure the Divine sanction, as the event has proved. It seems as if it was intended that England should be raised to a pinnacle of greatness as the Church's enemy, to enable it the better, at a later period, to act as her most powerful and beneficent friend. It also seems as if the hatred of England for the Church was to be changed into goodwill, not so much by any deeds of us Catholics ourselves, as by the providential action of

Divine grace upon persons and events altogether external to us.

The Jacobin fury of the great French Revolution so revolted men's minds in England that those many ecclesiastics who escaped to our shores from the guillotine, the noyades, and horrors worse than death, found here a generous and hospitable welcome which they requited by many an example of devout resignation and fervent piety. Thus was removed from many an English mind the rough outer-coating of dense anti-Catholic prejudice, whilst, with the passing away of the revolutionary storm, there began to appear that half-sympathetic feeling for our religious past which showed itself in the works of Sir Walter Scott. Archæological inquiries began to make the works and ways of the "old religion" less unknown, and therefore less odious, and here and there even led to familiar intercourse between Catholic priests and Anglican dignitaries. Catholics in England then consisted only of a number of highly respected old families (mostly leading retired lives), with their chapels and chaplains, together with a scanty population in a few towns and villages. This condition of things afforded to our clergy an amount of leisure which the subsequent immigration of multitudes from Ireland has almost entirely deprived them of. Then there grew up a learned clergy who appealed, not unsuccessfully, to the historical and archæological sympathies of our nation, some of whose survivors have but lately passed from amongst us. I would refer, amongst others, to the names of Berington, Milner, Allanson, Kyle, Kirk, Oliver, Rock, Tierney and Lingard.*

* As to Dr. Lingard it is quite unnecessary to say anything here. His "History," at least, is known to all Catholics and non-Catholics alike, and esteem for it continually augments. A few biographical notes (for which I am indebted to a very learned, pious and zealous friend) concerning the other persons above referred to may, however, not be unwelcome. Dr. Oliver was ordained priest in 1806, and was appointed to Exeter in the following year. By 1822 he had published a small volume on the Monastic Antiquities of the Diocese. This shows how under the most unfavourable circumstances he was able to disarm Protestant clerical jealousy; for most of his materials were drawn from the Episcopal registers. His next publication was a thin, closely printed volume (now very scarce and dear) giving a biographical account of the Jesuits of this country. His "*Magnum Opus*" was the "*Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*," a folio work of such completeness, fulness, detail and accuracy, that no other diocese in England (probably even in Christendom) can boast of possessing its equal. It is to be remembered also that the diocese is remote and its monastic heroes comparatively obscure. The field, therefore, was most unpromising; but he cultivated it to such purpose as to make it yield a most ample harvest of both civil and ecclesiastical antiquarian information. It should be remembered also that when he published it (in 1846) communication was less easy than at pre-

Meanwhile a great movement towards the Church was preparing itself in England—one which was in no way due to any action on the part of Catholics, but was altogether external to the Church. But antecedent to that movement and independently of it, a few isolated and memorable conversions—like the few scattered drops which precede and announce the copious shower—were effected and were very fruitful in results. Amongst these earlier converts was one than whom no holier (as far as

sent, and the subject one much less cultivated, as also that he was distant from great libraries, and was a poor priest tied to his mission. About 1857 he published, in octavo, collections illustrating the history of Catholicity in the West of England (the two dioceses of Plymouth and Clifton) during the last three centuries. It contained notices of all the clergy and collections for the English Benedictines, Dominicans and Franciscans. In the year of his death (1861) he published a work on the lives of the Bishops of Exeter, and the history of the Cathedral, with a most valuable appendix. He had also published a work on the Parochial Antiquities of the Diocese of Exeter, and many anonymous communications on local antiquities.

Dr. Rock has published his well-known work entitled "*Hierurgia*" (two vols., London, 1833), and a later edition in one volume; also his "*Church of our Fathers*" (four vols.); a book on *Textile Fabrics* at the South Kensington Museum, and many articles in scattered publications.

Dr. Tierney wrote his "*History of Arundel*" (in two volumes) replete with good research. He also published five volumes of a new edition of Dodd's *Church History*. The fifth volume was devoted almost entirely to an "*Additional Dissertation*," by Tierney himself, on the quarrel between the secular clergy and the Jesuits in the first years of the seventeenth century. He comments thus in his preface to this fifth and last volume: "I know that by some persons the investigations in which I have been engaged may possibly be condemned. To me, however, it appears that the interests of truth are the interests of each order and body of men. In itself, indeed, we can have little concern with the conduct of our predecessors. It can neither diminish the lustre of our virtues, nor sanctify the error of our proceedings. But it can possibly supply a lesson either of encouragement or of warning; and may fortunately contribute to make us better, for the single reason that it makes us wiser men."

Dr. Kirk, of Lichfield, published little or nothing. He, however, made collections for the history of Catholicity in England, which are now in Episcopal hands.

We may also refer to Bishop Kyle, whose collections of materials for the history of the Church in Scotland are immense.

The late Abbot Allanson, again, made good biographical collections for the English Benedictines—filling three or more folio volumes.

Dr. Milner, whom all revere, belonged of course to a somewhat earlier period, as Dr. Berington did to one yet earlier. Though he is open to a certain criticism, every candid mind must admit that Dr. Berington's "*History of the Middle Ages*" (being published at a time when those ages were not thought worthy of the attention of intelligent men), was valuable, and did good service. His edition of the "*Memoirs of Panzani*," now scarce, is also a valuable publication.

man can judge) has since appeared. amongst us. Dear and beloved George Spencer! holy and venerated Father Ignatius! Who that recollects your tender kindness, your delicate consideration for the feelings of others, who were so often wanting in consideration for you, your wonderful patience, your unexampled humility, your carefully hidden self-denial, your untiring zeal for souls, and, above all, your unceasing lifelong prayer for the conversion of your country, can doubt that sooner or later you will find your place upon the Church's altars and receive publicly that homage and veneration which have long been privately paid you by those privileged to know you well and whose consciences were, for too brief a space, subject to your wise, gentle and loving sway?

Other illustrious converts were that man of true genius, Augustus Welby Pugin, and that refined and tender-souled gentleman, then known as Ambrose Lisle Phillips—the founder of our one Cistercian Abbey.

While these precursors of what was to come were thus entering the Church, the great movement referred to was rapidly developing itself and advancing Romewards at giant strides quite unconsciously to its illustrious promoters themselves. The great Tractarian movement of 1833, started indeed on principles which could have no other logical termination than submission to the Holy See; but nevertheless one of its express aims was to defend the national Church against the claims of Rome. This wonderful development, resulting in so rich a harvest of illustrious converts to the Church, not only took place, as has been said, quite independently of us, but was even looked upon with aversion and distrust by not a few amongst us—as “Ritualism” is looked upon by many amongst us to-day. The Tractarian movement was, however, so singularly well-timed (coinciding as it did with analogous tendencies in Germany and France and with the rising love for archæology in those countries and in England), that no pious soul could doubt its providential origin and guidance.

For a dozen years from the commencement of the Oxford movement, a constantly increasing number of the educated and refined were brought under its influence. Meanwhile the Anglican Church as a whole, justly distrustful of that movement, was giving rise to scandal after scandal (in High Church eyes) by its “stone-altar” and “Gorham” decisions, its “Jerusalem Bishopric” and its unsuccessful resistance to the Prime Minister and Dr. Hampden. In the overwhelming majority of her churches, her Sunday services were still the long-established duet of “Parson and Clerk,” and though church restoration was rapidly advancing and pews and galleries beginning to disappear, yet neglect of the material fabrics was still widespread,

while, in the majority of parish churches, lofty pews still invited to repose, before the royal arms soaring above the chancel arch. The Tractarian movement was emphatically a clerical movement, and it was a rare phenomenon for the laymen of a parish to support it, and heartily join in "high" services. Indeed such services were poor affairs indeed judged in the light of our later experiences. The present writer well recollects being taken as a boy, by the late Dr. Ward and his brother-in-law Mr. Wingfield, to "evensong" at Margaret Street Chapel—then renowned for its surplice-clad preacher, Mr. Oakeley, its pair of lighted candles on the communion table, and its "popish" collecting bags to receive the congregation's offerings.

While the Anglican high-churchmen had to be content with such beggarly elements of nascent ritualism, Catholics were advancing rapidly in all that concerned ritual and ecclesiology. With the laudable intention of making manifest the continuity between the Church in the nineteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was mediæval Catholicism which was specially regarded with love and veneration, both by our, then rare, converts, and zealous Catholic bishops and priests who headed the movement. Pugin, under the patronage of the highest ecclesiastical authority, effectively gave expression to his own genius and the desires of the devoutest of our laity. With the sanction of Cardinal (then Dr.) Wiseman, he held his professorship at Oscott and raised up a school of zealous and cultivated clerics, one of whom, Bishop Amherst, has been but lately lost to us, while others still linger in our midst. John, the sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, was a munificent patron and promoter of mediæval Catholic art, and the before-mentioned Ambrose Lisle Phillips was a zealous lover of the beauty of God's house and orderly and reverent worship. All departments of such religious art were then alike encouraged. John Hardman of Birmingham produced the most perfect specimens of mediæval metal work, artistic stuffs were expressly fashioned for Gothic copes, and ample chasubles worn not only by priests but by bishops, all of whose brows, with one exception, were adorned with mitres like to those which the people habitually see on the ancient tombs and brasses of our land.* A new-born zeal for solemn and majestic ritual had also arisen. The "shilling-opera," indeed, still held its own at Warwick Street, but at St. Chad's, Birmingham, and many

* One of the lowest Gothic mitres was worn by the illustrious Bishop Milner, whom no one can accuse of want of loyalty to the Holy See, or of deficient zeal against Gallicanism, nationalism, and Erastianism. It may be added that some of our present bishops do not believe that Rome has ever condemned the Gothic chasuble.

other places, the offices of the Church were performed with scrupulous care and solemn chants.

The traditional piety of Catholics—a grave and solid piety, dating from the days of persecution and forcing recognition from even such as Byron—was prevalent among us, and however we might be hated as fanatics and idolaters, we were never despised as frivolous worldlings or effeminate triflers with religion. Intellectually, morally and artistically we were, if not in all things fairly abreast, yet in none much behind our non-Catholic fellow-countrymen, to whom we, in many respects, showed an edifying example.

Nor was the Church in England an exception as to its hopeful condition. The Church of France was showing the most encouraging signs of a similar progress. The illustrious laymen, Montalembert, De Falloux, De Broglie, F. Ozanam, and many others, had initiated an expansive and conciliatory movement, supported by the eloquence of Lacordaire and the authority of Dupanloup. The Church in Belgium was prosperous and little opposed (the subsequent bitter struggle between “Liberals” and “Catholics” being then in its infancy), the best Catholics in Europe then delighting to call themselves “Liberal Catholics.” In Germany the abortive persecution of their Archbishop had called out the enthusiasm of the Rhenish Catholics. Overbeck and the Dusseldorf school were doing for Catholic art in Germany work analogous to that of Pugin for England, and the rising glories of Cologne Cathedral typified that movement of German Lutheran thought (of which Hurter was an example) analogous to that Tractarian movement in England which for a dozen years had filled the hearts of English Catholics with ever-increasing hope.

What wonder then if at this auspicious time, when with other Oscott lads we witnessed the arrival of Newman with his illustrious band of converts from Littlemore, our seniors and ourselves began to feel that now the battle was surely won, that now the world-wide prayers obtained by the saintly George Spencer for his country's conversion were indeed bearing fruit, that the mass of Tractarians throughout the country would quickly follow their acknowledged leader, and that half England would certainly be Catholic in another half-century! We can hardly be blamed as unreasonable if we then believed that the great end for which the English empire had been called into being was not far from its attainment, and that the conversion of England was fast approaching. Only two things seemed wanting to justify our confident hopes—namely (1) an enlightened and energetic Pope to take advantage of the rising tide and to attract, encourage, gather in and confirm the many pious and energetic minds then

consciously or unconsciously struggling for the Church; and (2) a national hierarchy. Soon the waning pontificate of Gregory XVI. reached its term, and we lads were hastily summoned to the Oscott refectory to hear announced to us the auspicious name of our new Holy Father—one whose earliest acts soon confirmed the sanguine anticipations of our juvenile inexperience.* A very few years more, and our new Pontiff fulfilled the second desire of our hearts, our bishops assumed their English territorial titles, and a new Primate—a moral successor of St. Augustine—was enthroned at Westminster!

Nevertheless, events did not follow their anticipated course. Illustrious converts not a few followed Dr. Newman's example, but there was nothing like that widespread submission which had been looked forward to, while year by year the number of notable converts gradually diminished. Slowly the depressing conviction was forced on us, and became more and more evident, that the conversion of England was a work reserved for a more distant future. Some obscure cause, or causes, evidently hindered the carrying out of consequences which seemed so surely designed by Providence to follow after such hope-inspiring antecedents. Since then, as year has succeeded year, our former sanguine hopes have seemed to fade and grow less and less likely to meet with speedy fulfilment.

Not but that we have many things upon which we may heartily congratulate ourselves, and for which we ought to be most deeply thankful. If we compare our political condition with that of the Catholics of any non-English-speaking nation throughout the whole world, the exceptional freedom and security we enjoy is great indeed. Not even in any so-called Catholic country has the Church nearly such facility as she has in England for regulating her own affairs and exhibiting herself in what her authorities may deem the most attractive and persuasive manner. We are free to multiply not only churches, but convents of men as well as women as much as we choose. We are free to educate all our children at our own expense quite as we will, and public schools and universities are open to us without the need of our subscribing to any religious or irreligious test. We have an exemplary and devoted clergy, and a laity many members of which by their piety, humility, and princely generosity to God's Church and poor justly command our love

* The Bishop, with great joy and gratitude announced to us the election of a Cardinal with Austrian sympathies (which were also Dr. Wiseman's), Cardinal Feretti. But a few hours dispelled this, to him, pleasing illusion, and told us that it was Cardinal John Mastai Feretti who was our Pope—a Pope whose impulses the Bishop of Melipotamus was inclined to view with much distrust and apprehension.

and veneration. The higher ranks of a hierarchy have been established, and we are free to augment and develop our institutions as we will. We have, and we have long had, all these facilities for increase, and striking signs of such increase are plainly visible. Thus in 1846 there were but 522 chapels and 683 priests in England and Wales. In 1884 there are 1,221 churches and chapels and 2,176 priests. In 1846 we had a total of six convents of religious men and thirty-four of religious women. Now there are no less than eighty of the former and 200 of the latter. In 1846 the churches of St. George's, Southwark, of Farm Street, and of St. Edmund's College were in course of construction. Since then what a multitude of handsome churches and other religious buildings have not been completed! More notable yet than the increase of our churches has been the increase of our schools, and, thanks to the wonderful zeal and untiring energy of our Cardinal-Archbishop, the education of the poor Catholic children of even this vast metropolis is at length adequately provided for.

Still, with all this, our increase is very different from what we once hoped, and there are some very serious drawbacks to our prosperity. It is well that these should be recognized, and that we should not rest in a fool's paradise, or do nothing but praise each other and depreciate others, as if we belonged to a mutual admiration society. The Anglican Church (especially its High-church party) is often spoken of by some amongst us with sarcasm and ridicule as injudicious as unjust. Its faults and shortcomings should, of course, faithfully be pointed out, but in a spirit of charity and sympathy for men, many of whom lead such exemplary and devoted lives. It may be that our very slow increase* may be greatly due to faults of omission and commission and injudicious proceedings on our part, and we will even venture to make a few respectful suggestions on the subject. Nevertheless, it is certainly largely due to adverse circumstances over which we could have no control.

In the first place, there is the abiding tendency of every minority to merge itself in the majority. Apart from the occasional indifference of parents, accidents of various kinds will every now and then place the offspring of Catholics under the care of non-Catholics. In mixed marriages also, when the Catholic parent is not earnest and capable, the children are in danger of adopting the sentiments of the greater number of those with whom they consort.

* If it is true, as some persons say, that we do not increase so fast as the population increases, then we are, however slowly, relatively decreasing.

Secondly, it is plain that whatever may have been our shortcomings or mistakes, the world around us has, independently of us, greatly changed during the past forty years, both here and on the Continent of Europe. The environment of the Church in 1884 is very different from what it was forty years earlier. In 1844, the movement of thought in England was very largely, if not mainly, in an upward direction as regards religion. "Free trade" rather than "free thought" attracted the minds of the multitude, while in the higher classes infidelity was apologetic and frowned upon, and far from common. Of late years irreligion has greatly increased, assuming a new form and developing an unexampled aggressiveness—unexampled, that is, in England during the present century. Infidelity has even become a fashion amongst our higher classes, and a prevalent vice amongst our lowest. With not a few fine ladies, a reputation for startling heterodoxy on the part of a young man is a passport to their favour.

While disbelief in Christianity has been spreading widely, a new form of an old philosophic error (yclept Agnosticism) has also become popular with the reading public, while a great love for biological science has also been widely diffused, and has so enabled the new "doctrine of evolution" to effect a vast transformation in men's minds. Innocent, nay even edifying, as that doctrine is in itself, it has none the less been made the agent for overthrowing all belief in revelation in very many minds. This effect is partly due to the deliberate aim of some of its promoters (such as Haeckel, Vogt, and Büchner), partly to the shortsightedness and inefficiency of many of its opponents. Thus it has come about that, without any fault of its own, the small Catholic minority in England finds itself now in circumstances strangely different from those which surrounded it at the foundation of the new hierarchy, while it is a grave question whether the contemporaneous internal changes of the Catholic body have fitted it to respond adequately to the changes of its environment. Similarly, changes have taken place on the Continent, and must be admitted to have there been partly due to indiscreet action on the part of Catholics themselves, amongst whom "an insolent and aggressive faction" has roused an opposition intense and widespread.

But in England the changes in our environment which have been beyond our control, have not by any means been due to irreligious development only, but partly to its very opposite. For irreligion has by no means had it all its own way in our land. Much religious life and fervour has manifested itself outside our communion. The conversion of Cardinal Newman and his followers far from paralyzing the Anglican Church, seemed, after a time, to urge it to unwonted efforts. Not only has the building

and restoration of churches gone on with undiminished vigour, but new bishoprics have been created and endowed; and, in spite of the very many of her younger members who have abandoned all belief in revelation, the number of those who take an active interest in her services—men as well as women—appears to go on augmenting. As to her public worship, for one church which had “high” services in 1844, there are now at least fifty. The Anglican Church, wise in its generation, has made the best use of its own authoritative and beautiful ritual; and there may be Catholics who have strayed into such churches as All Saints, Margaret Street, or the parish church of Bournemouth, who have felt regret that they could not join in such reverent and reasonable service, and would gladly see something similar amongst ourselves. Of course the rarity of a satisfactory rendering of the Divine office in Catholic churches is but the inevitable result of the terrible poverty of our clergy, and the incessant calls made upon their time by missionary duties. It would, of course, be quite otherwise had we but a single well-endowed cathedral or monastic house. Still, however much it may be our misfortune and not our fault, the broad fact remains, that whereas forty years ago we were a small body worshipping with unrivalled solemnity in the midst of a community where worship was of the baldest and most uninviting character, we are now surrounded by churches, the worship in which is found by not a few cultured and uncultured persons to be more devotional and attractive than some of our own. This phenomenon is yet more strange in reality than it appears to be at first sight, for this ritualistic refinement is by no means universally accompanied by Tractarian (*i.e.* Catholic) principles. Definite dogma is less than ever the characteristic of the Anglican Church—a matter of derision to some, but of attraction to others. It may be said that an experiment is now going on as to whether a Christian Church can continue to exist without a definite creed. A Catholic’s view of such a matter is, of course, clear and unhesitating. A community which allows its members, *e.g.*, to believe concerning the Eucharist, the doctrines of the “real presence” or “real absence” indifferently, cannot be deemed by Catholics to merit the name of “a Church.” Nevertheless, many non-Catholics regard such “comprehension” with strange complacency, and think it a mark of vitality in a Church that it should be able to embrace whatever, even in the Roman communion, suits its members, while they remain practically free even as regards the decrees of Nice or Chalcedon.

Whatever may be the course or consequences of movements external to our communion, we, at least, cannot be held responsible for them, but it may be permitted, even to a layman, to

consider whether our conduct has at the same time been as judicious as possible.

Now the movement in England towards the Catholic Church (and the same may be said in a greater or less degree of France and Germany) has been towards the mediæval church, as was natural considering how it in part aided, and in part was aided by, the rise of the "Romantic School" in art and literature. It would be a great mistake, however, to regard English feeling on the matter as a mere taste or fashion of the day. It has really a much deeper source, and springs from the very "marrow and bone," so to speak, of our people, who are at once so intensely conservative and so largely liberal. That we, whose laws are still passed in the language of the Conqueror, and whose whole jurisprudence and political life are essentially traditional, should be willing—like versatile Japanese—to throw aside venerable customs and national characteristics for strange and novel practices, is what no one who reflects upon the English character can long believe. The Church, whose spirit is to be "all things to all men," is sure, sooner or later, by her authoritative action to enjoin a careful regard for our national peculiarities in bringing her action to bear upon the English nation. For such was her conduct in the time of the great Pontiff Gregory, whose authoritative injunctions to that end were so wisely and successfully followed by the illustrious saint who founded that "Province of Canterbury" which still endures in our great Anglo-Benedictine Congregation.

Such also has been her conduct before and since, in gaining the adhesion or securing the fidelity of other nationalities, Teutonic, Sclavonic and Oriental. *A fortiori*, then may we expect much will be done and conceded in order to secure the adhesion of the English-speaking peoples, whose future dominance in the world is so certain.

Seeing then how strong and general, before the establishment of an hierarchy, had been the feeling (on the part of both English Catholics and High-church Anglicans) of sympathy for the old English Church, and the identification of the present with the past in all the externals of religion; we would venture to question, as a matter of personal opinion, whether the movement in an opposite direction which afterwards ensued, was not carried too far. Many of our most conspicuous converts, in the fervour of their recoil from Anglicanism, adopted "Italianism," and the attempt was made (with a success which, to say the least, is very doubtful) to kindle amongst our Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples, a taste for the ways and feelings of Southern Italy. The taste in devotion gradually became, in many places, less "liturgical" and more "sensational," and this still continues, so

that we now find that psalmody is banished from one of our leading London churches, while some persons are trying hard to banish it even from our pro-cathedrals.

It is, of course, quite easy to understand, to sympathize with and to respect the tendency to inculcate "Italianism." The Catholic Church is a living Church, and not an archaic curiosity. It is emphatically anti-Erastian. It is "Catholic," as distinguished from "national." Its great Head rules from Rome, the capital of a country the people of which, in the new dispensation, bear a certain faint analogy to the chosen people of the Mosaic dispensation. The Church is essentially "Roman," and it is essentially "Papal." It was a laudable desire to bring these truths home to men's minds which was no doubt the cause of the change of tactics referred to.* If it has done harm, it has also no doubt done good; but now that the Vatican Council has been held, and the Gallican position become utterly untenable, may it not be wise to take into account certain considerations on the other side? It should, in the first place, always be recollected that we are not (happily) an especially logical people, and that attempts to carry out "principles" to their extreme consequences (in the French fashion) do not answer with us. There is, however, another very important matter which is by no means duly apprehended—namely, that it is something much deeper than any act of conscious, deliberate will, which determines the most intimate sympathies and the most powerful tendencies as of individuals so of peoples. Both are to be best attracted by acting upon these deep-seated, unconscious predispositions.

It is *these* which favour the identification of the Church of today with the Church of our own ancestors, and which render futile all attempts to "Italianize" us. Only on the former plan can we gain the general sympathies of Englishmen, who, in spite of their prejudices, are so often found to possess an underlying esteem for "the old religion" which they so frequently say "was the first and will be the last."

Englishmen, whether Anglicans or Dissenters, who care for public worship, are accustomed to, and care for, congregational worship, which had indeed been handed down to us from our Catholic ancestors, who followed the Breviary services, and were wont before and in the days of Henry VIII. to attend "Mattins" and "Evensong," as Anglicans do now. The love of Anglicans for, and the beauty of, their services has greatly increased, and their "Book of Common Prayer"—truly admirable in so many respects however tainted with doctrinal error—is mainly a

* Nevertheless it must not be supposed that the lovers and promoters of the mediæval spirit were not thoroughly loyal to Rome. The names of Bishop Milner and Cardinal Wiseman need but be mentioned in illustration.

presentation of the old Catholic liturgy in the noblest and most magnificent form of the English tongue. We may perhaps be allowed to throw out the suggestion that in view of so great a gain as would be the conversion of the English-speaking races, it might be not altogether unwise to provide authoritative strictly liturgical services in the English tongue, intermediate between the "Book of Common Prayer" and the "Breviary," for the latter is far too long and far too complicated for the frequent use of the laity. Might not such a change be a great boon to Catholics,* seeing how praises and prayers which bear the stamp of the official approval of the Church are apt to fall out of use, to be replaced by modern, highly emotional services. Such a change would assuage that yearning after their old worship, which not a few converts feel, and would greatly facilitate, we are persuaded, the conversion of thousands of our countrymen. The Church authorized the change in Church service from Greek to Latin and created "the Vulgate," to meet the wants of a Latin-speaking people; if we are not greatly mistaken, the English tongue will by-and-by have claims yet greater than had the Latin, and it would be well to recognize this in good time.

We should be very sorry to be supposed to be indifferent to, or ungrateful for, the many liturgical blessings we enjoy. There are many churches in England where the services are all that could be desired. Conspicuous amongst these are the noble Priory Churches of Belmont and Downside, the Cathedral of St. Chad's of Birmingham, and especially the parish church of St. Marie's, Sheffield, which for the beauty and appropriateness of its appointments and of its services† might set an example to all England. In London, at the church of St. Charles, in Ogle Street, very solemn and edifying services are to be witnessed, and

* Many Catholics are deeply grateful to Lord Bute for his admirable translation of the Breviary—the noblest and most valuable devotional work published in England in this generation. Some abbreviation of this work would make an inestimable book of daily prayer for the devout laity. In the Roman Breviary a few psalms are practically repeated again and again; would it not be a great gain to arrange that (as in the French Breviaries) the whole Psalter should be gone through within a reasonably limited period?

† The congregation of this Church thoroughly enter into the spirit of the Liturgy, and this they show even by the appropriate postures they assume. As is common with us all, they stand at Mass, during the Asperges, and kneel from the Introit to the Gloria. They stand at prayer during the Collects, and sit for the Epistle, standing, of course, during the Gospel and Creed, in the singing of which latter many of them take part. They kneel or sit during the Offertory, standing up at the Sursum Corda, and remain standing during the Preface. Then they kneel till the Post-communion Prayers, during which they stand once more.

there the attempt has been made (in imitation of St. Marie's, Sheffield), to get the congregation to join with the choir in singing the "Credo" at High Mass. Such consoling phenomena would be more common if our children and youths were carefully educated in matters liturgical. Happily they are so educated by the Benedictines, and we look hopefully to the spread of that noble Order for the carrying out of many reforms and improvements.

It would not, of course, be difficult to give examples very much less satisfactory as regards services. It is also not to be denied that our feelings are sometimes painfully shocked by the "objects of piety" found in our churches—degradations* apt to excite the contempt or pity of non-Catholics, and to call up the flush of shame on the cheek of the Catholic laymen who cares for his religion. In many respects no doubt there is improvement, but it is impossible to shut our eyes to the existence of retrogression also.†

After thus venturing to suggest inquiry as to how far we may not have been sometimes injudicious as regards the externals of religion, it remains to say a few words with respect to our present intellectual needs, in the condition of the world external to us, so changed now from what it was forty years ago. Physical science, and especially biological science, has the widest popularity with all classes of our fellow-countrymen, and small esteem is felt by many for any teachers who are deficient in such knowledge. We have heard it said by an intelligent and apparently well-meaning young man: "I will never listen to what any priest says who knows no biology, but when I meet with one who is a good biologist, I will hear him respectfully. How can I be expected to believe that a man can teach me about the ways of a future life who knows nothing of the laws of this present existence?" We are most strongly impressed with the absolute necessity of our clergy being so far

* This degradation is often due to the inability or unwillingness of priests to resist the desires of wealthy but uncultured benefactresses. Thus at one church, which shall be nameless, an excellent image and Gothic niche were, some time ago, removed at the request of such a benefactress, in order to allow her to replace them by a mural blister and a frightful plaster figure, utterly destroying the internal harmony of an otherwise satisfactory church. We know of some flagrant examples of unnecessary bad taste in churches, though for obvious reasons we do not make more precise mention of them here.

† The excellent metal work formerly manufactured by the late Mr. John Hardman is now very rarely produced, such is the demand for "cheap and nasty" goods which make a maximum of show at a minimum of cost, while vile trash—pictorial and plastic—from France, meets with a ready sale. When will our convents of women obtain and impart to their pupils some comprehension of what is fitting in Christian art?

instructed in physical science as to be able to intelligently discuss the religious difficulties which are so often supposed to be therewith connected. One reason which induced the present writer to accept his post at University College, Kensington, was the hope that he should have amongst his hearers students from the Hammersmith Seminary—a hope in which he was most grievously disappointed.

But without waiting for this desirable instruction of the clergy, the laity can, in the meantime, do very good and very pleasant work, reflecting credit on the whole body, and disposing many non-Catholics to a favourable consideration of our religion. Many laymen, we are sure, would be delighted to do such work if only they could be roused to an adequate sense of their own capabilities and our urgent needs in this matter. The Catholic laity are more especially called upon to aid the good work on account of the incessant calls upon the time of our priests, who have literally no leisure when on the mission, and who are in such demand that they have to be got ready for ordination with the least possible loss of time. When we consider how many young Catholic laymen there are who possess means and leisure amply sufficient to enable them to reach distinction in science, and how intensely interesting every branch of natural science is when once its study has been fairly entered on; it is surprising that so few Catholics are to be met with at the meetings of our learned societies. Some there happily are, and amongst those who have care of our biological treasures at the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, good Catholics are to be found. It is interesting also to note that the names of living Catholic naturalists show that for a taste for biological science we have been indebted to Benedictine education, no less than for a knowledge of ritual. The Jesuits also are doing good work for physical—even biological—science. We are persuaded that great good would ensue to the cause of religion if educated Catholics showed themselves more active in promoting the advance of knowledge, and fairly holding their own in science amongst their non-Catholic scientific fellow-countrymen. We have perhaps more than our share of literary ability, but we greatly need amongst us a more hearty sympathy with science. An illustrious example of such sympathy has been set by the Bishop of Clifton, for which we cannot be too grateful. With a little more such sympathy and a little less dense biological ignorance, we should not ourselves have been scandalized, and our enemies been made to rejoice by such exhibitions as we have lately witnessed in the pages of the *Tablet*, in the form of letters about the Deluge. It would then be generally known that it is a fact as scientifically certain as is the revolution of the earth round the sun, that the various races of existing land animals have never radiated from a common centre since man inhabited this planet.

It is to be hoped that in a few years' time we may be secure from danger of having to blush at such childish interpretations of Scripture! This matter nearly concerns the clergy to whom appeal must be often made on such questions. To help them to meet inquiries and objections it may be well to refer them to Mr. Coke's "*Creeds of the Day*,"* which will be found a handy summary of the objections which every priest on the mission is likely to be called upon to meet. For this reason we think that this or some similar work should be on the shelves of every missionary priest and in the library of every seminary: not of course for the perusal of junior students, but for the purpose of testing their armour before they go forth to combat with the world.

As we have said, the clergy, when once on the mission, have generally no spare time at all. Nevertheless, there are priests here and there who have almost too much leisure. It is much to be desired that some of these would occupy themselves with matters of local history. Rarely has the study of the antiquities of any parish been exhaustive, and there is no parish wherein good original work is not possible, either archæological or respecting the fauna or flora, or geology, or physiography, or ethnology of the district. Even notes on the local dialect or local customs would be welcome and valuable. As to laymen, the members of our ancient Catholic families might easily produce the most valuable historical works, illustrated by their own family records, of such a character that historians of a wider field must necessarily refer to them.

So much for intellectual questions. A few words may now be said as to ethics. Although it is true that infidelity is now popular, yet "morality" is quite as largely insisted on as ever before; those who discard "religion" generally feeling bound to profess rather an increased regard for "ethics;" moreover, with our middle class, old-fashioned morality is still the quality most esteemed. It is necessary, therefore, for us Catholics not in any way to fall behind in this most important matter. On this subject we feel that it would indeed ill become us to assume the task of the preacher. A certain change from former times has been inevitable. Catholics are no longer ostracized, but enter freely into the world's social enjoyments. From this it necessarily follows that there must be a difference between the appearance we now present as to worldliness and that which we presented when we had only recently emerged from a state of persecution. Nevertheless it is none the less a fact that more conversions would be produced by the manifestation of a striking superiority in virtue on our part as compared with our non-Catholic neigh-

* Published by Messrs. Trübner and Co., 1883 (2 vols.).

bours, than by any other means whatever. Without, however, presuming to make any practical suggestions, we may be permitted to ask whether the superiority of "charity" to "faith" and "hope" is widely recognized amongst us in our actions? It is much to be feared that it can hardly be said of us, as it was said of the primitive Christians, "see how they love one another!" Catholics love one another warmly enough, of course, just as other people do, and for similar reasons; but can it be said that many Catholics love one another simply *as Catholics*? How many in choosing friends for themselves and their families, think less of worldly considerations* and more of community of faith, than do the various societies of non-Catholics? Indeed it can hardly be denied that the Freemasons themselves set an example of fraternal charity which we might follow with advantage.

Some persons may be disposed to think that not only a greater charity amongst ourselves, but a greater spirit of charity towards our fellow-countrymen generally, might be developed with advantage. A hearty recognition of our identity with them in all which is not of faith must be good as well as advantageous, since we have such an embodiment of that paternal spirit in our beloved and eminent Archbishop. And when we compare the political condition of other countries with our own and remember the blessings we enjoy as Catholics and as Englishmen, we may perhaps be permitted to feel regret that we cannot (if we cannot?) have some further recognition of "the State" in our public devotions. When also we call to mind how exceptionally favoured has been the political position of England for the last two centuries, and how favourably we have contrasted and do contrast with the nations of the Continent of Europe, the question may not unnaturally arise whether such exceptional blessings may not have been due to the reiterated prayers for the Sovereign, Parliament, and all the estates of the realm, which have for so long ascended from every parish church, college and cathedral throughout our highly favoured land?

Before concluding, we would wish to point out two other matters in which we venture to think the Catholic laity may efficiently aid the clergy, and so contribute to the advancement of religion and to the conversion of our country.

The first matter concerns art—that term being understood in a wide sense. With regard to art, Catholic laymen have it in

* It has come to our knowledge, for example, that the widow of a Catholic baronet, being asked to meet at dinner a converted Anglican clergyman whose pedigree was to hers almost as the oak to the mushroom, replied: "But is he in my set? If not, I would rather not meet him at dinner!" How empty and vain must the professed belief of such a woman in the New Testament appear in the eyes of any consistent non-Catholic Christian!

their power to do a work of the greatest importance to the clergy and to religion. The present too general degradation of Catholic art—and too often of ritual also—is mainly due to the ignorance and indifference of laymen. The clergy are, in many places, reduced to rely mainly on the assistance, and have therefore to defer to the wishes, of the female portion of their flock, on account of the too frequent apathy of the men in matters of art and ritual. Now a knowledge of these matters is no more to be acquired without time and labour than a knowledge of Greek or mathematics. Such is the haste with which the secular clergy have to be hurried through their education, that there is no time for them to acquire such knowledge. We do not know that there is a single professor of the subject in a single seminary. If we cannot at present hope for a highly cultivated secular clergy, we may reasonably enough hope for a cultivated laity. Indeed, that great process of progressive division of labour, which is at the bottom of all civilization, must sooner or later operate in this field also. There was a time when priests were not only priests, but also doctors, lawyers, men of science, politicians, architects, and artists. But no one now would think of asking a priest, as such, to set a broken limb, or draw up a marriage contract, or give an opinion as to financial investments, or sketch a Bill on the franchise, or design a railway viaduct, or make a bust of Her Majesty. There is, of course, no reason why any priest may not be as good an architect, antiquarian, historian, ritualist, financier, or artist as any layman, but there is every reason why the majority of the clergy cannot be so. It is then for such persons (cleric or lay) as have by natural bent of mind, or by exceptionally favourable circumstances, the power to become skilled experts in Catholic art, to place their powers and acquisitions at the disposal of the clergy generally, and of the whole Catholic body, that they and it may be thereby raised in the esteem of non-Catholics and the whole Church so far strengthened.

The second matter to which we would refer is one in which the laity seem to us to be strangely, if not even blamably, apathetic. We most of us know something of the terrible financial struggles in which so many of our clergy are engaged—the heavy debts which weigh down many missions, and the scanty incomes which poor congregations can afford to the most zealous pastors. How many a parish priest is, to his great regret, compelled to leave to his curate the greater part of his spiritual work—leaving even the superintendence of matters connected with divine worship—because he is forced to spend so much of his days in what the Apostle calls “serving tables.” Surely in many a parish a committee of laymen might save their pastor from this degrading, but at present inevitable, waste of his

time. Besides, if it is true that every branch of study requires an apprenticeship, this is certainly true of finance. No man is so absurd as to suppose that the Sacrament of Holy Orders confers the power of being a good accountant, or gives to its recipient an increased sharpness of vision as to what are "good investments." Both the fabrics of the churches and Catholic property of a much more important kind demand a generous sacrifice of time and labour on the part of qualified laymen for their fruitful guardianship. Perhaps Catholics might learn a useful lesson from the Wesleyans as to the holding and management of their charitable trusts, no less than from the Jews as to the organization of their charities.

In conclusion we will briefly recapitulate the main points which we desire to urge on the Catholic public.

It appears to us but too probable that many Catholics are apt to over-estimate the prosperity of our body, not realizing how the environment has changed to our disadvantage during the last forty years. This change imperatively calls for corresponding defensive development on our own part, and many of us are sadly unaware how defective that development still remains. To promote the conversion of our country it is manifestly good that we should gain the sympathy of our countrymen by a ready co-operation with them in all that is not distinctively of faith, by hearty loyalty to the State, and by conspicuously helping on the artistic, moral, and intellectual progress of the country. We would especially insist on the need of greater industry on the part of the well-to-do Catholic laity to this end. Some might surely devote themselves to the exposition of various questions of philosophy, others to the study of different periods of history, others to one or other branch of physical science, others to social inquiries and statistics, &c., and so gaining by degrees a much greater national recognition of the great worthiness of Catholics in matters external to religion. In short, we may each of us, if we only desire it, play no contemptible part in thus gaining the goodwill of our fellow-countrymen, and so promoting in our own way the greatest work which the world will have seen since the days of Constantine: that work is the conquest to the Church of the great English-speaking races through the gain of its central part, the heart of the whole.

To what purpose could an English Catholic better dedicate all his time, his efforts, his intellect, and if need be his life, than to so good and glorious a work as would be the conversion of England!

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

ART. V.—THE PRIMITIVE RELIGION OF THE CHINESE.

THE universal acceptance by all races of mankind of the existence of God has been generally admitted by philosophers no less than by theologians to be a subsidiary proof of this dogma. This admission is well-grounded. That which has belonged to man always and everywhere, an idea that has dominated his mind as a truth in all times and in all lands, may justly be looked upon as the outcome of nature, as of his very being, as, in a word, eminently true. But men who are opposed to any knowledge of God have naturally sought to show the insufficiency of this proof, or the uncertainty of the fact on which it rests. An Italian sinologist wrote quite lately in the *International Review* that one would seek in vain for the name of God in the early Chinese books. This absence of a belief in God which they affect to have authenticated among certain nations is thus used as a weapon against theism. The assumed atheism of the Chinese is one of the facts most often brought forward to show that the universal consent of humanity on this point is a mere fiction. The Chinese are one of the most intelligent people on the face of the earth. They were amongst the earliest civilized nations. But they are atheists and materialists; nature has not led them to a knowledge of the Divinity; this then is not a natural inheritance of man and the unanimous consent of peoples cannot be upheld.

We have no intention of at present discussing, however slightly, the philosophical question here involved; we shall simply consider a matter of fact, replace it in its true light, and leave to others the care of deducting its logical consequences.

Many persons believe that the Chinese are atheists and materialists; that in the space above them they are simply conscious of the heaven visible to their eyes, of the azure vault studded with starry pearls. We do not wish to assert that a certain number of Chinese, including even some learned men, do not hold these views; indeed it is of little consequence to the point in question. France, England and Germany are not materialist because some Frenchmen, Englishmen and Germans are devoted adherents of a philosophy of pure materialism. Moreover, the leading question is not what the celestial empire believes in these days but what was its faith at its origin, what had nature breathed into the Chinese mind before luxury and corrupt morals had clogged it with the heavy weight of matter and sensuality; before an alien propaganda had impaired in it the spontaneous outcome of human intelligence.

The pagodas and idols or grotesque figures of the Chinese are well known, so also are their bonzes of dissolute morals and disreputable character so often introduced by Chinese writers and dramatists; opinions formed from such specimens are little likely to be favourable. But these are exotic productions introduced into China by foreigners; they may indeed have altered in part the indigenous doctrines, but cannot have brought about their disappearance. The Chinese religion has nothing in common with that of the disciples of Fo or Tao; this distinction is important for arriving at a clear idea of the history of religion in China. We shall now trace the march of religious ideas from the earliest records down to the last century. We shall be obliged to enter somewhat into details; but in a matter of this importance it is better to offend by superabundance than by insufficiency.*

There are in the Chinese empire three distinct religions; the first dates from the very origin of the nation and has left its impress on its earliest monuments. This is the national religion. The other two are of comparatively recent date. At present we confine our attention to the first.

At their earliest appearance in history the Chinese were monotheists. Their religion can be resumed in one dogma, that of a Supreme Being; their worship consisted of one act, sacrifice. They called this Supreme God Chan-ti—that is to say, Supreme Master (Chan, supreme; ti, master). The characteristics of this god are indirectly yet clearly indicated to us by the historical incidents related in Chinese works. The famous historian of China, the celebrated philosopher Confucius (Kong-fu-tze) begins his account with the reign of King Yao whose sway extended over the northern provinces, then the only ones

* A summary refutation, some conclusive references and quotations, are too often assumed to be quite adequate for removing the obstructions and errors of a dangerous system. Such optimism is unfortunately not justified by experience. The results produced by replies of this nature are not lasting. In 1882 a critic writing in the "*Revue des Questions Historiques*," sought to prove that Jacollists and the Movins attracted too much notice. He was not aware of the depth of evil produced by these works, which apparently scientific, are in fact inept. I cannot cite the personal proofs that I have received, but the learned critic could convince himself by opening the catalogue of scientific works brought out lately by Harrastov at Leipzig. At page 76, immediately after the advertisement of the Oriental works of Jacollist, occurred the following singular remark: "Complete series of these works, of general importance in the comparative history of the religions of antiquity, especially of those of India and the East" "für die vergleichende Religion geschichte des alter besonders Indien en des Orients in allgemeinen wichtigen Arbeiten." Evidently far from too much having been said about these unhealthy works, they have escaped with too little notice.

occupied by the Chinese tribes, and who lived about the year 2396 B.C. The first historical age of China has been dated from this epoch; but Confucius makes frequent allusions to former kings, and though he states nothing definite about them this is because they had but little connection with his work, more didactic than historic in its plan. Many learned historians of more modern times have studied them, and have examined in the light of the strictest criticism all that could be gathered relating to them. The authentic history of China gives an account of their reigns with full details, and if all statements are not equally to be accepted it would not be reasonable to reject such as bear the impress of probability. The history of Rome written by Titus Livius is not to be looked upon as a mere romance because the Latin writer wove into it the popular legends evolved out of real facts. We shall here follow principally the *Tong-Kien-Kang-Mu* which Abbé de Mailla also adopted as the basis of his general history of China. We will begin with Fo-hi, the earliest prince whose name and history offer, as a whole, some guarantee of truth. Chinese historians tell us of this prince

that he was delighted with the beauty of the heavens and the riches of the earth, that he failed not to do homage for them to Tien the sovereign Master of one and of the other. He was the first who ordered that animals should be chosen and offered in sacrifice to the Master of Heaven, and he appointed certain days on which these ceremonies were to be performed.

His successor, Shin-nung (2838 B.C.) devoted himself to the development of agriculture, to clearing the land covered with forest and brushwood, and converting it to the produce of corn and pasturage. Yet was he equally careful to instruct his people that all these things were the gift of Heaven, to which they owed all gratitude; and to set them an example he caused a mound to be raised upon which, at the beginning of the twelfth moon (then the last of the year), he offered up before a large concourse of people a solemn sacrifice to thank Tien for all his favours. Hoang-ti, who deposed Shin-nung and then mounted the throne, knew how to turn to account the civilization attained under his predecessors, and at the beginning of his reign he had a magnificent temple built to Chan-ti, and there with greater pomp even than Shin-nung offered up sacrifice. Moreover, he caused ordinances to be proclaimed regulating the conduct of the people in order that all evil acts, displeasing to Chan-ti, might be prevented.

An event of great importance in the religious history of China took place under Chao-Hao, the successor of the last-mentioned great prince. Magic was introduced into the country by nine

officials belonging to the distant frontier provinces. They went about the country raising terrible spectres, and compelled the people to offer sacrifices to these phantoms. "This was contrary to the worship due to Chan-ti, and this deplorable evil continued, developed, and became incurable when the Tao-sse adopted these guilty practices." This is extracted from an historian of the ninth century (end of Tang).

Tchuen-Hio, the successor to Chao-Hao, understood the extent of the evil and the necessity of applying a remedy. He commissioned one of his officers, Keu-Ming, to draw up regulations for all matters relating to sacrifices, and he even caused his son, assisted by a prudent counsellor, to labour in the cause of reclaiming the erring to orthodoxy. Keu-Ming forbade, under pain of death, that sacrifice should be offered to any but Chan-ti; and to give the final blow to superstition he ordered that for the future the emperor alone should offer sacrifice to the sovereign Master of heaven and earth. The minister appointed as counsellor to the emperor's son was successful in his endeavours for converting the people seduced by the magicians.

Concerning Tiko, who succeeded Tchuen-Hio, Chinese historians tell us that penetrated with respect for Chan-ti, he kept ceaseless watch over his actions for fear anything contrary to his duty should escape him; therefore Heaven blessed him, and all nations of the earth came and subjected themselves to a dominion so mild and so beneficent.

But the queen, Kian-Yuen, was childless; unceasingly she prayed to Chan-ti to free her from this shame; unceasingly she offered up sacrifice. "Without any suffering or anguish she bore and gave birth to a wonderful child. Was not the supreme Master truly propitious? Had she not reaped the reward of her sacrifices and gifts?" Thus sang a poet who lived at a much later date, and who introduced into the legend an element quite foreign to it, the body of the supreme Master. (See the Shi-King.)

We omit the insignificant reign of Ti-Tchi, and pass on to that of the Emperor Yao, whose reign is the first one definitely retraced by Confucius. It might be objected, perhaps, that the accounts presented to us concerning Yao's predecessors are of somewhat recent date, and that historians have depicted ancient times according to the fashion of their own. Such an hypothesis or explanation would be unfounded, and contrary to every fact. The official historians of China are renowned for their faithfulness to the duties of their profession, for the care they take to distinguish between well-authenticated traditions, actual facts, and the inventions of unscrupulous or badly informed writers. Had they any wish to deceive they could hardly do so, for the control placed over them is both far-reaching and powerful.

Moreover, had they in their accounts ascribed the manners and customs of their own times to the ages of antiquity, they would have had to make quite contrary statements, since monotheism was then neither pure nor universal. The national religion, even, was a mixture of Buddhism, Taouism, idolatry, magic, and superstition of every kind. Lastly, we should note that the creed attributed by Confucius to Yao and his successors tallies exactly with what we have just said concerning the religion of the early sovereigns; as it appears in the first glimmer of authentic history still remaining to us, so is it described to us by later historians.

There is no ground for suspecting either alteration or reform. To pretend that these historians were mistaken is to make a statement unworthy of the least attention. One might just as reasonably maintain that the ancestors of Romulus were Jews.

We will now see what Confucius tells us of the religion of the early Chinese sovereigns. We possess two authentic documents of the greatest interest: an historical summary styled *Shû-King*, or Canonical Book of History, and a collection of ancient poems: *Shi-King*, Canonical Book of Verse, mostly historical in character. These two collections date back as far as the seventh century, but contain documents of much earlier origin.

We will, as heretofore, give a few extracts taken from writings successive in date, and which will thus present a sort of chronological table of religious views. In following the order of the reigns we will draw attention to such incidents as are most remarkable and pregnant from the point of view we have chosen.

Reign of Yao.—The first proclamation of this prince ordered that respect should be paid to the Supreme Heaven, *Shan-tien* (*Dergi Abka* in Manchu). Prince *Kong-Kong* was proposed to him to fill the post of Minister. "No," said he, "I cannot invest him with these functions, he has no respect for Heaven. (*Shû-King*, chap. i.) One day when he was making a royal progress through his kingdom, an old man named *Fong* ran towards him, expressing in a loud voice the admiration he felt for the virtues of this prince.

May Tien grant you to live ten thousand years [exclaimed he]; when virtue reigns in the world and one lives with those who practise it and are wholly occupied with its perfection one may, after a long life, rise up on a white cloud to go and dwell in the court of the supreme Master (*Comp. de Mailla*, vol. i. 51).

When Yao had grown old he associated his son-in-law *Shun* with him in the government, and appointed him his heir. The

first act of the new prince was to offer a sacrifice of adoration to the supreme Master of Heaven (Chan-ti; Dergi-Abkai-Khan), and gifts to the six venerable ones, and to all the spirits; and in venerating the streams and the mountains he offered sacrifice. The Kiagn of Confucius adds that he attached importance only to things that could be turned to the honour of Chan-ti or to the good of his people. "Heaven knows all things," he was wont to say to Yu, "nothing is hidden from it. Hypocrisy angers it; it desires an upright and sincere heart. The fruits of the earth are the gifts of Heaven." His death is referred to in the Shû-King in these words: "He ascended and descended" (tsu-lo, Wesibuhe-wasibuha), which, according to the Chinese commentators, means—his soul ascended to heaven, and his body went down to the grave.

Shun was succeeded by Yu. "The august Tien (Hoan-Tien)," says the Shû-King, "loved him, and pronounced the decree which gave him the empire; he reigned over four seas." Speaking to his officers one day he said: "The people of Tu-Miao are rebellious, they despise virtue; Heaven has decreed their punishment. Virtue alone can move Heaven; it reaches even afar off; it empties that which is filled; that which is good it makes to prosper; such is the law of Heaven. The Emperor being near to Lii-San, served the supreme Heaven, and touched its heart."

In the advice given by one of his counsellors named Kao-Yao we read the following words (Shû-King, i. 4, *initio*):—

Do not neglect public business; it is the business of Heaven managed by men in its behalf; the officials are the labourers of Heaven; the regulations were established by Heaven. Since Heaven itself has entrusted these functions to virtuous men they should be distinguished by their apparel. Since it is Heaven that by their instrumentality punishes crime, the five kinds of chastisement should be employed. Everything above and below is penetrated by the understanding and wisdom of Heaven, which do not differ from those of our people; by the clearness and the power of Heaven, which is that of our people do not differ from it.

Yu himself, when speaking to the Emperor Shun, had expressed himself thus (chap. v.):—

If order and virtue reign, if your ministers second your endeavours and follow your lead, you will receive the favours of the King of Heaven. Heaven, renewing the decree (that made you king), will load you with gifts. When Shun called Yu to the throne he said to him: "The time appointed by Heaven* has come, you are to mount this throne."

* Literally, the number in the heavenly calendar.

A very early commentator named Ching-y explains these sentences thus:—

Tien has infinite knowledge, nothing is hidden from him; all the knowledge, all the understanding we possess came from him. He is just and equitable, he rewards virtue and punishes vice; when he punishes and rewards none can escape from him. What reverence, what respect should we not have for him!

The people living near the frontier were seduced by the example of their neighbours into offering sacrifice to the evil genii whom these barbarians believed dwelt in mountain, forest, and stream. Yu strove to enlighten them, and amongst other expedients tried one which to us seems somewhat singular and ineffective, but which doubtless was invested with quite other features to the Chinese of that age. He had ten large urns cast, each one bearing the map of one of the provinces of the empire, and engraven above them were hideous forms exactly like those of the evil spirits worshipped by the inhabitants.

Ti-Ki, son and successor of Yu (2195 B.C.), reigned but a short time, nevertheless he had the opportunity of manifesting his religious feelings. When about to give battle to a rebel, he harangued his army, and his speech contained the following words:—

Yen-Hu-Chi (the rebel chief) trampled under foot the three essential duties—that of honouring Heaven, of respecting the prince, and of loving the people. It is not I whom he has offended, but Heaven; Heaven wills that I revenge it. Remember it is for Heaven you fight. Since Heaven wills he should perish, and has cancelled his authority, I only execute its commands in punishing this rebel. Fight valiantly: I will reward you in presence of your ancestors.

Similar language was held by the General of the army of Tchong-Kang, the second successor of Ti-Ki:—

Our former sovereigns [he said] raised themselves by attention to the warnings and teaching of Heaven; the magistrates, by causing the laws to be observed. Each year during the first spring moon, the prince's envoys went about the highways ringing a bell and proclaiming: Magistrates and doctors, warn ye and correct ye one another; and ye, O mechanics, devoted to the business of your trades, counsel each other wisely. . . . The astronomers Hi and Ho have failed in their duty, and have infringed the order of Heaven. I wish to fulfil the commands of Heaven; help me; submit with respect to the decrees of Heaven's son.

The two succeeding emperors to Tchong-Kang left, so to speak, no history. Their names only survive. The tenth, the last of the race of Yu (1777 B.C.), was notorious for his crimes and infamous life. Koan-Lon-Pon, one of his ministers, ventured

one day to remonstrate with him. After reminding him of his principal misdeeds, he added :—

If the people are estranged from their prince, can he believe that Heaven will protect him? Heaven is just and espouses only the cause of virtue. The only way to win its favour is to put from you all these subjects of scandal detested by Heaven. Do not take counsel with the woman who has obtained so great a mastery over your heart, listen rather to the representations of your faithful subjects. . . . Thus only can you propitiate Heaven, and avert utter ruin from your empire.

The zealous minister paid for his frank-speaking with his life. Another official of the same high rank, endeavouring to persuade a virtuous colleague who had withdrawn from the Court to return thither, said to him :—

Can you resign your office without prejudice to the people whose happiness you desire? Heaven, moved by our prayers and by the deplorable state of the empire, may perhaps change the heart of Li-Koue. Should this blessed change take place in your absence, the licentious companions of the emperor may strive to oppose it. . . . You alone can help the emperor to continue in the path of virtue.

Far from listening to good advice, Li-Koue only plunged deeper into wickedness. Chinese historians tell us that Heaven seemed to warn him of the chastisement that threatened him.

There were frightful earthquakes. Mount Kio-chan was swallowed up, the waters of the sea overflowed their boundaries and rolled back the waters of the rivers which, spreading, inundated the country. Two suns appeared. . . . The terrified people, recognizing in these phenomena warnings sent by Heaven to Li-Koue, thought themselves bound to exhort him to amendment. The elders, armed with heroic courage, went to him and represented that Heaven by these wonders had admonished him on all sides, but Li-Koue had them all put to death. The nobles then had recourse to Prince Chang, and besought him to place himself at their head to overthrow the tyrant: "Heaven in its wrath," said they, "has manifested clearly its will: it wishes to make use of you for his chastisement."

Prince Chang yielded to their representations. He said :—

If I take up arms against Li-Koue it is in spite of myself; it is to obey Heaven's commands. I know you have just cause for complaint, but you must help me to the utmost of your power: alone I can do nothing. We fulfil Heaven's orders.

Victory crowned the efforts of this prince, and the tyrant was overcome. But the conqueror had qualms of conscience for having raised his arm against his prince: he wanted to draw back. On this occasion the following remarkable words were addressed to him by one of his ministers, named Tchong-hoei :—

It was not undesignedly that Heaven gave a ruler to the people; they are its work, and in creating them it gave them a body and a free soul to guide them. It is to preserve them in the path of duty and virtue that this same Heaven created wise men, to whom it gives the light needful for governing rightly. Li-Koue dragged the people into vice and made them wretched; Heaven having endowed you with wisdom and virtue and the power to remedy so many evils, requires that you should labour zealously in this cause. Li-Koue must have known, from the discontent of the people, that Chan-ti rejected him. On the other hand, Heaven has manifested that it has chosen you to restore peace and happiness to the people.*

These words are certainly most significant, and sound and weighty conclusions concerning the nature of Chinese belief can be deduced from them; but we will not interrupt our summary of facts which, thus concentrated and grouped together, enable us without repetition to point out the inevitable conclusions.

After his decisive victory the new emperor assembled the people and addressed them in these words:—

Attend and listen to me. The Master of supreme Heaven having endowed with reason men living here below, the nature of men is to follow this reason. He only who can give stability to this reason is emperor.

The king of the dynasty of Hiya losing all virtue, and making use only of his power, inflicted tortures on the people. All carried their complaints to the spirits. The law of Heaven provides happiness for the just, and causes misfortune to overtake the wicked. It has sent down calamities on the dynasty of Hiya in order to testify to crime.

I, all inadequate as I am, submitted myself to the authority and the decree of Heaven. Receiving the command to punish the Hiyas, I appealed to the Sovereign of heaven and of earth; I asked for this a great holiness; I begged Heaven to decree that I should obtain power and your favour. The supreme Heaven having an assured love for

* The following are the very words used in the *Shû-King*: "Man who has received life from Heaven has desires and passions; if he have no master troubles will arise. So Heaven, in making the wise and the discerning masters of men, governs the people through them. The virtue of the dynasty of Hia becoming unsettled, nations and families having fallen, as on burning coals, Heaven has given strength and wisdom to the emperor (the reigning one), has set him up as an example to all kingdoms; it perpetuates in him the virtuous deeds of king Yu, whose ways of acting it causes him to imitate, and which are in conformity with the decree of Heaven. The king of the dynasty of Hia incurred guilt because he made new laws wishing to deceive Heaven, the King of Heaven no longer protected him. This is why he has passed a decree transmitting the empire to Prince Chang; he has transferred to him all the possessions of Hia, and has made him successor to his power. If you continue ever to respect the law of Heaven, you will always retain the decree of Heaven that made you sovereign." (*Shû-King*, iii. 2.)

the people, therefore was the great criminal overthrown. One cannot resist the decrees of Heaven.

Each one of you has received his kingdom from me, do not follow injustice, be not negligent or proud. If you observe the rules of morality you will obtain power from Heaven. Let all our deeds be reflected in the bosom of Heaven (or shape themselves according to the desire of Heaven.) If habitually we act in this manner, success will assuredly attend us.

The Shû-King relates nothing further concerning the reign of the first of the Changs, but it contains another very important statement, which we will give as briefly as possible :—

In spite of the virtues of Tching-tang, a terrible famine, followed by a continuous drought, afflicted the land. Seven years of utter barrenness (1764-59 B.C.) reduced the people to the last extremity of wretchedness. Then the sovereign, touched by so much misery, sought to propitiate Heaven. Stripped of his royal robes, clothed in sackcloth, he went to Mount Sanglin, and there prostrate, his face bathed in tears, he addressed the following prayer to Heaven : “August Heaven (Hoang-Tien), must the people be reduced to such wretchedness only on account of my sins? If I do not fulfil my duty in every particular, if faults are committed, it is I alone, O just Heaven, who am guilty. Let thy anger fall upon me ; strike me, but spare this unhappy people.”

The historian adds that the prayer was scarcely ended before the heavens were covered with clouds, and rain fell in abundance. After the death of Tching-tang, his Minister, Y-Yu became regent of the kingdom. On the second day of the twelfth month of the first year he offered up sacrifice for the late king, and presented the new king, who conducted the ceremonies in honour of ancestors. On this occasion Y-Yu reminded the people that the fallen house had been rejected by Heaven because of the crimes of its last representative, and that his father, had been chosen by the same Heaven on account of his virtues.

Imitate him [continued he], the Sovereign of supreme Heaven is not irrevocable in his deeds ; if you do good he will give you a hundred joys ; if you do evil he will overwhelm you with a hundred woes. Never despise virtue : this is the fatality of all States. Never esteem the man who is not virtuous, for the temple of your ancestors would be destroyed. Heaven would cast you down from the throne.

The young prince did not listen to his wise minister, and gave himself up to a disorderly life. Y-Yu resolved to write to him.

Your father [said he] observed scrupulously the decree of Heaven ; he maintained the temple of the inferior and superior spirits,

and that of the ancestors, and he respected them. Heaven caused his virtue to radiate, and repeating its decrees from a hidden place, it beneficently caused peace to reign over all things. Prince, do not dishonour your father.

The youthful sovereign yielded at last to the advice of Y-Yu, and amended his life. To retain him in the path of virtue the minister lent him fresh counsels. He wrote :—

Heaven never grants its favour absolutely; to those who respect it it is friendly. The spirits do not take pleasure in every offering, for they only love the man who practises virtue. The throne of Heaven (given by Heaven) is difficult to fill; if virtue reign, peace reigns; if virtue disappears, trouble rises up. The late king strove to conform to the will of the Sovereign of Heaven; he sought to reflect it. One must not rely absolutely on Heaven; its decree is not eternal. He whose virtue is unfailing, he alone can retain the throne. King Hiya did not know how to preserve virtue; he neglected the spirits, he oppressed the people; Heaven no longer upheld him, but sought out a virtuous man. Tang and I having this virtue, and knowing how to submit to the desires of the heart of Heaven, we have received the decree of Heaven. Heaven was not biased in favour of Chang. Heaven loves only virtue.

The young prince listened to the warning counsels of his minister, mended his ways, and became a clever ruler.

His successors left scarcely any record of their reign. Moreover, the book of Shû-King which related to them was lost in the general holocaust ordered to be made of all the Chinese books by an emperor who recognized in these homilies on morality a condemnation of his own tyranny and excesses. We must therefore pass over more than three centuries (from 1750 to 1400) to reach the Emperor Pan-Keng, of whom the Shû-King treats immediately after Tai-Kia. The religious views of the Chinese underwent no important modification during this very considerable lapse of time; such as we found them at the beginning of the eighteenth century, such we find them in the fourteenth century.

The inundations of the Hoang-ho made it absolutely necessary to change the capital of the empire. The inhabitants of the imperial city had no desire to emigrate. The new sovereign sought to move them to do so by persuasion :—

I have consulted fate [he said to them], and I was answered that this was necessary. The kings, our predecessors, in similar circumstances, reverencing with holy fear the decree of Heaven, did not give themselves up to inaction and did not dwell perpetually in the same spot. Counting this time there will have been five different removes. If I do not act now as they did formerly, I shall not be able to recognize that which has been decreed by Heaven. I shall not be able to declare

that I have imitated my predecessors. Let us take for our pattern the young shoot of the tree that has been broken. Heaven wills that we should live in another spot, and transferring to us the power of our ancestors, it wishes to ensure peace and tranquillity to all lands. . . . The King of Supreme Heaven strengthening the virtue of the sovereigns, our ancestors, willed that they should govern our empire. This is why watching most carefully in concert with virtuous ministers over the interests of the people I have fixed upon another place to be our royal residence. I have not despised your advice, but I have acted uprightly; fate having been consulted one cannot, without risk, act contrary to its direction. . . .

We will pass over the two worthless successors of Pan-Keng.

The third, Kao-Tsong (1324), remained shut up in his palace after the interval of mourning had elapsed, and could not make up his mind to show himself and to take in hand the reins of government. The nobles came in a body to entreat him to quit his retreat. The prince in answer told them that it was only the fear of being unworthy of his mission that kept him from his functions. "Whilst full of fear I thought upon the way of governing, the Master of Heaven showed me in a dream the minister he would give me; he shall speak for me." A drawing was made of the figure which the emperor had seen in his dream, and the man depicted was sought for on all sides. He was found at last in the desert of Fou-yen, and was set up as minister of the empire. He was a mason, by name Yue. The new minister called together the mandarins, and spoke to them in a discourse of exalted wisdom, which contained the following words, the only ones of interest to our present subject:—

An intelligent prince, obeying with respect the law of Heaven, founded the kingdom and fixed the residence of the sovereign; he established the kings and princes of the four orders, the officials, the magistrates and the nobles; he wished neither for rest nor pleasure, he thought only of rightly governing the people. Heaven is supremely intelligent and discerning, the holy man should imitate it; the officials submit to his will, the people should yield obedience to their guidance.

On another occasion the king said to him: "Help me; Pan-Keng, by his wise counsels, in such manner guided my grandfather and caused him to enter into the supreme Heaven (made him penetrate into the supreme Heaven)" (Shû-King, iii. 8).

Kao-Tsong being dead, his son and successor wished to repeat on two successive days the ceremonies held in honour of his deceased father. But on the second day a pheasant came and settled on the point of the roof and began, as it is related, to sing. This extraordinary incident disquieted the emperor, who

sought the advice of the wise Tsou-Ki. The latter declared to him that he should accept this singing as a sign of the displeasure he had caused to Heaven.

For the protection of the people Heaven established law as their principal safeguard. Of those who have received years, to some have been given many, to others not. It is not Heaven that makes men to perish. Men themselves are the cause of their own ruin. If there are those among the people who despise virtue, not acknowledging their misdeeds, Heaven makes it known to them and shows them virtue. Are not the people the children of Heaven? In the present instance, the lesson Heaven wishes to teach us is that one should not too often repeat ceremonies in honour of ancestors.

The successors of Tsou-Keng forgot the virtues of their fathers and fell away into every excess. During this period a vassal king, Prince Tcheou (of Chen-Si), extended his conquests.

The Emperor Ou-y (1198-11) wished that adoration should be paid to a statue which he had found in the road during some pleasure excursion. He had numerous copies made of it, which he sent into all the provinces. But having himself proved the powerlessness of this new god he went in one day and broke his idol into a thousand pieces. At the same time he poured out a torrent of blasphemy against Heaven and shot his arrows at it. It is even asserted that he caused bladders filled with blood to be suspended in the air which he pierced with his shafts, so that it might be thought that his weapons reached the celestial beings (De Mailla, i. 227).

In time the last of the Changs ascended the throne. He was a monster of cruelty and licentiousness. The people grew more and more estranged from him, and gathered round Prince Tcheou. It was evident that the empire of Chang was drawing to a close. A prince belonging to the imperial family warned the worthless monarch of the fate that threatened him.

Son of Heaven [he said], Heaven has revoked your patent; the wise men and the divining tortoise* foretell misfortunes. You, O king, are cause of this. Heaven has cast us off: we no longer observe the laws of Nature which it laid upon us. The people say: "Why does not Heaven overthrow this dynasty? There is nothing to hope for from the preservation of its patent." The King answered, "What? is not my life determined: ensured by Heaven's decree?" (Shû-King, iii. 10).

The storm, however, waxed stronger. One of the princes assembled together the high dignitaries and said to them:—

* Destiny was consulted by burning a tortoise-shell, and observing the lines traced in it.

"Our dynasty is on the brink of ruin. The people are given up to vice, the wicked are not punished. O worthies of the empire, this unhappy state has caused the wise men of our houses to flee to the desert; if you do not warn us and make provision for us against misfortune, what will become of us?" The chief minister answered him: "Son of the king, if Heaven cause these calamities to befall us, if it oppress the dynasty of Yu, it is on account of the excesses of the sovereign. He has driven from him the aged and distinguished men who filled the State offices. The people of the kingdom of Yu steal the victims sacrificed to the spirits; they eat them and then say there is no harm in so doing. . . . Let each one resolve on what he will do and keep watch over that which concerns him. It is enough that we fulfil our duties towards the deceased kings. As for me, I have no intention of retiring."

In 1120, the dynasty of the Changs was, in the person of its last and worthless representative, Tcheou-Sin, overthrown and replaced by that of Tcheou, a family of princes who ruled the country of that name in Shen-si. U-Wang, the king of that State, had long been remarkable for his virtues and paternal government. The people called upon him to deliver them from the tyrant who oppressed them.

The imperial dynasty having changed, the State which now ruled the empire having likewise changed, it might so have happened that the religious views would likewise have changed. We shall see what really took place, and thereupon form an opinion of the universality and antiquity of the ideas and creed of which we have traced the most striking features. An opportunity for verifying either change or stability will not be wanting. Before taking up arms against the oppressor of his people, Prince Tcheou had already been warmly solicited to put an end to this tyrannical reign. One day therefore, having assembled the great men of the country, he spoke to them as follows:—

You, O princes, set over the neighbouring kingdoms, you, O ministers of our States and officers of our armies, understand clearly my orders. Heaven and earth are the father and mother of all things; amongst all these things man is the intelligent being. Wise and intelligent men chosen by the supreme decree are the sovereigns of men, they are their fathers and mothers. Now Cheou, the king of the dynasty of the Changs, no longer reverences supreme Heaven and he weighs down the people with hardship. Given over to vice, immoderate in pleasures, he yields himself to every caprice, to cruelty, and to acts of tyranny; when he punishes he includes the whole family in the penalty; when he appoints to any charge he makes it hereditary, he squanders foolishly. . . . You, people of the hundred families, he oppresses the people with woes; the loyal and wealthy he orders to be burned and roasted, and the bodies of child-bearing women he has cut and opened.

The Supreme Heaven was filled with fierce wrath and secretly ordered my august father (to put an end to these disorders); but, whilst bowing with respect to the authority of Heaven, my father was not able to accomplish this great work. Therefore I, lowly as I am, and you princes of the neighbouring countries, we will examine into the government of the Changs. Cheou has no longer any wish to amend his life, he no longer pays respect either to the King of Heaven or to the spirits. Neglectful of the hall of his ancestors, he no longer offers up sacrifice.

He allowed thieves to destroy the victims and the vessels of the sacrifices. The people have (trusted) to me, therefore has the decree (of Heaven) (been borne), must I not correct those negligences? Heaven has established kings and teachers for the protection of the people. We must then co-operate with the Master of Heaven and with kindness put in order the four portions of the empire. Should I dare to order all things relating to merit and demerit according to my own inclination If I did not obey the decree of Heaven it would be a crime From morning till night I tremble, I am afraid. Being heir to the decree that made my father king, I offer to the Master of Heaven the sacrifice due to him, to the spirit of the earth the sacrifice that befits it. Taking you all for my auxiliaries, I will have the command of Heaven put in force (Shû-King, iv. 1).

Tcheou's crimes are even greater than those of Kieh; he declares "that sacrifices are quite useless, that it matters not whether one is a tyrant, and his likeness is not far off; it is that of the last king of the Hiyas. Heaven wills that I should govern the nations; has declared this to me in a dream, in the divinations the good omen is repeated! The Master of Supreme Heaven hates the tyrant Tcheou, he has decreed that he should perish: let us advance fearlessly.

On marching against Cheou, U-Wang issued a proclamation in which we note these words:—

Detesting the crimes of the Shang dynasty, I notified solemnly to Heaven and to earth, to the famed mountains and mighty streams which I had crossed I, in my lowliness, having met with faithful counsellors, I submitted myself to the command of Heaven; I will restore peace to these troubled lands. Help me, O spirits, grant that I may liberate all these people; may I never cause shame to the spirits (Shû-King, iv. 3).

So far we find the Chinese creed in its fullest simplicity, summarized in a few fundamental notions which we will analyze later on. In the next chapter, the Shû-King gives us a short but very comprehensive treatise on philosophy and politics. All sinologists refer it to a very early epoch. Legge does not hesitate to attribute the authorship to the Emperor Yu himself. The Shû-King puts this doctrine in the mouth of the Governor of Ki speaking to U-Wang; nevertheless he gives it as an ancient tradition. It is there supposed that, questioned by the

emperor, this prince explains to him the government of the world.

"Prince Ki," said the king, "(I know that) Heaven in forming nations takes into account the requirements of each, but I do not know what order, what principle he follows in governing them." The prince answered: "From what I have heard said, Kuen (Yu's father), having at one time stayed the great waters, he spread discord in the five elements. The Sovereign of Heaven was greatly incensed thereat, and did not reveal to him the nine categories of sublime doctrine. He in this way destroyed law and order, and died in prison. Yu succeeded him. To him Heaven communicated the nine great categories; laws and regulations were then drawn up and observed. These are—firstly, the five elements; secondly, the prudent use of five things (having a moral nature); thirdly, the eight rules for governing: fourthly, the five divisions of time holding mutual relations to each other; fifthly, the establishment and exercise of supreme power; sixthly, the rule and practice of the three virtues; seventhly, the use of certain means for removing doubt; eighthly, the use of every method of examination and inquiry; ninthly, the use of the right mediums for procuring the five blessings and avoiding the six evils.

Water is the first of the five elements;* the second is fire; the third wood; the fourth metal; the fifth earth.

Water is that which flows downwards and moistens; fire reaches upwards and ascends on high; wood is curved and straight; metal melts and undergoes change; the earth labours and brings forth harvests.

The statement is continued in this fashion, and is followed up by this comprehensive reflection—"Such is the doctrine of the Sovereign of Heaven." The details thus far given are sufficiently numerous, and we may be dispensed from continuing our statement of them. We shall now content ourselves with selecting here and there in the Shû-King such incidents as are of importance in reference to our subject. The sixth chapter of book fourth is of special interest. The following is a summary of its principal parts:—"In the second year after the defeat of the Chang dynasty the king felt ill, and could not be healed. The two chief ministers said: 'We should consult the fates in general.' Tcheou-Kong answered them, 'Let us not afflict the ancestral kings.' But he made this his personal care. Having raised

* This rendering is inadequate. The Chinese word *hing* implies a principle of motion. It is then these first principles that impart motion to the world and evolve individual beings. The Chinese, however, have but very superficial notions concerning the essential innermost nature of beings.

three mounds, forming but one hollow, he raised a fourth to the south, there to pray with his face turned to the north, and standing upright . . . he performed the ceremonies, addressing himself to Tai-Wang, Wang-Ki and Wen-Wang.* The great historian then recited this prayer, which he read from a ritual :—

Your descendent and successor, O three sovereigns, is bowed down with a grievous and cruel disease! By the command of Heaven you have assumed the guardianship of your son, and I put myself in his stead. He has received the mandate of Heaven, he is able to bear up the four quarters of the world, and to maintain your sons and grandnephews on this earth. All the people fear and respect him; let not the decree put forth by Heaven be lost. The ancestral kings will thus have to perpetuate a spot where they can dwell in safety.

Then the tortoise divination was thrice scrutinized and each time the signs were equally propitious . . . the book of portents was consulted, and as it was also favourable Tcheou-Kong said :—

According to the signs vouchsafed the king will be saved. I, all lowly though I am, have received the answer of the three ancestral kings, they point to perpetuity; we may expect that they will testify their benignant love, O master.

The king recovered his health. After his death his younger brothers circulated rumours injurious to Tcheou-Kong to the effect that he would prove fatal to the young prince. The minister resolved on retiring and departed, saying to his colleagues, "If I do not retire I shall be put to death, and I shall no longer be able to inform the ancestral kings of what is happening so that they may come to our assistance." Tcheou-Kong then departed towards a country in the east and remained there two years. Then the guilty ones were discovered (and seized). Nevertheless, the innocence of the minister was not yet officially proved and proclaimed, but Heaven took upon itself to defend him.

In autumn, when the ripe grain was ready in great abundance, violent claps of thunder were heard, vivid flashes of lightning were seen, the wind raged violently, the crops were laid low, the trees blown down, all the people of the kingdom were seized with great fear. The king and his ministers covered their heads with the pien, the coffer with golden bands was opened. In it were found the words with which Tcheou-Kong, taking all responsibility upon himself, asked to die for the emperor, U-Wang. The emperor and two ministers questioned the mandarins of the

* Ancestors of U-Wang, the reigning emperor.

historical council and all the officials; they replied that it was quite true (that Tcheou-Kong had thus devoted himself). "We dared not say so because of the order of Tcheou-Kong," said they. Then the king, weeping, took the scroll and pronounced these words :—

Consult the fates no more : Tcheou-Kong rendered great services to the empire and to the imperial house; but I was a child and was ignorant of it. Now Heaven, having manifested its power, has shown forth the virtue of Tcheou-Kong : lowly individual as I am, I will myself go forth to meet him; this is in conformity with the usages of our imperial house.

The emperor had scarcely reached the plain when rain fell in great abundance; the wind blowing in a contrary direction restored vigour to the crops. The two ministers issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the kingdom, and ordered the great trees that were uprooted to be replanted, and in this year the harvest was very great (Shû-King, iv. 6).

We may now pass rapidly over the years following U-Wang's reign. We will only point out here and there certain matters of importance to our subject. To avoid unnecessary length, we will place them according to the order of the reigns, irrespective of their relation to each other.

Tching-Wang.—This prince addressed the following speech to his ministers and chief vassals :—

I do not enjoy the favour of Heaven : it overwhelms my family with grief without granting it the shortest respite. Still young, yet have I long inherited sovereign power; I do not possess the wisdom necessary for giving peace to the people and for guiding them. I know not how to read and understand the decrees of Heaven.

On the other hand, could I, without fear, cease to exercise the authority confided to me by Heaven? My father bequeathed a precious tortoise to me that reveals the thoughts of Heaven; when fate was consulted through it, it declared that there was much trouble in the west and that the nations of that region would not be at peace. . . . Lowly as I am, could I oppose the commands of the Sovereign of Heaven? Heaven loved my father, who established peace everywhere and raised up our small kingdom of Tcheou. My father had consulted the fates, and could therefore execute all the decrees (of Heaven).

It is by raising obstacles and difficulties that Heaven enables us to do meritorious works. Heaven looks upon the difficulties and sufferings endured by the people in these days as on a sickness. . . . Ten men understanding perfectly the decrees of the Lord of Heaven and the assistance given them by Heaven, would not dare then to violate its law. Heaven in overthrowing the dynasty of Yu, acts like one who sows a field and leaves us to complete his work and gather in the

harvest. Dare I leave it undone? Heaven's decree cannot deceive (Shû-King, iv. 7).

In the ninth chapter (iv.) of the Shû-King, the Emperor speaks as follows to his younger brother and chief minister:—

Our illustrious father, Wen-Wang, was resplendent in virtue and made the law observed. . . . His virtues were known to the Lord of Heaven: the Lord of Heaven loved him and gave him the decree, ordering the destruction of the kingdom of Yu.

And further on—

When Wen-Wang founded our dynasty he gave instructions to the chief mandarins, saying, "Make use of wine only for sacrifices, this is the decree of Heaven; it has given wine to the people only to be used in sacrifice. This is why Heaven is angry."

In former times august Heaven gave to preceding kings the government of the nations of the central empire and of all the earth. This is why the sovereign should walk only in the paths of virtue and find his delight in submitting to the heavenly decree, received by former kings (iv. 11).

In the twelfth chapter we find the Tai-pao, or Minister of the Interior, expressing himself thus in speaking of the sovereign:—

The supreme Lord of Heaven, having withdrawn the empire from the successor of Yu, your Majesty was set in his place. This is boundless misfortune and boundless happiness; can one but be filled with fear! When Heaven revoked and cut off the decree founding the empire of the Yus, the wise sovereigns of that dynasty were in Heaven according to order;* but on account of the crimes of their successors, the men of later times Heaven, filled with great pity for the people, issued the privileged decree, transferring the empire to those who would know how to reverence it. Therefore, O Prince, you should respect and practise virtue.

Consider the ancient dynasty of Hia. Heaven guiding and protecting it as a son, it yielded scrupulous obedience to Heaven; yet the decree of empire was taken from it. You have become king, you have received the inheritance from the King of Heaven. . . .

After having built this great city, offer, in obedience to the commands of Heaven (*dergi abka de acabume*), sacrifices to the superior and inferior spirits (*dergi fejergi*). Entreat Heaven, O Prince, to grant that you should practise virtue. I have accepted (presents from the chief vassals) that they may be employed in the carrying out of your decree, which orders that supplication should be made to Heaven (Shû-King, ii. 13).

The same emperor (Ching-Wang), addressing the high dignitaries of the fallen dynasty, said to them:—

* *Abka*. . . .

O all ye dignitaries who have outlived the dynasty of the Yus; when their empire had forfeited the grace of Heaven, Heaven overwhelmed it with immense misfortunes, and gave the sovereignty to our dynasty of Tcheou. It gave us sovereign power, entrusting us with heavenly authority. Listen, O all ye dignitaries. Our kingdom was very small, we could not, without fear, think of (obtaining) the inheritance of the Yu dynasty. With Heaven it was otherwise; it could place no confidence in persons enamoured of disorder; it looked with favour on us. We could not without fear aspire to the throne. It was otherwise with the Lord of Heaven; this is seen in the habitual conduct of our people; Heaven is resplendent and terrible. I have heard it said, the Lord of Heaven guides men through paths of peace. The Hia dynasty did not reign in peace, so the Lord of Heaven reprobated it by reiterated admonitions, but it knew not how to obey the Lord of Heaven. . . . Heaven no longer had compassion on it, and would not listen to it, and its inheritance was transferred to another. . . . The first kings of the Yu dynasty were not wanting in respect to the Lord of Heaven; in imitation of Heaven they scattered their favours all around. Their successor did not imitate Heaven. The Sovereign Master of Heaven no longer protected him, Heaven no longer upheld him.

The new sovereign belonging to our dynasty of Tcheou devoted himself wonderfully to the business of the Lord of Heaven. In conformity with the decree which terminated the empire of the Yus, he announced* to the Lord of Heaven that he had executed his commands (chap. xiv.). Tcheong-tsong, of the Yu dynasty, in submission to the order of Heaven, laboured with zeal to perfect himself (chap. xv.). Even should our people respect the laws of the Lord of Heaven and the authority of Heaven, can I be without cause for thought?

Later on (chapter xvi.) the minister, Tcheou-Kong, says to the sage, Chi :—

Master Chi, I have heard said that when Cing-Tang received the heavenly mandate the minister I-yen held communication with Heaven. When Tai was emperor his ministers, Jo Ji and Can Ho, held communication with the Lord of Heaven. Master Chi, in former times, the Lord of the Supreme Heaven overwhelmed with misfortunes the dynasty of the Yus, and established the Tcheous on their throne. Supreme Heaven shows no respect to persons, it ever favours the virtuous man (17 *med.*). The Lord of Heaven gave warnings to the dynasty of Hia, but these princes know not how to follow, even for one day, the guidance of the Lord of Heaven. Then Heaven sought out a suitable prince for the people, and entrusted his mandate to Cing-Teng, and destroyed the kingdom of Hia. He was no longer approved by Heaven, he was no longer fit to uphold you, worthy people. Heaven granted a respite of five years to the son and grandson of the king, and waited to see whether he would be a kind sove-

* By a religious ceremony.

reign to this people. But he knew not how to understand or to obey. Heaven then exciting with power, and seeking amongst all the men of our country for one manifesting a spirit devoted to Heaven, was not able to bestow its love on any one in your country. King Tcheou, alone capable of serving the spirits and Heaven, was fit to be entrusted with the government of your country (chap. xviii. *initio et med.*).

The language of Tching-Wang's successor does not differ from that held by this prince. Addressing himself to the chief vassals of the empire, Kang-Wang said to them as did the former kings: "My ancestors received their power from the Sovereign of Supreme Heaven; Supreme Heaven, approving their conduct, gave them the government of the world." Men-Wang (930-907), speaking of the chiefs of Miao, said these words:—

The moans of so many people tortured by a cruel power, although guiltless of any crime, reached up to Heaven; the Sovereign of Supreme Heaven seeing what was happening among the people, certified that all sense of virtue was gone. . . . The Sovereign of Heaven, giving judgment on the Miyos steeped in iniquity, caused heavy misfortunes to overtake them. Heaven has commissioned me to make the people virtuous. . . . Heaven is not unjust or inconstant; misfortunes result (from the sins) of men. If Heaven did not inflict the full penalty of the punishments it awards, the people would never enjoy a wise government (chap. xxvii.).

To conclude, king Cing-Wang (770-720), referring to the misfortunes of his family, says in his lamentations:—

Kings T-Ho, Wen-Wang, U-Wang, were illustrious in virtue, they raised themselves to the Supreme Heaven. Their fame having spread throughout the earth, the Sovereign of Supreme Heaven conferred the empire on Wen-Wang. Alas! wretched and weak that I am to inherit this sovereignty. Heaven has sent a terrible calamity.

These extracts are, I think, sufficient to carry conviction to the minds of our readers. We have gleaned them in an area of fourteen centuries, from the earliest origin of the Chinese empire down to the age of its fullest development. Authentic history throughout shows us the Chinese people speaking but one tongue, holding but one doctrine. This doctrine can be summarized in a few words. From the first dawn of its history the Chinese held an universal and uninterrupted faith in a personal Being (Ti; manchu Han, Sovereign Emperor), the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and earth, of the terrestrial elements, and of all events that take place. This Supreme Master, this God, is the Lord of earthly emperors; power and all other possessions are given and withdrawn by him; kings are his lieutenants. He punishes and rewards with absolute and independent authority. Supreme in the physical world, this God is equally master in the moral world.

Morality is another name for his law, his will, to which man must submit and to which he must conform his conduct. This God punishes all transgression of his commands and of his law; he pours out blessings on those who observe them.

The Chinese designation for this God is "Shang-ti"—"Supreme Sovereign"; the Manchurian, "Dergi abkai-Han," the sovereign of Supreme Heaven, or "Dergi Di," "the Supreme Sovereign." Inferior to this God are the heavenly holy spirits and those of earth destitute of all moral characteristics (?) These spirits have no divine attributes, and are infinitely below God; they do not possess absolute control over anything; they are not the source of morality, but they may, however, help to diffuse blessings and evils, and to protect the moral order. Their position is very obscure and subordinate, their recognition seems limited to receiving sacrifices of the inferior class.

The one who ranks highest amongst them is the spirit of the earth. Lastly, they believed that man survives the death of the body; this existence is real though not defined. Good kings in particular pass from earth to heaven, where they dwell for ever.

We will not expend much time or effort in proving that this short summary is an accurate statement of the religious system of the primitive Chinese. We refer our readers to the pages we have just submitted to them. We would specially draw attention to lines 1-7; 13-14; 16-19; 26-28 of page 101; to lines 8-11 of page 102; to lines 10, 17, 18, 25, 26 of page 103; to lines 3, 17, 20, 26, 28 *seq.* of page 105; to lines 4-6, 9, 12-14, 19-20 of page 106; lines 4, 5, 9, 21, 22 of page 107, &c.

We must, however, forestal one objection. Acts of sovereign power are often attributed to *Heaven* alone (to Tien). This, together with the degenerate doctrines of certain Chinese of the present time, has given rise to the assertion that the Chinese were always materialists and that it is the material heaven they worship. Such of our readers as have had the courage to follow us through this long statement will not be able to restrain a smile at this objection. To suppose the Chinese capable of believing that the material heaven, a vault, a hemisphere of stone or diamond, is capable of giving or withdrawing royal power, of feeling anger at crime or of rewarding virtue, of having a fatherly love for the people; to suppose also that their sovereigns and leaders were merely the lieutenants of a pile of tangible and consciousness materials, is to offer them an insult altogether unjustifiable. We might as well accuse our poets of a like absurdity when they talk of the "protection of heaven," and seem to hear murder asking revenge from heaven, &c. &c. Nothing but the blindness of a preconceived system could prevent any one perceiving the unreasonableness of such a thesis.

This negative argument, however, does not content us. The Shû-King and other Chinese books supply us with positive irrefutable proof. The expressions Shang-ti and Tien are constantly interchanged to express the author of the same divine acts, and that not only in different passages, but in the same sentence. We need only refer to the last extract relating to this point:—

The moans of so many people tortured by a cruel power, and guiltless of any crime, reached up to *Heaven*; the *Sovereign of Supreme Heaven*, seeing what was happening among the people, certified that all sense of virtue was gone. . . . The *Sovereign of Heaven*, giving judgment on the Miyos steeped in iniquity, caused heavy misfortunes to overtake them. *Heaven* has commissioned me to make the people virtuous. . . . If *Heaven* did not inflict, &c. &c.

Hence it is evident that in spite of all efforts made to materialize the religious doctrines of ancient China, to impose silence on witnesses testifying to the natural belief in God and in one only God, the primitive religion of the Chinese was, and continued to be, the most spiritual, the most perfect monotheism ever known throughout ancient times outside the pale of Judaism. There are, however, certain superficial difficulties which, though powerless to impress, even for a moment, any one acquainted with the real facts, it is important should not be left unanswered.*

C. DE HARLEZ.

ART VI.—THE "*ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*" ON MISSIONS.

The Encyclopædia Britannica. 9th Edition. Vol. XVI. (MEN—MOS). London and Edinburgh: 1883. Article "Missions," by the Rev. G. F. MACLEAR, D.D.

THE last volume of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" contains an article on "Missions" by the Rev. Dr. Maclear. It is an article that would not have called for any special notice, if it had appeared in the columns of some organ of the Protestant missionary press. But it has been put before the public in a

* We should not forget that there are many minds eager to accept and even to seek out the most frivolous pretexts for withholding their assent. It is right that, for their own sakes and for that of their followers, every chance of illusion should be destroyed.

work that is supposed to contain the latest, fullest and most accurate information on the subjects with which it deals. It is well then that the account which Dr. Maclear gives of the missions of the Christian world should not go unchallenged. Briefly, the article is a very misleading one. If we are to judge its writer by it, we are forced to conclude that he is a well-meaning man, with some Protestant prejudices, and an exaggerated idea of the value of Protestant missions; that he possesses only incomplete and one-sided information even about them, and knows next to nothing about Catholic missions. Indeed, his knowledge of his subject is anything but encyclopædic. We trust he will not feel aggrieved by this estimate of the extent of his information. If we took any other view of the matter, the only possible alternative would be a very disagreeable one—a charge of *suppressio veri*. We proceed to justify this judgment on the article, by pointing out some of its errors of omission and commission. And let it be remembered that Dr. Maclear's views on missions are probably those of most educated Protestants. We may not unfairly take him as the type of a class, and if we show that he is strangely ignorant and strangely prejudiced on this subject, we shall thereby do something to explain how it is that Protestant missionary societies are still able to gather each year a million sterling from their enthusiastic supporters.

Dr. Maclear sets out with a remark that suggests a doubt whether his whole idea of the nature of Christian missions is not an unsound one. These are his words:—

Christian missions had their origin in the example and command of our Lord Himself (Matt. xxviii. 19), and the unparalleled boldness on the part of the Founder of Christianity, which dared to anticipate for the Christian faith a succession of efforts which should never cease to cause its propagation to be undertaken as "a distinct and direct work," has been justified by the voice of history.

It is not easy to understand the precise meaning of this passage. If the Founder of Christianity was God, if He was decreeing that this work of the propagation of the faith should be done in His name and by His grace and might, if His promise to be with those He sent even to the end of the world, was a divine promise made in the conscious possession of almighty power, how can this be called "boldness?" An "unparalleled boldness," that "dares" to anticipate success for the enterprise it commands, suggests mere human courage and foresight. If Christ was but man, if Christian missions are mere human enterprises, then and then only these words are well chosen. But surely Dr. Maclear does not mean this?

His article is divided into three parts, which deal with the missions of the "Primitive," the "Mediæval," and the "Modern" Periods. In this arrangement the Primitive is divided from the Mediæval Period by the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the new European nationalities in the fifth century; and the Mediæval Period is in its turn marked off from the Modern by the rise of the Protestant mission societies about the beginning of the eighteenth century. The amount of space allotted to the three periods is very unequal. The whole article occupies fourteen columns of the "Encyclopædia." The Primitive Period is disposed of in something less than a column of large type. Two more columns are devoted to the Mediæval Period, which notwithstanding its title includes the Jesuit missions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The remaining eleven columns (printed for the most part in a small type that practically doubles the space) are allotted to the Modern Period. It is true that modern missions deserve a very full treatment, but these eleven columns are devoted almost entirely to *Protestant missions*. For the modern Catholic missions there is only here and there a passing remark, generally an incorrect and misleading one. Now what would be said of a French Encyclopædia that gave its readers an article, let us say, on *Colonization*, and devoted not quite two pages to ancient and "mediæval" colonization, classing under the first of these heads Phœnician, Greek and Roman colonies, and under the second the colonial enterprises of Spain, Portugal and Holland, ending with a word on the establishment of the British East India Company, and then going on to devote three times the space to "modern colonization" as represented by French efforts in Algeria, Tunis, Madagascar, Tonquin and New Caledonia, remarking in passing that England had also been active in some quarters during the modern period? Would it not be said that the author's field of mental vision was a narrow one, and his treatment of his subject not very complete, or even very fair? Yet this is no travesty of the plan of Dr. Maclear's article on *Missions*.

We might raise some objection even to the principle of our author's division of his subject. We might ask him whether he wishes to imply that the Church, as an active working body in the mission-field, is a thing of the Mediæval Period only. We might call attention to his curious omission of all reference to the connection of the earlier missions with Rome, though the mention of such names as Augustin, Boniface and Anskar make this silence all the more remarkable. Or coming to a later period we might ask how it is that the eccentric Raymond Lully receives special praise as a peaceful missioner to the Moslem, while no word is said of the devoted activity of the Franciscan and

Dominican missionaries in Africa and Syria in the same period. On these and similar topics we might dwell at some length, but we have so much to say of more recent missions and of the periods which Dr. Maclear has treated in some detail, that we pass on at once to those parts of the article which deal with the history of missions since the great maritime discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

After a word on the voyages of Columbus, Da Gama and the other navigators of this time, Dr. Maclear proceeds to tell us:—

These bold discoverers had secured the countenance of the Pope on condition that wherever they might plant a flag they should be also zealous in promoting the extension of the Christian faith. Thus a grand opportunity was given to the Churches of Portugal and Spain. But the zeal of the Portuguese, even when not choked by the rising lust of wealth and territorial power, took too often a one-sided direction, repressing the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast, and interfering with the Abyssinian Church, while the fanatic temper of the Spaniard, maddened by his prolonged conflict with the infidel at home, betrayed him into methods of propagating his faith, which we cannot contemplate without a shudder, consigning in Mexico and Peru multitudes, who would not renounce their heathen errors, to indiscriminate massacre or abject slavery.

These few lines contain such sweeping assertions that to fully criticize them would be to discuss nearly the whole history of the missions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We can only make a few remarks on the main points touched by Dr. Maclear.

(1) The Portuguese are charged with "repressing the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast." We confess we do not quite see what this means, but it certainly conveys the impression that the Syrian Christians were badly treated, if not persecuted. Now first we must remark that these Syrian Christians were simply Nestorians. They were not merely schismatics, rebels against Roman authority with whom Dr. Maclear would probably so far sympathize, but they were men who "divided Christ" and held a doctrine which practically denied the mystery of the Incarnation. Now let us hear from a Protestant writer, Dr. Hunter (one of the best living authorities on matters connected with India), what was the condition of these Syrian Christians when the Portuguese came among them, and what Portuguese "repression" was like:—

But for the labours of the Catholic priests the Nestorians would have relapsed into heathenism. About 1596 the Archbishop of Goa, Alexis de Menezes, an Augustinian, succeeded in reconciling the Indian Nestorians to Rome; and at the Synod of Diamper (Udayampura, near Cochin) in

1599, the affairs of the Indian Christians were settled. The use of the Syrian rite was retained after it had been purged of its Nestorianism. About fifty years later, emissaries from Babylon caused the whole community to relapse into Nestorianism; and the war between the Dutch and Portuguese at this time impeded the action of the Catholic missionaries. But in 1660 a mission of Carmelite priests arrived, and succeeded in recovering nearly all the Indian Christians to Rome. A certain number cling to the Nestorian rite to this day, and are split up into various factions, with several rival bishops, whose disputes come from time to time before our courts. These divisions have not been cemented by the labours of the Church Missionary Society, which from 1816 to 1838 fostered a connection with the Nestorians, and gave liberal aid to their schools.*

It appears then that the Portuguese missionaries rescued the Syrian Christians from a very degraded condition, and made most of them true believers in the Incarnate God. The agents of the Church Missionary Society appear to have been less successful, and to have long given up the scheme of an alliance with the Indian Nestorians as a hopeless one. Their experiment, however, has had the interesting result of putting in sharp contrast the Portuguese missionaries of the seventeenth century and the Protestant missionaries of the nineteenth. So much for Portuguese "repression" of the Syrian Christians.

(2) But, it seems, these same Portuguese also committed the mistake of "interfering with the Abyssinian Church." Again we must protest against the vagueness of Dr. Maclear's language. It may mean nearly anything. It probably does mean that there was no reason for missionaries to trouble themselves about the Church of Abyssinia, that their action was an unjustifiable interference, a kind of aggression. Now, turning to vol. i. of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," we read of this Abyssinian Church, whose independence is so dear to Dr. Maclear:—

The prevailing religion of Abyssinia is a very corrupted form of Christianity. . . . Christianity was introduced into this country about the year 330, but since that time it has been so corrupted by errors of various kinds as to have become little more than a dead formality, mixed up with much superstition and Judaism. . . . The children are circumcised, and the Mosaic commandments with respect to food and purification are observed. . . . Marriage is a very slight connection among them, dissolvable at any time by either of the parties, and polygamy is by no means uncommon.†

A Catholic of course knows well that it is no unjustifiable interference, but the simple fulfilment of our Lord's command,

* "The Indian Empire." By W. W. Hunter, C.I.E., LL.D. (London, 1882). P. 373.

† "Encyc. Brit.," vol. i. Art. "Abyssinia," pp. 63, 64.

when a missionary, duly commissioned, goes forth to win back to the one fold a schismatic community of Judaizing Monophysites. But one would have thought that even a Protestant could sympathize with the efforts of a Nuñez or a Paez to reform a Church that had fallen back under the slavery of the law and tolerated polygamy. Yet this is what Dr. Maclear brands as interference. We confess that if space allowed us we should be glad to tell here the history of the old Jesuit mission to Abyssinia, if only to compare it with some later attempts at interference with the Abyssinian Church, beginning with the mission of Dr. Gobat (later on Anglican bishop of Jerusalem), who seems by his own account to have succeeded in convincing some of the Abyssinians that he was a good Mohammedan. But we must abstain from such digressions, tempting as they are, and go on with our examination of Dr. Maclear's article.

Having made these charges against the Portuguese of want of due respect for the corrupt schismatic Churches of Malabar and Abyssinia, he turns to their rivals in discovery and conquest. The Spaniard, he tells us, was betrayed by his fanatic temper, "into methods of propagating his faith, which we cannot contemplate without a shudder, *consigning in Mexico and Peru multitudes who would not renounce their heathen errors to indiscriminate massacre or abject slavery.*" In support of this sweeping statement he refers his readers to two passages in Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico." Now, although Prescott was a writer of strong anti-Catholic prejudices, as his language often shows, we shall for argument's sake accept his book as evidence on this matter. We have no hesitation in saying that, taking Prescott's history as a whole, the facts he relates do not support but refute this statement of Dr. Maclear. We presume that as Dr. Maclear names an authority for Mexico but none for Peru he will be satisfied if we examine his statement as to Mexico only, it being granted that the conduct of the conquerors was much the same in the two countries.

First, we remark that, though Prescott speaks of the "fanaticism" of the conquerors, their "intolerance," their "carrying the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other," wherever he descends to details or quotes authorities we find nothing to justify or support these general statements. It is true the Spaniards were often cruel in the suppression of revolt, the search for gold, the organization of slave labour. But we can discover in the whole of Prescott's narrative no case where they massacred men for refusing to abandon their idols, or reduced them to slavery for the same reason.

As to slavery, the commission appointed by Ximenes did

indeed justify the system of forced labour in the *repartimientos* of the new colonies, on the ground that "the Indians would not labour without compulsion, and that unless they laboured they could not be brought into communication with the whites, nor be converted to Christianity." * Now, however ill-advised this decision was, no one will pretend that it was a case of reducing men to abject slavery because they would not renounce their heathen errors. It was an attempt to bring the newly acquired lands into cultivation by means of serf-labour, and at the same time it was hoped that the contact of the Indians with civilized men would secure their ultimate civilization and conversion. The scheme, as Prescott tells us, was "accompanied with many careful provisions for the protection of the natives." It is true that it almost completely failed, but it is not by any means the only scheme for organizing native labour that has ended in disastrous failure and widespread abuse.

As to the efforts of Cortes to abolish the idolatry of Mexico, the best answer to Dr. Maclear's assertion will be the following summary of all the facts stated by Prescott that bear on this point:—

(1) At Cozumel Cortes threw down the idols: no one was killed or enslaved.† (2) No force was used when the Tlascalans were converted. We find Prescott suggesting various other causes of the change, the ceremonies of the Church, traces of resemblance to the Aztec traditions in the Christian doctrine, the prestige of the Spaniards, &c.‡ (3) At Cempoalla the idols (to which human sacrifices had been offered) were cast down. "Heaven," said Cortes, "would never smile on their enterprise if they countenanced such atrocities."§ Resistance on the part of the Indians was prevented by the cool daring of Cortes, without a drop of blood being shed. As at Cozumel, the sight of the powerlessness of their gods seems to have been one of the motives that led the Indians to abandon paganism at the invitation of Father Olmedo. (4) At Naulinco || there was no violence. The Indians were friendly; Father Olmedo preached and erected a cross. "The route of the army," says Prescott, "might have been tracked by these emblems of man's salvation, raised *wherever a willing population of Indians invited it.*" (5) At Tlatlauquitepec (or Cocotlan) Cortes, having failed to make any impression on the cacique by argument, wanted to erect the cross by force, but was stopped by Father Olmedo. Prescott says of Olmedo on this occasion: "He represented that to introduce the cross among the natives in their present state of ignorance and incredulity, would be to expose the sacred symbol to desecration so soon as the backs of

* Prescott, "Mexico," Bk. II. ch. i. vol. i. p. 121 (ed. London, 1860, in 2 vols.).

† Bk. II. chap. iv. pp. 148, 149.

‡ P. 159.

§ Pp. 195, &c.

|| P. 217.

the Spaniards were turned. The only way was to wait patiently the season when more leisure should be afforded to instil into their minds a knowledge of the truth. The sober reasoning of the good father prevailed over the passions of the martial enthusiasts."* (6) At Tlascala Olmedo prevented the forcible overthrow of the idols. "He had no desire," he said, "to see the same scenes enacted over again as at Cempoalla. He had no relish for forced conversions; they could hardly be lasting. . . . Of what use was it to overturn the altar, if the idol remained enthroned in the heart? or to destroy the idol itself, if it were only to make room for another?"† (7) Again, when Cortes had crushed the conspiracy against the Spaniards in "the holy city of Cholula," and wished to press conversion upon the people, Olmedo interposed to prevent him.‡ Cortes yielded, and only used the conqueror's right to break open the cages in which human victims were waiting to be sacrificed, and he converted the great temple into a church. (8) Arguments, and not violence, were used throughout in the efforts made to convert Montezuma.§ (9) The mission of Martin of Valencia (1524) appears to have been freely welcomed by the people. No force was used, and the mission was a complete success. "The missionaries," says Prescott, "lost no time in the good work of conversion. They began their preaching through interpreters, until they had acquired a competent knowledge of the language themselves. They opened schools and founded colleges, in which the heathen youth were instructed in profane as well as Christian learning. The ardour of the Indian neophyte emulated that of his teacher. In a few years every vestige of the primitive *teocallis* was effaced from the land."||

It is true that Prescott says the Spaniards came "with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other,"¶ and he adds—

They imposed obedience in matters of faith no less than of government on the vanquished, little heeding whether the conversion were genuine, so that it conformed to the outward observances of the Church. Yet the seeds thus recklessly scattered must have perished but for the missionaries of their own nation, who in later times worked over the same ground, living among the Indians as brethren, and by long and patient culture enabling the germs of truth to take root and fructify in their hearts.**

* P. 220.

† Pp. 261, 262.

‡ P. 285.

§ Vol. i. pp. 311 and 365; vol. ii. p. 56.

|| Bk. VIII. chap. ii. vol. ii. p. 271.

¶ This, though natural and even laudable in the case of Cromwell's Ironsides, would seem to be most blameworthy in the case of the Conquistadores of Cortes. But, however this may be, it seems these Spaniards had the Bible with them, years before Luther's German version, the Inquisition notwithstanding!

** Vol. i. p. 221.

Yet though he speaks here of forced conversions, we can find no record of them in his pages. The case of Cempoalla comes nearest to it, but even in that case there is not a word of "indiscriminate massacre" and "wholesale reduction to abject slavery" of men who resisted conversion. We repeat, the Spaniards were often cruel and took life recklessly in the lust of gold and of conquest (as most European nations have done at one time or another), but there were no religious massacres. If ever force might have been justly employed to cast down idols and overturn altars, surely it would have been in these Aztec temples, red with human blood, and provided with cages of human victims. Yet even here the monks protested against all violence. If further evidence be needed against Dr. Maclear on this point, it will be found in abundance in Helps' "Spanish Conquest in America," a work based on original research, independent of Prescott, and all the more valuable for our purpose because it deals specially with the questions of the relations between the conquerors and their subjects, and the growth of the system of *repartimientos*. Here again there is not a word of wholesale massacre as a means of propaganda.* So much for Dr. Maclear's charge against the Spaniards. Curiously enough, not content with having made it, he adds that the results of the Mexican mission were "scanty," and this although he himself writes a few lines lower down: "The labours of the devoted men, whom he (Cortes) begged the emperor to send out, were successful in banishing every vestige of the Aztec worship from the Spanish settlements." But confusion like this runs through the whole article. He even tries to justify his assertion about scanty results, by saying "only five bishoprics had been established by 1520." He cannot surely have forgotten that 1520 was precisely the year of the capture of Mexico. If anything, five bishoprics would seem to be an excessive establishment for that early date.

But this is not the only statement in the article that seems to show that dates are not Dr. Maclear's strong point. He begins his account of the Jesuit missions with a tribute to St. Francis Xavier, and then adds: "The immediate successor of Xavier, Antonio Criminalis (*sic*) was regarded by the Jesuits as the first martyr of their society (1562)." Now Antonio Crimalino was killed by the Badagas on the Fishery Coast in 1549,† Xavier

* We may note here that Dr. Maclear is wrong in asserting that Las Casas was the only protector of the Indians. The Dominicans, whom he afterwards joined, had begun the good work before he did—as Helps clearly shows.

† Coleridge, "Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier," ii. p. 196. Hunter, "The Indian Empire," p. 373.

died at Sanchan three years after. A mistake like this is not a trifling one, for it shows that Dr. Maclear has no great familiarity with this period of the Indian missions, and that even his method of getting up an unfamiliar subject must be a loose one.

Proceeding with his account of the Jesuit missions, Dr. Maclear revives an old charge against them. These are his words: "The peculiar methods of unholy compromise with Brahmanism in India followed by Robert de' Nobili drew down the condemnatory briefs of pope after pope, and were fatal to the vitality of his own and other missions." If Dr. Maclear knows much of the history of the Indian missions, he must at least have heard of P. Bertrand's work, "*La Mission du Maduré*." In that work he will find a full discussion of the whole question of the Malabar rites, including (in the second volume) De' Nobili's own triumphant vindication of his conduct. Having thus indicated where a fuller treatment of the matter is to be found, we proceed to reply more briefly but still necessarily at some length to Dr. Maclear's charge of unholy compromise with Brahmanism. We shall then have something to say as to his assertion that De' Nobili's policy was condemned by successive popes and was fatal to the vitality of the South Indian mission. Of its effect on other missions we can say nothing, as we cannot imagine what is referred to.

The facts of the case are really simple enough. Prejudice has much to do with making men misunderstand them. De' Nobili acted on the obvious principle that the missionary's duty was not to make Hindus into Europeans, but to make them Christians. He saw, as the first missionaries in pagan Europe had seen before him, that it was possible even with a people whose religion mingled with every part of their daily life, to separate religious from civil observances, to preserve the latter and substitute Christian rites for the former. Caste was for him something perfectly independent of Brahman theories of its origin. Though the Hindus told the absurd legends of the Purusha-sukta and the Purānas to account for its existence, the Jesuit held that essentially it was to India very much what the distinctions of noble and commoner were to his native Italy. It was for him no more reasonable to tell the Brahman that he could not be a Christian if he wore the thread that symbolized his rank, than it would have been to tell a Roman or Florentine noble that he could not be a Christian unless he ceased to wear his belt and sword. He resolved (to use his own words) "to become a Hindu to save the Hindus." * Settling at Madura, and adopting in all civil matters the habits of a high-

* An allusion to the words of St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 19-22.

caste Hindu, he let it be known that he was a noble, learned in the law of God, who had come there to be the teacher of Brahmans and nobles. We shall quote here the greater part of a declaration which he posted before his house at Madura later on, when his enemies asserted that his converts had degraded themselves by listening to a low-caste teacher.* It clearly defines his position as a Christian missionary. He states at the outset that he writes it because men "who know nothing of him" have put in circulation "black calumnies" against him. It may be quoted here for the same reason.

God is my witness [he writes], and if I tell an untruth, besides becoming thereby a traitor to God and deserving of the torments of hell, I declare myself worthy of every punishment here on earth. I was born at Rome. My family occupies there the same position as that held by nobles and rajahs in this country. From my youth I embraced the state of a *saniassi*,† and I studied philosophy and the sacred spiritual law. I then left my country, passed through many kingdoms, and came to Madura. . . . To those who come to see me I speak only of those things which relate to the salvation of the soul. I teach them that there is one only God in three persons, infinite in His attributes: that He created the world, men, and all beings; that He took to Himself human nature—a body and a soul—in the womb of an ever pure virgin, in order to save mankind; that this Incarnate God, true God and true man, is named Jesus Christ, a name which signifies Saviour, full of graces and heavenly gifts; that being free Himself from all stain, He made atonement for men and saved them. Moreover, I teach that after death each one, according to his merits or demerits, will receive from God, by an immediate and irrevocable sentence, reward or punishment, without waiting for other births or transmigrations. The holy spiritual law, which contains these truths, is the doctrine that I teach. It does not oblige any one to renounce his caste or to enter into another caste, or to do anything whatever contrary to the honour of his caste: God is my witness in this. *The holy spiritual law belongs to all castes alike.* Just as the great Nayakar (the king of Madura) being the lord of all these countries, all who dwell in them, Brahmans and nobles alike, are bound to obey him in all that concerns his temporal government; so the true God, being the rightful Lord of all men, all classes of men and all castes must live in conformity with His spiritual law. . . . If any one were to say that this law was a thing belonging only to the Pariahs or the *Parangis* (Portuguese), he would commit a great sin; for God being the Lord of all the castes, His law ought to be observed by all. There is no caste so noble as not to derive new honour from submission to this law. Even as the sun sends down its most pure light on men of all castes

* The declaration will be found in full in P. Bertrand's second volume.

† *I.e.*, a man leading a life of poverty and mortification for religious motives.

and on everything in the world, and this without losing anything of its wonderful purity; and even as this light—far from defiling the Brahman—is a source of splendour to him, even so the true God, who is the sun of the spiritual world, bestows upon all men the blessings of His spiritual law, which is the true light of the soul.

It was thus he preached to the Hindus. They might become Christians and keep their caste. But they could not become Christians without breaking for ever with idolatry. On this point he was inflexible, and his letters tell how again and again his refusal to allow his neophytes to take any part in heathen worship drew down on him the hostility of the Brahmans. Any one who knows what the comprehensiveness of Hinduism is, will see at once that if he had himself given or allowed his disciples to give any countenance to the Saivist worship of Madura, he might have taught the "spiritual law" as freely as he liked. To talk of "unholy compromise with Brahmanism" in this case is, for any one who knows much about Hinduism, to talk nonsense.

At first some of his colleagues, who did not share his view as to the nature of caste observances, were alarmed. It was some years before the dispute that followed was closed by a decree of Gregory XV. favourable to De' Nobili. Throughout the dispute no one ever questioned that he could allow his disciples to observe any traditional customs that were free from idolatrous superstition. *The only question was whether this or that practice, and notably the observance of caste, belonged to the licit or illicit class.* In his written defence presented to the Synod of Goa, De' Nobili rightly insisted that he was in an excellent position to judge of the nature of Hindu usages, because he was the first of the European missionaries who had mastered the sacred language of India, and studied its sacred literature. One of the most striking parts of this defence is the fourth chapter, in which he insists that the Church has always dealt carefully with the prejudices and usages of newly converted peoples, and that the early Church even sanctified by a new dedication the days of pagan festivals, and adopted rites indifferent in themselves, and only evil because they had been consecrated to false gods. "*Ritus gentilium a nobis expiati divino sunt cultui consecrati,*" is a passage which he cites from Theodoret. This argument from antiquity is confirmed by all that we have since learned of the early Church, and it is the best defence of De' Nobili's method.

The decree of Gregory XV., published on January 21, 1623, approved of De' Nobili's proceedings, ratified all that he had done, and permitted the use of the customs he had adopted till the Holy See should decide otherwise. The question was, however,

reopened towards the end of the century, and in 1704 the legate De Tournon published at Pondicherry the decree *Inter graviores*, which was intended to finally settle the matter, but unfortunately only led to a fresh dispute. The restrictions imposed by this decree practically annulled most of the concessions made by Gregory XV., and the bishops of India dispensed the missionaries from the execution of the decree on certain points till an appeal could be made to the Holy See. As to the other points, the missionaries complained, not without reason, that the legate had condemned certain practices, *which in fact they had never permitted*, and condemned them in such a way as to give the impression that these practices had been countenanced until his decree declared them to be superstitious. This action of the bishops, the appeal to Rome, and the doubt as to how far certain portions of the decree were binding, led to a reopening of the whole question and the publication of a long series of Pontifical acts, most of which are cited at length in the constitution of Benedict XIV., "*Omnium sollicitudinum*" (Sept. 12, 1744). These decrees are probably what Dr. Maclear calls "the condemnatory briefs of successive popes." Any one who will take the trouble of going through these decrees will see that they are in no sense condemnatory of the methods adopted by De' Nobili. The principle he acted upon is never condemned. On the contrary, De Tournon himself acts upon it, as, for instance, where he orders Christian married women to wear a medal marked with a cross as a substitute for the *tali* or medal marked with a rude figure of "Pollear" (Ganeśa) worn by pagan married women. Again, both Benedict XIV. and his predecessors practically acknowledge that De Tournon's decree was in certain points too sweeping and precipitate. Thus the legate had enjoined the observance of certain minor ceremonies in the administration of baptism, which had till then been omitted on account of the prejudices of the people. The bishops had dispensed the missionaries from the execution of the decree on this point. Under Clement XII., in a congregation held on January 21, 1733, the Holy See renewed the dispensation for ten years; a further dispensation was given by Benedict XIV. Nor is this the only point on which De Tournon's decree was modified.

It is to be remarked, too, that where the Pontifical decrees condemn a practice, it does not at all follow that the missionaries had ever permitted it;* and where the decrees enjoin a practice it is

* In these controversies the Congregation of Rites and the Holy See, in every case, gave judgment that this or that practice was or was not to be permitted, without pretending to decide whether in fact the practice

frequently the case that it is precisely the method originally adopted by De' Nobili that is thus solemnly sanctioned. For instance, we have already mentioned DeTournon's decree condemning the pagan *tali*. This decree was confirmed by Benedict XIV. in the congregation of May 13, 1733; but in the very act of confirmation the Pope states that it is asserted by the missionaries that the condemned *tali* had never been allowed among the Christians. In fact, the substitution of the Christian *tali*, or medal marked with the cross, dated from the first days of the mission.* It is still in use among the Christians of Southern India.

To sum up, the principle adopted throughout by De' Nobili was not condemned, but was sanctioned and acted upon by the Holy See. In this or that detail the practice of the mission was modified. If a series of decrees was necessary, it was because there were doubts as to the obligation, or even the possibility, of immediately executing De Tournon's decree, a decree which was subsequently modified by the Holy See. The difficulty of bringing the question to a final issue was not a little increased by the slowness of communication between India and Europe, and by the persistent misrepresentations of the enemies of the Society of Jesus, who accused the missionaries of disobeying the decrees, even in points where these decrees only embodied the immemorial practice of the mission.†

had hitherto prevailed in the mission. Each decree simply decided the case submitted as it stood. This rule is distinctly laid down in the decree of Clement XI. (November 20, 1704) on the parallel question of the Chinese rites, where he refuses to give any judgment on a question of fact, "*ne alias Apostolica sedes ab eo, quem in ejusmodi controversiis Sinicis hactenus tenuit, antiquo more recedere cogetur—quo nimirum, ad ea quæ sibi pro tempore, tametsi diversimode exposita fuerant, responsa quidem veritatis semper dare, nunquam vero super expositorum hujusmodi veritate, seu falsitate pronunciare consuevit.*"

* The *tali* was to a married woman in Southern India what the ring is in England. Just as the ring, which in itself might be used either as a sacred symbol or an object of superstition, and the use of which is certainly older than the Christian marriage rite, is blessed by the Church, so the *tali* is marked with the cross, and becomes a sign of the Christian profession.

† As to this, P. Bertrand gives abundant documentary evidence. One of the points on which the missionaries were most misrepresented was their conduct towards the Pariahs. Benedict XIV. in his decree enjoins that no Hindu is to be admitted to baptism who holds that the Pariahs are men abandoned by God and incapable of salvation. Now we have seen that De' Nobili publicly proclaimed that the religion he taught was like the light of the sun given by God to no one caste, but to high and low alike. He would, therefore, have rejected such a man. Moreover, when Benedict XIV. decrees the creation of a separate class of missionaries for the Pariahs, he is, in fact, merely sanctioning a practice adopted by De' Nobili himself, though the decree does not state this. Indeed, no one

That Benedict XIV. (whose constitution of 1744 closed the controversy and summed up the very decrees to which Dr. Maclear refers) saw, in the conduct of De' Nobili and his successors in the Madura mission, no trafficking with idolatry, no "unholy compromise with Brahmanism," is proved to demonstration by a fact of no small importance in this question. The greatest of the successors of De' Nobili was John de Britto, martyred in Marava in 1693, and beatified by Pius IX. in 1851. The cause of the beatification was begun at Rome in 1713. The "promoter of the faith" (*i.e.*, the counsel against the cause, popularly called "the devil's advocate") in its earlier stages was Cardinal Lambertini, the future Benedict XIV. Naturally one of the first objections urged was that De Britto was no martyr if it could be shown that the Malabar rites, which he had fully adopted, were a trafficking with idolatry. Judgment was given on this point in 1741, when the question came before the Congregation of Rites in a special session under the presidency of Benedict XIV., then Pope. The Congregation decided that De Britto had only adopted the civil usages of the people, and had done nothing unworthy of a Christian missionary.*

So much for the allegation that De' Nobili and his successors were guilty of an "unholy compromise with Brahmanism which drew down the condemnatory briefs of pope after pope." Now one word more to meet the statement that De' Nobili's methods "were fatal to the vitality of his own and other missions." Of the other missions we can say nothing till Dr. Maclear tells us more clearly to what he refers, but as for the Madura mission the statement is simply untrue. Until the Indian missions were disorganized by the policy of Pombal and Choiseul and the effects of the French Revolution, the mission of Madura was a marvel of prosperity. Even when the Jesuits were driven away, it was seen that the work of which De' Nobili had laid the foundations and traced the plan was too well done to be destroyed, even by such a blow. Dr. Maclear will find in Dr. Hunter's work, "*The Indian Empire*" (p. 374), a short account of what that writer calls "this dismal period." We can only quote a few lines here:—"Many native Christians lived and died without ever seeing a priest: they baptized their own children, taught them the prayers, and kept up daily worship in their churches. In 1814 the Society of Jesus was re-established, and under Gregory XVI. its missions began a new life, and

would suppose, from its terms, that the method it enjoins had been already a century in operation.

* See Du Prat, "*Hist. du B. Jean de Britto*" (Paris, 1853), pp. 414, 415, and the decree of beatification, September 29, 1851.

have since made great progress." So that the fruit of De' Nobili's enterprise was not all destroyed. To this day, the mission of Madura, which he founded, is one of the most flourishing in the world. Its Catholic population is upwards of 180,000, and there is an annual increase of about a thousand adult converts. But the mission really only includes the central and southern part of the older mission district. If we would see what a noble structure has been raised upon the foundations so firmly laid by men like De' Nobili and De Britto, we must include the greater part of the adjacent vicariates of Coimbatore, Pondicherry, Madras, and Mysore. These, with Madura, have now a total Catholic population of upwards of 470,000 souls. So much for the vitality of these South Indian missions. It is hard to see any trace of the fatal influence of De' Nobili's methods.

What more we have to say of this part of Dr. Maclear's article may be very briefly said. Of the Jesuit missions of Paraguay he tells us: "Other representatives of the same order worked with success in evangelizing the Spanish settlement of Paraguay in 1582." We cannot see why this particular year is mentioned. So far as we can discover, there were no Jesuits in Paraguay in 1582. It was in 1586 that Fr. Barsena, the pioneer of these missions, was sent to help the Bishop of Tucuman.* The great successes of the mission, and the organization of the "reductions," came much later. Nor is it quite correct to say that these missionaries evangelized "the Spanish settlement of Paraguay." The Paraguay of the old missions included a vast tract stretching far beyond the limits of the Paraguay of to-day. The Spanish settlements were only on its borders. The missionaries were the pioneers of a considerable part of South America, the founders of new settlements, not merely the chaplains of a Spanish colony. The reductions were only Spanish settlements in so far as many of the fathers were Spaniards, and all acknowledged the sovereignty of the Spanish crown, and did it loyal service in return for its protection.

As a set-off against these successes of the Catholics, Dr. Maclear gives us the information that meanwhile "their defeated foes, the Huguenots, sent forth under a French knight of Malta a body of devoted men to attempt the foundation of a Christian colony at Rio Janeiro." This is his first mention of Protestants in connection with mission work, and it is a most unfortunate one. What this abortive attempt at colonization had to do with missions, or what is its claim to be mentioned here, is not

* Crétineau Joly, "*Hist. de la Compagnie de Jésus*," t. iii. p. 320 (Paris, 1859). Cf. Hells, "*Spanish Conquest*," vol. iv. p. 414.

easy to see. Turning to the article "Brazil," in an earlier volume of the "*Encyclopædia*," we find this account of the affair:—

Rio de Janeiro was first occupied by French settlers. Nicholas Durand de Villegagnon, a bold and skilful seaman, having visited Brazil, saw at once the advantages which might accrue to his country from a settlement there. In order to secure the interest of Coligny, he gave out that his projected colony was intended to serve as a place of refuge for the persecuted Huguenots. Under the patronage of that admiral he arrived at Rio de Janeiro in 1558 with a train of numerous and respectable colonists. As soon, however, as he thought his power secure, he threw off the mask and began to harass and oppress the Huguenots by every means he could devise. Many of them were forced by his tyranny to return to France; and 10,000 Protestants ready to embark for the new colony were deterred by their representations. Villegagnon, finding his force much diminished in consequence of his treachery, sailed for France in quest of recruits; and during his absence, the Portuguese Governor, by order of his Court, attacked and dispersed the settlement.*

Villegagnon appears to have been a man on whom his religion sat very lightly. Whether he was really a Calvinist, or only a bad Catholic, who pretended to be one when it suited his schemes, is not quite clear. When he came back to France, Calvin accused him of being an atheist.† As for his persecution of the Huguenots at Rio Janeiro, perhaps it would be more correct to say that he harassed and oppressed the party that disagreed with him. But we need not discuss his character here. It would have been wiser for Dr. Maclear not to have introduced this discreditable affair into his sketch of mission history.

He closes his account of the Mediæval Period with a notice of the institution of the Propaganda, and ends with something like a sneer, when he tells us that its missionaries have shown themselves "able to promote in a singular degree the enlargement of the boundaries of the Church, by means of *material* as well as spiritual forces." We shall have something to say of the use of *material* resources in the Modern Period—it seems to us that they have been largely on the Protestant side, and that the Propaganda has shown that it can do its work with very slender resources in the material order.

We have said something of Dr. Maclear's omissions; we might say much more, for the subject is a large one. We may note, however, that even in so slight a sketch of mission history he might

* "*Encyc. Brit.*" vol. iv. p. 229. This article on Brazil gives high praise to the work done in the colony by the Jesuits under Nobrega.

† "*Biographie Universelle*," s.v. Villegagnon,

have said something of the brave Franciscans of the Middle Ages, who penetrated through the heart of Asia to "far Cathay;" and of the Jesuits of North America, the pioneers of all the upper St. Lawrence, and the explorers of the Mississippi valley; and, again, of the mission of Japan, with its countless martyrs. It is not easy to see on what principle of selection all this is omitted by a writer who has found space to commemorate Raymond Lully's enterprise and the Huguenot colony of Rio Janeiro; but it is only fair to add that he is a sinner by omission with regard to Protestant as well as Catholic missions, as we shall presently see.

We come now to Dr. Maclear's account of the Modern Period. We are surprised that he has not boldly called it the *Protestant Period*, for hardly a word is said of the mission work of the Catholic Church. To his mind this period is before all and above all the period of activity of the Protestant mission societies, of which a formidable list occupies a considerable part of page 515. At the outset he has to make the unpleasant admission that "the Churches which in the sixteenth century broke off from their allegiance to the Latin centre at first presented a great lack of anxiety for the extension of the Gospel and the salvation of the heathen." He tries, however, to show that this apathy did not last very long, and tells us that "the development of the maritime power of England, which the Portuguese and Spanish monarchies noted with fear and jealousy, was distinguished by a singular anxiety for the spread of the Christian faith;" but the facts he adduces in support of this statement show at most that there were here and there men who had some idea that missionary work was a duty of the Church of England. That something was said of the carrying of Christianity to the heathen in the instructions for the voyages of Willoughby and Cabot proves very little. Where were the English fleets of which one could have said, what may be truly said of those of Spain and Portugal, that part of their ordinary work was the conveyance of bands of missionaries to the East and West? Nor does it say much for the zeal of the English Church, that certain pious phrases on this matter were inserted in Elizabeth's charter to the "Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading with the East Indies," and the charter of James I. for the colony of Virginia; and that, under Cromwell, an ordinance was passed for "the promoting and the propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." The fate of such good intentions is proverbial. The fact remains that, till the earlier years of this century, the East India Company was the determined foe of all missions, Catholic and Protestant alike, and officially supported Hindu idolatry; and that in the

colonies of New England the Indian was exterminated, while in those of Spain and Portugal he was protected and civilized. The attitude of the New Englanders towards their Indian neighbours is not badly summed up in a speech that Longfellow puts into the mouth of Miles Standish :—

Look ! you can see from this window my brazen howitzer planted
High on the roof of the church, a preacher who speaks to the purpose,
Steady, straightforward, and strong with irresistible logic,
Orthodox, flashing conviction right into the hearts of the heathen.

Eliot's labours stand out in almost solitary contrast to the systematic cruelty and oppression of the natives practised by his co-religionists, and while he gathered together a mere handful of Indian disciples,* whole tribes were dispersed and massacred by the Puritan colonists, to whom the Indians were like the evil race of Canaan, to be cut off utterly before the God-seeking invaders of this new land of promise. The less said the better about Puritan missions in New England.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was founded in 1701. "With the establishment of this corporation," says Dr. Maclear, "the era of the activity of societies for carrying out mission work may be said to commence." Yet though Frederick IV. of Denmark sent German and Danish missionaries to Tranquebar, and the Moravians began, in 1731, to establish their little mission colonies, while the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel paid German Lutherans to act as chaplains to distant English settlements and factories, and sent out clergymen to the American colonies,† very little was really done, or even attempted, till the present century. Dr. Maclear himself sees this, and speaks of these earlier efforts as "preparations for the more general movement during the last hundred years, and the manifestation of missionary zeal on a scale to which it would be difficult to find a parallel in Western Christendom."

He then proceeds to give an estimate of the progress made during the present century under the impulse of this great outburst of zeal. He tells us that at the close of the last century

* Bancroft, "Hist. of United States," vol. i. pp. 421, 422 (1851).

† Berkeley's opinion of these missionaries to the colonies was not a high one. "The clergy sent over to America," he says, "have proved, too many of them, very meanly qualified, both in learning and morals, for the discharge of their office. And, indeed, little can be expected from the example or instruction of those who quit their country on no other motive than that they are not able to procure a livelihood in it, which is known to be often the case" ("A Proposal for the Better Supplying of Churches in our Foreign Plantations," Works, vol. ii. p. 422, 1784).

there were only seven missionary societies, while there are now more than seventy. But it may be doubted if this multiplication of societies is an unmixed gain. Sectarian rivalry would seem to have something to do with it, as well as missionary zeal. Each sect—nay, each subdivision of a sect—has its society. Thus, glancing down Dr. Maclear's list, we see such titles as Baptist Missionary Union; Free-Will Baptist Foreign Missionary Society in India; Seventh-Day Baptist Missionary Society; Strict Baptist Missionary Society; Baptist Free Missionary Society, and so on. We are quite aware that these divisions are in many cases concealed from the eyes of the heathen by a prudent arrangement, in virtue of which each society keeps to its own field of work. But this arrangement sometimes breaks down. We have heard something of open quarrels between Church of England Maories and Dissenting Maories in the days before the great mass of the "Christians" went off to the bush and took to revolt and Hau-Hauism; something, too, of the outcry which was raised against the proposal to send a Church of England bishop to Madagascar, where the Independents had suddenly been transformed into a State church; something, too, we have read in the last report of the Church Missionary Society of a "schism" in Metlakahla (North Pacific Mission), accompanied by rioting and destruction of property, while in Japan one of their missionaries only last year was dismissed for heretical teaching, but carried off most of his little flock with him to found a church of his own. We need not count up more notorious examples of division, from Schwartz of Tanjore's "little books" against the errors of the Church of England to Colenso's schism in Natal. But facts like these should not be lost sight of when congratulations are being exchanged on the rise of new societies, and even when aggregate results in conversions are being added up.

As another sign of progress, Dr. Maclear notes that at the beginning of the present century "the total sum contributed for Protestant missions can hardly be said to have amounted to £50,000," while it is now about a million annually in Great Britain and Ireland alone. There is no denying that great progress has been made in the systematic collection of funds by the missionary societies. We, for our part, hold that the fact that money is so freely given by rich and poor alike for mission purposes is a proof that there is still much more of the religious spirit left in England than some pessimist writers will allow. But the question is not as to how this money is collected, but how this money is spent; and we have no hesitation in saying that much of it is expended on purposes never dreamt of by the givers, and much of it is wasted, the whole system of missionary

finance being a terribly costly one. The home expenditure is out of all proportion to the total expenditure of the societies. Let us take the two chief English societies—the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Going over their accounts, published in 1883, we find the following results :—

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

	£	s.	d.
<i>General Fund Expenditure, 1882</i>	86,109	10	0
Deputations and Organizing Salaries and Expenses	£6,718	17	8
Salaries for the London Office	3,335	1	4
	<hr/>	10,053	19 0

Church Missionary Society—Year ending March 31, 1883.

<i>Total Ordinary Expenditure</i>	202,127	17	5
Salaries of Secretaries, Clerks, and Collectors	£5,200	17	5
Salaries of Association Secretaries	6,983	15	0
Salaries of Missionary Deputations	969	8	11
Travelling expenses of ditto	2,133	1	4
Editorial Salaries	550	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total, Salaries and travelling expenses <i>at home</i>	15,837	2	8
Allowance to Missionaries at home on leave	9,704	4	10
Allowance to Children of Missionaries	6,979	9	3
Allowance to retired Missionaries and Widows	7,576	11	7
Allowances to children of retired ditto	2,104	6	5
	<hr/>	£42,201	14 9

These are rather startling figures. On salaries to officials at home and travelling expenses for deputations, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel spends some £10,000, or more than one-ninth of its general expenditure, while for similar purposes the Church Missionary Society allots more than £15,000, and further spends on missionaries and their wives and children, *at home here in England*, more than £26,000. Thus more than £42,000, or upwards of one-fifth of the whole expenditure, goes on non-efficients and non-combatants; and this by no means represents the whole home expenditure. We have not complete

accounts for the other societies, but if they do their work on the same system as the Church Missionary Society, it would seem that of the million raised annually some £200,000 is spent at home.

A word on the expenditure abroad. Thousands of pounds are devoted annually to schools in which the pupils, as a rule, are pagans, and remain pagans to the end of their days, their only connection with Christianity being the fact that they have used the Bible as a reading-book. In most of the missions the staff employed is a very large one, often out of all proportion to the flock of which it has charge. It will be said, however, that a missionary staff can hardly be too large when it has to deal with millions of pagans. True enough, but when one sees that in mission after mission there is one paid native teacher to every three, four, or five communicants, one cannot help asking how many communicants would be left if the number of paid teachers and their families were deducted from the flock. An American missionary, Dr. William Taylor, of the American Episcopal Methodist Church, has lately published a work on "Self-supporting Missions," in which he plainly admits that this is a vice of the present system. Of the American missions in India he says:—

Of the 3,228 members of the North Indian Conference, 661 of them, including the 68 local preachers named, are employed as teachers and helpers in various departments of missionary work, and are paid by the missionary society. The most of these being men, they and their families constitute the larger proportion of this 3,228 members. . . . When I laboured with them twelve years ago, they had a membership of about 800, and nearly all directly or indirectly depending on the missionary appropriations from New York for their subsistence (pp. 244, 246).

No one can look at the returns of the various societies without being struck by this disproportion between the employés and their flocks; it is indeed an over-officered army, if there ever was one. It may be added that the Methodists are the greatest sinners in this matter. According to a table published by Dr. Hunter,* the Wesleyan Methodist Society, in 1879, spent £21,914 on its Indian mission, employing 43 Europeans and 655 natives to look after a flock of 1,610 "Protestants baptized and unbaptized."

We have not space to go further into this matter here. But we have good reason to believe that besides this indirect support of converts direct support is not wholly a thing of the past. We

* "Indian Empire," p. 379.

would, moreover, like to know if any of the London missionary societies possess accounts of mortgage loans made by their Indian agents during the famine years. Men in India know something of these transactions, and curiously enough the bond is often enforced when the disciple shows symptoms of leaving the flock. It is very possible that the officials of the societies in London know nothing of these things; certainly their enthusiastic supporters do not dream of them.

When next Dr. Maclear writes of missionary finance, perhaps he will find space to say something of missionaries of another system, men who have neither wives nor children to support, and no reason to spend money on comfortable homes; men who, instead of asking for retiring pensions, work on to the last moment, and look on death at their posts as the best end to their career; men who are so poor that they have to live the same life as those among whom they labour, and even if they wished could not afford to compete with the mission societies in employing converts; men who live on £20 a year in China, and in India "deny themselves the comforts considered necessary for Europeans."* Somehow these men enrol their thousands of neophytes annually, and when one of them dies there is always another to fill his place.—Passing on to another point of comparison, Dr. Maclear says:—"At the same date [the beginning of this century] it is calculated there were about 5,000 heathen converts under instruction, not counting those belonging to the Roman Catholic missions. At the present day the converts from heathenism may be estimated certainly at not less than 1,800,000, a single year (1878) showing an increase of about 60,000." These figures taken as they stand would, we are sure, give a very exaggerated impression of the success of Protestant missions. Even if we take the figure 1,800,000 to represent the real number of real converts, it would still remain true that the number of converts gathered together by all the different Protestant Churches in all their missions throughout the world, and with the enormous resources at their command, is *less by several hundred thousand than the number of native Catholics in the missions of India and China alone*. But it is further to be remembered that while a Catholic convert means a disciple who has passed through the trial of the catechumenate, accepted a definite body of doctrine from an authorized teacher, and adopted a fixed rule of practice, including that of annual confession, which prevents his adherence from being merely nominal, a Protestant convert's position may be, and very often is, a merely negative one; he has given up idolatry and rests on the Sabbath;

* Hunter, "Indian Empire," p. 376.

of anything else there is no guarantee whatever, and it is a striking fact that while many of the Protestant missions return a large number of adherents [and this 1,800,000 represents "adherents"], the number of communicants is generally a relatively small one, often so small as to be out of all proportion both to the whole number of adherents and to the teaching staff. Now this is important. The adherents are often not even baptized; beyond the fact that they have in one way or another come in contact with the missionary body, we have no guarantee that they are Christians in any real sense. We can only be at all sure of the communicants, who are very seldom so many as 50 per cent. of the *baptized* Christians. Thus, to take the Church Missionary Society's statistics for India and China for June 1, 1883, we have:—

	Baptized.	Catechumens.	Total.	Native Communicants.
Punjab and Sindh . . .	1,515	55	1,570	433
Western India . . .	1,118	32	1,150	502*
South India . . .	64,863	17,132	81,995	17,073
Ceylon . . .	6,263	348	6,611	1,748
China . . .	3,593	2,043	5,636	1,784
	<hr/> 77,352	<hr/> 19,610	<hr/> 96,962	<hr/> 21,540

So that the communicants are less than a fourth of the total of adherents, and less than one-third of the baptized. It would not be surprising to find that in an English parish the number of communicants bore a small proportion to the total Protestant population, because every one that does not formally declare himself a Catholic or a freethinker is counted as a Protestant; but it is surprising in a pagan land, where every Christian is a Christian by his deliberate choice. The inference to be drawn is clear enough. If all these thousands are really reliable converts, why is it they cannot be admitted to communion?

Again, these 1,800,000 converts have to be divided among some 70 societies, most of them representing different forms of belief. This gives an average of not quite 26,000 souls, as the result of the labours of each society. There is more than one Catholic vicariate in India and China, which in itself counts four or five times as many converts. Yet somehow, while glorying in the results of the missionary zeal of our day, Dr. Maclear has not a word to say for the Catholics.

But not only is it true that these 1,800,000 converts are split up among various sects, but within each sect the amount of definite positive doctrine taught is a very doubtful quantity. All

* The return for Bombay is imperfect.

agree on two points, "give up idols" and "keep the Sabbath," all add a third, "believe in Christ" (or "on Christ" in some cases); but what is to be believed, or how or why, is left in most cases to the prudence of the local teacher. The precept to the Apostles, "to teach all things that had been commanded to them," is forgotten. It is on record that a missionary bishop in South Africa could not see how we could reasonably object to polygamy among the neophytes as long as we gave them the Old Testament; and Professor Max Müller in his well-known lecture on missions practically told the missionaries of to-day that, with doubt about creeds in the Church at home, their best plan would be not to be very definite about creeds abroad. What with converts not baptized and mere inquirers, baptized converts who somehow cannot be got to communion, converts whose livelihood depends on the mission, and converts whose stock of Christianity consists merely in the abandonment of idols, these 1,800,000 adherents of many sects and creeds can hardly be said to represent a total made up of individuals of the same class. The figure simply means that Protestant missionaries, with the abundant resources now at their command, have got this number of men to abandon idol worship. But Mohammedan marabouts have done twenty times as much in Africa, and in Hawaii the idols were flung down by the people before the missionaries even appeared in the islands. The real point is not, have you cast down the idol, but "what have you set up in its stead?"

As to the 60,000 converts of 1878, it would have been better to select an average year. Some 40,000 of these converts belonged to Southern India, where the famine was raging and every Protestant mission-station was a Government relief depôt. Of this we shall have more to say presently. We must first glance at the last point of comparison between the past and present in Dr. Maclear's summary of recent progress. His last paragraph runs thus:—

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was founded in 1701. There were then probably not twenty clergymen of the Church of England in foreign parts. The spiritual condition of our countrymen in America and elsewhere was fearful, and no effort was then made by the Church to win the heathen to Christ. But now the position which the Church holds in our colonies and dependencies, and in many parts of heathendom, is recognized by all. In the history of Christendom it is doubtful if there can be found within the same space of time such a wide expansion of Christ's kingdom. In those regions where the Society labours, and has laboured, and which before it commenced its work were spiritually the "waste places" of the earth, there are, including the American Church (the first-fruits of the Society's efforts),

138 bishops, more than 5,000 clergy, and upwards of 2,000,000 members of the communion.

As we read these words it struck us we had seen them somewhere before. They are, in fact, almost identical with a short paragraph printed on the wrapper of the report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for 1883. In neither case are there inverted commas, or any other mark of quotation. We may therefore presume that Dr. Maclear is the writer of both. The only difference between them is that in the report the last sentence runs: "In those regions where the Society labours, and has laboured, and which before it commenced its work were spiritually the 'waste places' of the earth, there are, including the American Church (the first-fruits of the Society's seed-sowing), 140 bishops, more than 6,000 clergy, and about 3,000,000 members of the communion." The difference between the figures inserted in this paragraph in the report and in the "Encyclopædia" is no slight one. Will Dr. Maclear tell us how it is his figures have fallen so much? What has become of the 2 bishops, 1,000 clergymen, and nearly 1,000,000 of the communion? Or did they only appear in the mission report under the influence of the *genius loci*—for there are men who say that at May meetings statistics have a tendency to expand.

The last part of the article gives some details of Protestant successes in the chief countries occupied by the agents of the societies. We hear successively of "The South Seas," "The Uncivilized Peoples of America," "Africa," "China," "Japan," and "India." We hear nothing of Corea or of Annam, where only twenty years ago there were fierce persecutions, in which European missionaries and native converts vied with each other in confronting death and torture for the faith, and bishops, priests, and neophytes died together. In Corea the persecution has only lately ceased. These missionaries, however, for whom Dr. Maclear has not one word to say, were not envoys of the societies. Somehow Protestant missionaries with their wives and children do not venture themselves in such dangerous places—they wait, as a rule, till a country is officially opened. Even when their own converts were dying bravely years ago in Madagascar, they themselves were safe and sound at Mauritius, whence they sent Bibles and words of encouragement to their flock. Englishmen in other enterprises seem rather to seek danger than avoid it, but with a few honourable exceptions the English or American Protestant missionary likes to have a consular flag flying near his mission station, and a gunboat within easy reach. We do not blame him—after all, the missionary is also, as a rule, the father of a family. Still the fact is to be noted.

Glancing over the details of these various mission fields given by Dr. Maclear, we cannot help being struck with the fact that the chief successes of the Protestant missionaries have been won among rude races, where Englishmen and Americans are close at hand opening up and colonizing the country, and where substantial material advantages come with Christianity. In India, China, Syria, Asia Minor, the missions accomplish little, their roll of converts and adherents is chiefly swelled by thousands of Kaffirs, West Coast Negroes, and Polynesians. Mr. Mackenzie (who, like so many of his missionary brethren, has just ended by giving up mission work for a position under Government) says of South Africa:—

In those districts of which I am treating, Providence would seem to have linked together the introduction of Christianity with the destruction of all possibility of the old way of living. The spread of Europeans in the country, and the gradual introduction of guns and horses into the interior, lead to the wholesale destruction of game, upon which formerly the natives largely subsisted.*

Facts of this kind are not peculiar to South Africa, and when missionaries boast that under their influence "the old order changeth, giving place to new," it must be remembered that to them is due only a portion of what has been accomplished. They have undoubtedly often exercised a civilizing influence on the people among whom they have laboured, they have done much to abolish evil customs; but in all this they have only partly effected what has been thoroughly well done by British officers among the Bhils, Khonds, Mhairs, and other wild races in India. The missionary's real work is to make Christians, and it certainly seems that Protestant missionaries have not always been so successful in this as a first glance at their reports would make one believe.

Dr. Maclear tells us that "in New Zealand the native population was converted almost within a single generation." Not one word does he say of the terrible collapse that followed on this much-boasted success. A quotation from Sir Charles Dilke's record of his visit to New Zealand will supply this omission.

The labours of the missionaries [he writes] have been great, their earnestness and devotion unsurpassed. Up to the day of the outbreak of Hau-Hauism their influence with the natives was thought to be enormous. The entire Maori race had been baptized, thousands of natives had attended the schools, hundreds had become communicants

* "Ten Years North of the Orange River," by John Mackenzie, of the London Missionary Society. (Edinburgh, 1871.) This book has throughout an air of frankness and candour not always found in literature of its class.

and catechists. In a day the number of native Christians was reduced from 30,000 to some hundreds. Right and left the tribes flocked to the bush, deserting mission-stations, villages, herds and fields. Those few who dared not go were there in spirit; all sympathized, if not with the Hau-Hau movement, at least with kingism. . . . The fall was terrible, but it went to show that the apparent success had been fictitious.*

We know of no such disaster in the whole history of Catholic missions. Sir Charles Dilke adds that the new Hau-Hau religion was partly made up of native ideas and partly of elements drawn from the Old Testament (studied in the mission schools)—a ritual of cannibalism was one of its features. He goes further, and asserts that the collapse in New Zealand was the result of a state of things not peculiar to that mission. Polynesia is, after all, the great field of Protestant missionary successes, and this writer tells us that in Polynesia, when the first excitement is over, there is a rapid decline among the converts.

The story of Christianity in Hawaii, in Otaheite, and in New Zealand has been much the same; among the Tahitians it was crushed by the relapse of the converts into extreme licentiousness; among the Maories it was put down by the sudden rise of the Hau-Hau fanaticism. A return to a better state of things has in each case followed, but the missionaries work now in a depressed and saddened way, which contrasts sternly with the exultation that inspired them before the fresh outbreak of the demon which they believed they had exorcised. They reluctantly admit that the Polynesians are fickle as well as gross, not only licentious but untrustworthy. There is, they will tell you, no country where it is so easy to plant or so hard to maintain Christianity.†

Dr. Maclear tells us that the Dutch missionaries in the Celebes have made 80,000 converts; we should like to know more of these conversions. The Dutch once had hundreds of thousands of native converts in Ceylon, but Dutch Protestantism disappeared with Dutch rule. He also tells us that in Polynesia "the Fiji group stands out as one of the most promising centres of Christian civilization"—this is precisely the group of which Dr. Litton Forbes‡ has written that "a plain man" is apt to be surprised and disappointed when he compares the actual results with what the missionaries claim to have effected. In all this section his only mention of Catholic missions is that there are some of them in the Loyalty Islands. As a fact, our missions have gradually made their way into nearly every group in the Pacific, often in the teeth of open opposition from the

* "Greater Britain," p. 274 (4th ed. 1869).

† *Ibid.* p. 275.

‡ "Two Years in Fiji."

ruling Protestant party; and there are now thousands of Catholics in these islands, not rashly counted as Christians because they are no longer idolators and cannibals, but trained to the steady practice of a religion that is not likely to retain merely nominal disciples as long as the wealthier and more easy-going evangelists are so close at hand.

Of America we are told that—

Amongst the Indian tribes of the United States work is carried on by the Moravians, the American Board of Missions, the Presbyterians of the North and South, the Baptists, the Episcopal Methodists, and the American Missionary Society; and the result is that 27,000 Indians, divided amongst 171 communities of different denominations, including the Roman Catholic, are in full membership with the Church.

What must be the confusion of mind of a writer who can write like this! The Roman Catholics are not mentioned amongst the agencies at work—are their converts the result of the labours of the American Board of Missions and its fellows? into how many denominations are the 27,000 Indians divided? and which has most of them? Finally, what can be the Church in which all, including even the Roman Catholics, are in full membership?

In Africa we hear of the flourishing Negro Church on the Niger. A Protestant missionary church with none but negro pastors is a daring experiment. We should like very much to have some details of the doctrines taught and the practice enforced by these native clergymen. It was to this mission that the schoolmaster and storekeeper belonged who were last year sentenced by the Court of Sierra Leone to penal servitude for manslaughter of a native girl at Onitsha in 1877, and even the missionaries admit that cruelty and license are not confined to the heathen population on the Niger, pleading, however, "that the Christianity of England has little right to cast stones at the Christianity of Africa"—and that since the scandal at Onitsha a better system of supervision has been organized.* When he speaks of South Africa Dr. Maclear is judiciously silent about that unique incident in mission history to which Bayard Taylor alludes when he sings of—

The myths of the Zulus whose questions converted Colenso.

Protestant natives in South Africa and Madagascar are numerous enough—doubtless, many are according to their light earnest Christians, but many have a deep leaven of the old paganism—the mission reports tell of sudden disappearance of "hearers"

* Report of the Church Missionary Society for 1882-83, p. 31.

and sudden outbreak of the old superstition in the days of our war with Cetschwayo, and it has been asserted that only last year, when the Protestant queen of Madagascar was dying, the old pagan sacrifices were again offered in her palace at Antananarivo.

Dr. Maclear admits that the Catholics are very successful in China, and in a footnote he states the annual conversions at 2,000. This is very far below the truth. We have only reports from a few of the Catholic missions in China, but in 1882 the two Jesuit missions alone baptized 1,781 adults. If Dr. Maclear's estimate were correct, this would leave about 220 converts for the other twenty-five missions taken together. Now in 1881 the three Franciscan vicariates in Hu-peh had 797 adult converts, and the seven missions of the "Congrégation des Missions Etrangères" in the same year had no less than 5,543. Thus it would seem the annual number of adult converts is nearer 10,000 than 2,000;* and besides these there are children baptized with their parents, orphans, &c., so that the total increase is even higher. Of the Protestant missions Dr. Maclear says:—"The mission centres stud the east coast from Hongkong and Canton to the frontiers of Manchuria in the north; thence they advance little by little into the interior, while as yet the western provinces are scarcely touched by missionary effort." This is a very misleading statement. We grant that the western provinces are untouched by *Protestant missionaries*, who rarely venture so far inland, but Catholic missionaries were there long before the treaty of Tientsin, and so far from being untouched by missionary effort, there are flourishing missions in every one of them, and each has at least one bishop, with a seminary for the formation of a native clergy as well as a staff of European missionaries. We may take as "Western provinces," Yunnan, Kwei-chau, Sze-chuen, Shen-si and Kan-suh. The state of the missions in these provinces is as follows:—

	Bishops.		Priests.		Catholics.
Yunnan . . .	1	...	28	...	13,000
Kwei-chau . . .	1	...	28	...	16,000
Sze-chuen . . .	3	...	164	...	77,000
Shen-si . . .	1	...	24	...	21,300
Kan-suh . . .	1	...	8	..	1,500
	7	...	252	...	128,800

* Even if Dr. Maclear means not that the annual conversions are 2,000, but that there were about 2,000 converts in 1876, the year to which his other Catholic statistics are referred, he is quite wrong. In 1876 the mission of Western Sze-chuen alone had 2,701 adult converts, and, including them, the seven Chinese missions of the "Congrégation des Missions Etrangères" had in all 5,149 adult baptisms. Besides these there are the missions of the Lazarists, Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, &c.

We fear our author has a very vague idea of the position of the Catholic Church in China. He goes on:—

The literary labours of the various societies have been carried on with the utmost perseverance, and, on the foundations laid by a Morrison and a Milne, later toilers have been enabled to raise a superstructure of translations of various portions of the Bible, as well as various Christian books and religious and general periodicals, which constitute a means of vast importance towards gradually gaining over this land of culture.

We may pass over the reference to Morrison, albeit that most prudent of missionaries laid no foundation, but erected his very second-rate literary structures on the foundations laid by other men long before.* But what we have to remark is Dr. Maclear's prudent silence about the most stupendous result of this literary propaganda of the societies in China. Yet it will be long before men forget that Hung-siu-tsuen, the leader of the Taiping rebellion, drew his inspiration from the books of this very propaganda, when he elaborated the politico-religious system which plunged whole provinces in bloodshed and ruin for years; that in the first stage of the rebellion he and his followers were reported by the missionaries as something very like good Bible-Christians; that almost to the last the missionaries kept on hoping they would turn out after all to be some kind of Protestants, till at length bloodshed, blasphemy and license went too far, and Gordon's little army put an end to the disciple of the missionaries and his power. There are Protestant missionaries still living and now in high station who would be very glad if they could to destroy the reports they wrote in the days before their hope in the Taipings was gone—but *littera scripta manet*.

We hear nothing of Corea, as only Catholic missionaries have ventured there. But going on to Japan, Dr. Maclear gives some details of the English and American Protestant missions, and even of the mission supported by the Russo-Greek Church, but cautiously remarks that "of the missions of Japan it is yet too early to foretell the future," and he adds:—

When it is considered that in the beginning of the seventeenth century the Japanese Government drove out the Portuguese and massacred the native Catholic converts, and prohibited all Christians under pain of death from ever setting foot in the country; and when it is borne in mind that many of these old laws against Christianity have not yet

* We read in the "Memoirs of Robert Morrison, D.D., by his Widow," vol. i. p. 134, how on his voyage out to China, Morrison "sat him down patiently to the Jesuit harmony of the Gospels composed in Chinese, and copied out every syllable of it for his own future use."

been repealed, and that the old distrust of strangers is still plainly discernible among the governing classes, it is clear that, while there is much ground for hope, effectual results can only be the work of time.

Yet though he can speak of English Church missionaries, American Methodists, and the politico-religious Russo-Greek mission, there is not one word of what is perhaps the most wonderful event in the modern history of missions, the discovery in 1865 of the descendants of the Japanese Christians of the seventeenth century, still clinging to the faith of their fathers; their constancy in a new persecution in which hundreds lost their lives, and which only ended in 1873; and the reconstitution of the Catholic Church in Japan, which two years ago had three bishops, forty-three priests, and 27,000 Christians, which in the preceding year had more than 2,000 adult baptisms, and is now rapidly forming a native clergy. Of all this Dr. Maclear says not a word. Is this the result of ignorance?—or of something else?

He concludes with an account of recent Protestant progress in India—to the Catholic missions, with their million and a quarter of converts, there is only a passing reference. His view of the Protestant position is, on the whole, that of an optimist. We cannot here go into the matter at length, but we may note a few significant facts bearing upon it.

First, as to the state of things about 1867, we find Sir Charles Dilke writing in his narrative of his Indian tour:—

The number of native Christians in India is extremely small. Twenty-three societies, having 300 Protestant missionary stations, more than 300 native missionary churches, and 500 European preachers, costing with their assistants £200,000 a year, profess only to show 150,000 converts, of whom one-seventh are communicants. The majority of the converts who are not communicants are converts only upon paper, and it may be said that of the real native non-Catholic Christians there are not in India more than 40,000.*

Seven years later, the three Protestant bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in a joint letter addressed in 1874 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, speak thus:—

The missions do not attract to Christ many men of education, not even from those who have been trained within our own schools. In India we are dealing with millions, not with thousands, and we should mislead you if we gave you to understand that any deep general impression has been produced. In fact, looking at the work of the

* "Greater Britain," p. 441.

missions on the broadest scale, and especially upon that of our own missions, their condition is rather one of stagnation than of advance.

Four years later, it seemed this state of stagnation was at an end. In Southern India, the natives were flocking to the mission-stations by tens of thousands, and, if we remember rightly, there was a solemn thanksgiving service at St. Paul's for the great mercy vouchsafed to the missionary church of Tinnevely. Dr. Maclear makes the most of this doubtful success. Here are his words:—

Since the famine of 1878–79 the increase of new converts has been still more rapid, and the practical experience of the superiority of Christian pity to heathen selfishness, and of the helplessness of their heathen deities, united with the effect produced by persistent missionary labour in past years, brought thousands into the fold of the Church. Thus, in the Tinnevely district, where the Church Missionary Society carries on its operations, upwards of 11,000 heathens applied in 1878 to Bishop Sargent and his native clergy for instruction preparatory to baptism. In the same district, in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, between July, 1877, and the end of June, 1878, upwards of 23,564 persons betook themselves to Bishop Caldwell and his fellow-labourers for Christian teaching. Thus the English Church missions in Tinnevely and Ramnad received in little more than a year and a half an increase of 35,000 souls, and the Propagation Society is now proclaiming the Gospel in nearly 650 villages in the Tinnevely district, amongst not merely food-seeking "rice Christians," but those who have had the courage to face severe persecution for joining the Christian Church.

We are far from saying that real conversions cannot be made in famine time. The sight of Christian charity may be, and often is, a real motive of conversion; and when men are brought face to face with death, hesitation as to the final step of conversion is reduced to a minimum. But at the same time we have before us facts and statistics that warrant us in saying that the supporters of Protestant missions have as little right to be proud of their "successes" during the South Indian famine, as of their operations in Connaught during the Irish famine of forty years ago. We can only state our reasons for saying this very briefly; we may sum them up as follows:—(1) The Protestant mission-stations were practically converted into relief depôts—not only the mission funds but Government funds being at the disposal of the Protestant missionaries who were serving on the relief committees. (2) In the midst of the famine some of these gentlemen were making loans of small sums at 18 per cent. interest on mortgage of lands, and some of these bonds have recently been put in force in South Indian courts on a convert showing a

disposition to change his religion.* In certain cases, *after six years*, the missionaries have recovered nearly double the principal of these loans, made in famine time. Men naturally ask if these mortgage bonds were meant to secure the convert's perseverance? (3) Help was refused to the Catholics by the missionaries who had in their hands public funds for the relief of all, without distinction of religion. Some hundreds of Catholics, pressed by hunger, apostatized and were relieved; but, like the Connaught "soupers," most of them, once the pressing necessity was over, became Catholics again. (4) Of the converts of 1877-79, many thousands were still unbaptized in 1881, large numbers have fallen back into paganism, others have persevered in Christianity *but are now Catholics*, although not unfrequently they have had to suffer persecution and violence for making the change. (5) So far from the movement towards Protestantism continuing, as early as 1880-81 many of the mission districts show an actual decrease even in the statistics of the total Protestant population published by the missionaries themselves.

It would be more prudent for the friends of Protestant missions not to boast of the famine work in Tinnevely and Ramnad. The five years that have passed since its close have supplied materials for a curious commentary on the first reports of the missionaries, and lately every mail from India has brought us

* Here is a translation of one of these bonds, the names only being omitted. The original is in Tamil:—

"In the year 1877, the 31st day of October, which corresponds to the Tamil year 1053, and the 17th day of Appigei, I, N. N., living in ——— in the district of Tinnevely, do sign and give to the Rev. N. N., the representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, living at ———, in the district of Tinnevely, this mortgage deed for money received on the land registered in my name and enjoyed by me now and for a long time back, within the herein-mentioned limits [a description of the boundaries of the land follows]. I do mortgage to you in these four limits my dry land, measuring ——— for Rupees 20, which you have given to me, and which I have received from you, for which I will pay to you one and a half interest per cent. per month (18 per cent.), and I promise to pay to you the capital with its interest at the said rate per month next year, 1878.

"If I fail to pay at the said term, I will pay whenever asked by you according to the stipulated interest. This day I have received in ready cash these Rupees 20 from you. (Signed) N. N.

"Witnesses { N. N.
 { N. N.

"I have written this mortgage deed.
(Signature of the scribe) N. N."

It is to be remembered that 1877 was the first year of the famine, and the mission reports for the very places mentioned in the bond show that they were affected by the famine in 1877-78, and had numerous "conversions."

documentary evidence on the subject which is too voluminous to summarize here, but which amply supports everything we have alleged.

Dr. Maclear ends by asserting that the Protestant missions in India are effecting a much greater work than can be estimated by statistics.

By far the greatest measure of success [he says] has been obtained amongst the aboriginal races and those who are either of low caste or of no caste at all, while the real strongholds of the Hindu religion and civilization still stand out like strong fortresses, and defy the attempts of the besiegers. Still the disintegrating agency of contact with Christianity is working out its slow but sure results. "Statistical facts," writes Sir Bartle Frere, "can in no way convey any adequate idea of the work done in any part of India. The effect is often enormous where there has not been a single avowed conversion. The teaching of Christianity amongst 160 millions of civilized and industrious Hindus and Mohammedans in India is effecting changes, moral, social, and political, which for extent and rapidity in effect are far more extraordinary than any that have been witnessed in modern Europe." "The number of actual converts to Christianity in India," says Lord Lawrence, "does not by any means give an adequate result of missionary labours. There are thousands of persons scattered over India who, from the knowledge they have acquired, either directly or indirectly, through dissemination of Christian truth and Christian principles, have lost all belief in Hinduism and Mohammedanism, and are in their conduct influenced by higher motives, who yet fear to make an open profession of the change in them, lest they should be looked upon as outcasts or lepers by their own people." To some such a negative result may at first sight appear discouraging, but read by the light of history, it marks a natural, almost a necessary, stage of transition from an ancient historical religion to Christianity.

We grant that Protestant missions, and above all Protestant schools in India, have done not a little to unsettle the minds of the natives; but it is strange to hear Christian missionaries rejoicing at being able to destroy the belief of a people in their own religion, even when they can put nothing else in its place. No one will deny that, with an educated Hindu, the change of mind effected by his Protestant teachers means, as often as not, that the man has simply become a sceptic or an agnostic. To appeal to the discredit into which the Roman mythology had fallen when Christianity was first preached in the Empire, as something parallel, is to make a misleading comparison; for the educated Hindus are not only losing faith in their mythology, which would be little loss, but they are losing faith in the very idea of God. Imagine St. Paul rejoicing that though he had persuaded very few to believe in Christ, he had led a great many to believe

in nothing or to doubt about everything. Such movements as the Brahmo-Samaj do no doubt owe not a little to Protestant missionary influence, but they are in no sense Christian. To all the credit of results like these Dr. Maclear's friends are heartily welcome.

At the outset we said that the article on Missions with which we have been dealing was a misleading one. We leave our readers to compare our criticisms with Dr. Maclear's statements, and to say if we have not shown good cause for our judgment on his work. He has misrepresented the history of Catholic missions, displaying more than once either simple ignorance of his subject or utter carelessness; he has exaggerated the success of the strangely various agencies that are known as Protestant missions; he has been most discreetly silent about their weaknesses, their failures, their disastrous blunders, their dubious methods of action, and their endless divisions; and, unless we excuse him on the plea of ignorance, we must add that he has been most unjustly silent about the contemporary mission work of the Catholic Church.

A. HILLYARD ATTERIDGE, S.J.

ART. VII.—POPE LEO. XIII. AND THE FREEMASONS.

1. *Epistola Encyclica* SS.D.N. Leonis PP. XIII., quæ incipit "Humanum genus."
2. *Les Sociétés Secrètes et la Société; ou Philosophie de l'Histoire Contemporaine.* Par N. DESCHAMPS. 6ième Edition. Avec une Introduction, Notes et Documents, par M. CLAUDIO JANNET. Paris: Oudin Frères. 1882.
3. *La Frammassoneria vel vero suo aspetto.* Per EDOARDO EMILIO AVO. ECKERT. Ed. 2ª. Torino: G. Borgarelli. 1873.
4. *Der Güte der Humanität, oder Das Positive der Freimauerei.* Von C. M. PACTLER, S.J. Freiburg: Herder. 1785.
5. *The Freemason: the Organ of the Craft.* January to June, 1884. London: G. Kenney.

THE serious speech of Lord Carnarvon at Freemasons' Hall on the evening of Wednesday, June 4, deserves to be seriously considered. In language of studied moderation, and in a tone of respectful regard for the Holy See, he submitted that the Encyclical "Humanum genus" fell into two great mistakes:

it confounded all Masonic bodies throughout the world in one common condemnation, and it confounded all those bodies with infidels, or (as it termed them) "naturalists in religion," and with anarchists and revolutionists. He went on to protest against this. In England, the Masonic body was religious, and it was patriotic. Four (?) years ago, the English Freemasons had solemnly dissociated themselves from the French lodges, when the latter repudiated belief in God and in the immortality of the soul. Only a few weeks back, the corner-stone of a tower of Peterborough Cathedral had been laid with Masonic pomp, in the presence of the Anglican bishop. He concluded by saying that he was convinced that social order and religion had no stronger friends, no truer pillar to rest upon, than the Masonic bodies of England.

It would be very strange if a Pontiff like Leo XIII.—a man who has given many proofs of a sensitiveness which amounts to scrupulosity in making assertions or imputing motives—had either mistaken the character of any important branch of the sectarianism which he condemns, or, not having mistaken it, had wrongly denounced it. It is worth while, therefore, first of all, to turn to the Papal document itself, and to hear how the Pope qualifies his own words. We italicise one or two passages which deserve particular attention :—

What we have said, and are about to say, must be understood of the sect of the Freemasons taken generically, and in so far as it comprises the associations kindred to it and confederated with it, *but not of the individual members of them.* There may be persons amongst these, and not a few, who, although not free from the guilt of having entangled themselves in such associations, yet are neither themselves partners in their criminal acts, *nor aware of the ultimate object which they are endeavouring to attain.* In the same way, *some of the affiliated societies, perhaps, by no means approve of the extreme conclusions* which they would, if consistent, embrace as necessarily following from their common principles, did not their very foulness strike them with horror. *Some of these, again, are led by circumstances of times and places either to aim at smaller things than the others usually attempt, or than they themselves would wish to attempt.* They are not, however, for this reason, to be reckoned as *alien to the Masonic federation*; for the Masonic federation is to be judged not so much by the things which it has done, or brought to completion, as by *the sum of its pronounced opinions.*

Any good and honest man, therefore, who is a Freemason, is not condemned; but he must come out of the society. Any branch which does not approve of impiety, irreligion, or anarchy, is, so far, not included in the Papal pronouncement; but it must cease to call itself by a tainted name. The Pope has a right to

denounce not only doctrines and deeds, but associations and appellations; and if any one clings to a name or to a society which he thinks it needful to proscribe, and which, as no one can deny, is on the whole worthy of proscription, it is for such a one, if he is a Catholic, to tear from his brow a badge that is dishonoured; and, if not a Catholic, to assume the *onus probandi*, if he would have us believe that he is any better than his associates.

The truth is that, in all probability, the Holy Father, in issuing this Encyclical, thought very little about Freemasonry in England. This may not be flattering to English Masons, but from the Pope's point of view it is very natural. He was thinking of a widespread society whose principal objects were to promote religious indifference, to destroy the Church, to oppress the Holy See, and to un-Christianize the laws of European nations. The greater part of this eloquent letter is occupied in describing, not any particular Masonic or sectarian organization, but what the Holy Father calls "Naturalism"—the modern attack on revelation and on all real belief in God and immortality. But "Naturalism" can well do without the help of a sect in a country where we have a flourishing and aggressive Protestantism. The Pope may probably be quite disposed to admit that English Freemasonry does no harm—the harm having been done, or being in process of doing, by a much more effective agency. To denounce the Masons in England is superfluous; you must begin with that which is the boast and the glory of Englishmen—religious license and free interpretation of the Scripture. English Freemasonry, being Protestant, is hostile to the Catholic Church and to the Pope; it shares in the movement which is gradually un-Christianizing our laws; it promotes religious indifference; it has no definite grasp on any religious truth whatever; and it acquiesces, as the mass of Englishmen acquiesce, in a religious dissolution which is visibly verging to "Naturalism" of the completest type. If it does not pull down the Church, it is because the Anglican Church has many aims in common with itself, and is altogether too feeble in its character of "Church" to make its destruction worth a revolution. It would have quickly pulled down the Catholic Church, had it found *her* established in the land. As for the throne, we practically live in a republic, and there is really nothing to pull down except a few salaries; and therefore English Freemasons content themselves with preaching revolution abroad, and assisting any oppressed "nationality" (excepting Ireland) which is impatient of living under a "foreign" yoke. These are not features which all English Freemasons would admit. The Earl of Carnarvon is, we believe, a Christian and a Churchman, hold-

ing on precariously (like so many Anglicans) to a branch or two of the Christian tree, as he has not the good hap to stand on the solid ground beneath it. But this is the Pope's idea of English Freemasons; and it is not very likely he would either go out of his way to denounce them, denunciation being superfluous, or that he would admit they were one whit less objectionable, except in so far as they are luckily less consistent and more contented (being better fed) than the lean and logical Frenchmen and Italians who are doing so much mischief on the Continent.

We can imagine, therefore, that Pope Leo XIII. will be much astonished at Lord Carnarvon's protest, if he ever comes to hear of it. The Pope no doubt would not have been prepared to say all the hard things he has said of the Masons, of Anglican Protestantism, whether Masonic or non-Masonic. Yet "Naturalism" is the very description of the Anglican religion. A large section of Englishmen may cling to shreds of Catholic Faith, and a larger number still may profess a general Christianity and hold firmly, if vaguely, to belief in God. But Protestantism as a system is war against the Church, and as a system it is so loose in religious grasp and so prone to let truth after truth go, that even the very idea of God itself is hardly held in the same sense by a Protestant and a Catholic. We are far from saying that the "religion" of our fellow-countrymen is not, as far as it goes, a good thing. But how many of them, in their millions, believe in the Trinity, or in the Divinity of Christ, or in sin and grace? And the man who does not believe in these things cannot believe in God in the true and Catholic sense of that word.

We submit that these considerations explain both why the authorities of the Catholic Church make no distinction between English and foreign Masonry, and why Englishmen themselves can see no harm in being Masons. An Englishman may protest and say, "I have no wish to get up a revolution, to murder priests, or to burn churches; and if the lodges of Berlin or of Paris aim at these things, as you say they do, I have nothing to do with that. My lodge is harmless enough. The Prince of Wales is my Grand Master, and I sit side by side with magistrates and parsons." As to this, it will be observed that what the Pope says is, not that all the associates of the sect are knowingly banded together for objects which reason condemns, and even instinct shrinks from, but that, first, the *principles* of Freemasonry are such as lead directly to license and to irreligion; and secondly, that the sect is (or the sects are) so organized that the great majority of the associates, even *without knowing it*, promote those nefarious and horrible purposes which the heads and the prime movers keep steadily in view.

But when we have said that English Masons are Protestants,

and that, therefore, Pope Leo XIII. considers it superfluous to condemn them, and at the same time, unreasonable to exempt them from condemnation, we have only said half of the truth. The English lodges may protest as they please, but they are, on the whole, the allies and accomplices of general Freemasonry all over the world. This is not difficult to prove.

It is to be presumed that no one, at this time of day, will deny that there exists in Europe and through the world a secret society, or a ramification of societies, whose purpose it is to destroy religion and order. It used to be the fashion to doubt on this point. The English newspapers and English public speakers, used to account for all the troubles of the Continent by the simple hypothesis of a manly struggle against Rome and Rome's servants. Now, Lord Carnarvon himself admits, by implication, that some of the Freemasons are very bad indeed.* The truth is, Freemasonry, like other successful revolts, has grown bold with success, and has been much less anxious about concealment during these last fifteen years than it ever was before. It was on Sunday, July 3, 1870, that M. Jules Simon, in the presence of nearly all the Deputies of the Department of the Seine, was received as a Mason in the lodge called the "Réveil maçonnique" at Boulogne-sur-Seine. It was in 1869 that the great "anti-Council" was held at Naples, attended by some 700 delegates from every part of Europe and from the United States, Mexico and Brazil, as well as from Asia and Africa. It was in September, 1877, that the celebrated assembly of French Masons met in Paris, and decreed, after taking counsel with all the lodges dependent on the Grand Orient of France, that the assertion of the existence of God and of the immortality of the soul should be erased from the preamble of the Masonic constitution. If any one takes the trouble to run his eye through the files of the *Monde Maçonnique* from 1876 to 1880, he will find among other things that the Paris lodges met regularly and without any attempt at secrecy, and that they discussed with great openness every kind of thesis adverse to religion and to the generally received ideas of morality and right. Such conferences were by no means confined to the interior of the lodges; for we find, in 1873, *séances* of what was called "White Masonry" advertised and held in the suburbs of the capital, on Sunday afternoons, to which not only Masons but the "profane," with their families, were

* Lord Carnarvon says: "I grieve to think there are some Masonic bodies that have laid themselves open to many of the charges which the Encyclical Letter contains." And *The Freemason* in a leader (June 7, 1884) admits "there can be no doubt that a good deal may be fairly said, from the Roman Catholic side of the question, as to the present position and practice of Freemasonry in some foreign jurisdictions."

invited, in order to discuss points of politics and of morals. In May, 1879, the *Français* published a list of Freemasons then members of the French Government; they were the following:—MM. Gambetta, Cazot, Jules Ferry, Constans, Tirard, Gresley, Aymand, Laferriere, Castagnary, and Dubost. The *Français* gave the dates of their enrolment as Masons; the list is now before us, and it has never, so far as is known, been called in question. In February, 1877, a General Assembly of "Symbolic Lodges of Italy" was held at Milan. They agreed to found a weekly paper, called *La Famiglia et la Scuola*, with the object of *dissipating the prejudices of families* and promoting the principles of Masonry. They also adopted resolutions establishing Sunday clubs or *réunions* in opposition to the Catholic Church, and in order to destroy the influence of the celebrated "Catechisms" of the city of St. Charles. And no one who has followed with the slightest attention the French and Roman newspapers of the last decade, but must be aware that Masonic interments, Masonic marriages, and even Masonic "baptisms" and "confirmations," are frequent and quite public in Rome, in Milan, in Brussels, and in Paris. Thus an organization or a conspiracy, which, up to 1870, or certainly up to 1848, was working throughout Europe in mines and in the dark, now acts in the light of heaven. It had formerly many names; it was called Illuminism, Carbonarism, Freemasonry; it had its leaders and its heads in every rank; it came to the surface in every European State, to be beaten down and crushed, perhaps, for the time. But now it has dropped the names that it no longer requires; it has taken advantage of its success to organize itself; its assemblies are public; many of its doctrines and purposes are publicly avowed; only its oaths are secret, and those ulterior and more desperate impieties for the avowal of which the world is hardly even yet prepared.

It is easy to offer brief but sufficient evidence that this association is expressly organized against religion and order. But it must be observed that it is not necessary to hold that the secret societies are so completely organized that they are really one society. The Holy Father, in the late Encyclical, does not assert this, and, for our own part, we do not believe it. The Pope says:—

There are *several organized bodies* which, though differing in name, in ceremonial, in form and origin, are nevertheless so bound together *by community of purpose and by the similarity of their main opinions, as to make in fact one thing with the sect of the Freemasons*, which is a kind of centre whence they all go forth, and whither they all return. Now, these no longer show a desire to remain concealed; for they hold their meetings in the daylight and before the public eye, and publish their

own newspaper organs; and yet, when thoroughly understood, they are found *still* to retain the nature and the habits of *secret societies*. There are many things like *mysteries* which it is the fixed rule to hide with extreme care, not only from strangers, but from very many members also; such as their *secret and final designs, the names of the chief leaders, and certain secret and inner meetings, as well as their decisions and the ways and means of carrying them out*. This is, no doubt, the object of the manifold difference among the members as to right, office, and privilege—of the received distinction of orders and grades, and of that severe discipline which is maintained. Candidates are generally commanded to promise—nay, with a special oath, to swear—that they will never, to any person, at any time or in any way, make known the members, the passes, or the subjects discussed. Thus, with a fraudulent external appearance, and with a style of simulation which is always the same, the Freemasons, like the Manichees of old, strive, as far as possible, to conceal themselves, and to admit no witnesses but their own members. As a *convenient manner of concealment*, they assume the character of *literary men and scholars* associated for purposes of learning. They speak of their zeal for a *more cultured refinement*, and of their *love for the poor*; and they declare their one wish to be the *amelioration of the condition of the masses*, and to share with the largest possible number all the *benefits of civil life*.

These words exactly describe the “sect.” It is a society, and yet it is many societies. Like some of the lower forms of the animal world—like a worm or a jelly-fish—it divides, and still lives; it re-unites its parts, and is no more than one. Or rather, like the French romancer’s monstrous *præuvre*, it seems to be nothing but a number of slimy hands, now aimlessly grasping and clinging, now floating like weeds on the water, now getting cut off without damage to the beast itself, and yet, on a sudden, animated to the very thinnest filament, with a miraculous strength and tenacity which have made men believe that its gelatinous brain was the earthly cell of an infernal spirit. Pope Leo points out that there is certainly an agreement in principles, a community of purpose, and a resemblance in methods, quite striking enough to justify us in calling the monster by one name. It agrees in what he calls Naturalism: the denial of revelation, and, at least virtually, of God and immortality. Its common purpose is license (which it calls liberty) and the abolition of law of every kind; and its common means are secrecy and the oath of absolute obedience.

In proving these assertions we may begin with the last, because its proof need only be of the shortest. Even in England the Freemasons are a “secret” society. It is not very long since they were, in some sense, under the ban of the law. Indeed, we are by no means sure that they are not still to a great extent illegal.

An Act of Parliament of the year 1799 forbids the erection of new lodges, and permits those already in existence to continue only on condition they register their title, their place of meeting, and their list of members before a justice of the peace. This Act has never been repealed. It will be remembered that Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, in the House of Commons, on June 17, 1880, asked Mr. W. E. Forster, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, whether the oath made by the Irish constabulary, that they would not belong to a secret society, applied to Freemasonry; and Mr. O'Donnell, if we remember rightly, referred to this Act of George III. Mr. Forster replied that "Freemasonry was a loyal society," and told Mr. O'Donnell that circumstances had changed since it was forbidden or suspected. Nevertheless, even the English Freemasons take the most emphatic oaths of secrecy and of obedience. It is not very easy to give precise details on the oaths, because, in the first place, the "rites" of different countries are different; and secondly, because the hierarchical nomenclature of the craft is so complicated, so technical, and, it may be added, so grotesquely absurd, that it is puzzling both to understand and to describe. The Masons claim—or they used to claim—to be the direct descendants of the survivors of the Knights Templars, after that Order was suppressed by Clement V. and Philp le Bel. Many of their writers have gone still further back, to the Eleusinian Mysteries, and to the Temple of Solomon. The truth seems to be that the Masonic societies are really modelled, as far as organization goes, on those great guilds of Masons which, like so many other corporations, flourished in the bosom of mediæval Christianity. Hence they have derived their name and some of their ritual. From this source, also, they have doubtless adopted those allusions to the Temple of Solomon which are so frequent with them—allusions which cover more than the uninitiated suspect. The foul and turbulent sectaries of the Early and Middle Ages, such as the Manicheans, the Albigenses, and their numerous off-shoots, though they were apparently extirpated, left their roots in the soil of most European countries. The suppression of the Templars by no means destroyed that powerful organization, but drove it underground. All these historical circumstances are concerned in the paternity of Freemasonry.

But the earliest document that reveals the existence of the sect, such as we now know it, is a certain "Charter of Cologne," dated 1535, of doubtful authenticity, but most important if genuine. A translation of this paper is given in M. Deschamps' pages.* It presents us with a completely-organized society, which seems already to have existed for more than a hundred years, pretending

* Tome i. p. 318.

to be world-wide, professing secrecy, proclaiming itself independent of all religious creeds, having mysterious initiations, and obeying a small number of rulers. It has the three fundamental or essential grades of modern Masonry, and two superior grades. It comes before the world as a beneficent and charitable association. It places the Church in the rank of a sect; it divides mankind into "illuminated" and "profane"; and it professes to hold a precious secret, known only to its supreme rulers, which can be no other than that absolute "enfranchisement of humanity," or "Naturalism," which has been the device of the kingdom of Satan in every age of the world. This "Charter of Cologne," indeed, has a simplicity about it which is almost suspicious; for when we next meet with Freemasonry in a recognizable shape it is about two centuries later, and we find it divided or dividing into various obediences. Into its history it is not necessary to go; it is sufficient to say that there are at this moment, in France, four Masonic "powers" or independent bodies—viz., the Grand Orient of France, the Supreme Council of the old accepted Scottish Rite, the Scottish Symbolic Grand Lodge, and the Supreme Council of the Rite of Mesraim. It may be remarked that the constant occurrence of the word "Scottish" in modern Masonry is owing to the curious fact that nearly all the existing organizations can be traced directly or indirectly to the lodges directed by the English and Scottish Jacobites between 1715 and 1745. We need not follow the formation and development of German and Italian existing lodges.

In England, the Grand Lodge, as it is called, counts some 1,649 lodges under its obedience, the number of members being over 100,000. In Scotland there are said to be 504 lodges, in Ireland 344. The English Masons observe a rite which embraces the three fundamental degrees—those of Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master, together with two superior degrees, those of Mark Master and Royal Arch. It should be observed that the three essential or fundamental degrees here named really comprise the substance of all Masonry. No Mason, as such, can know more than a Master. Such, at least, is the theory. In every country and in every rite we find these three grades; they make up what is called "Blue" Masonry. What then of the "thirty-three degrees" of the Scottish rite, and the various high grades in other rites, with all their mysterious names? The answer is that all other names are, perhaps, rather special offices than fresh grades. The plain and prosaic fact seems to be that when a lodge found it necessary to keep its rank and file exceptionally in the dark, or to gratify a natural craving for distinction, it proceeded to invent one or more mysterious titles and to confer

them on certain chosen spirits, who thereupon formed an inner council and directed the rest. Hence we have, in all the rites, what is called "Red" Masonry; such names, for instance, as Elect, Knight of the Sun, Rose-Croix, Royal Arch, Grand Pontiff, and, greatest of all, Knight Kadosch.

Now, initiation into the three fundamental grades of Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master, is virtually the same in all the rites; and what we are maintaining is, that in every case there is an oath of secrecy and of obedience. We may as well, to begin with, print at length the oath which is required from a candidate for initiation in the degree of Apprentice, because it is the model which the forms for the other degrees substantially follow. The candidate, placing his hand on the Bible, square, and compass, says:—

I, —, of my own free will and accord, in presence of Almighty God and this worshipful Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, erected to God and dedicated to the holy St. John, do hereby and hereon most solemnly swear that I will always hail, ever conceal, and never reveal any part or parts, act or acts, point or points, of the secret arts and mysteries of Freemasonry which I have received, am about to receive, or may hereafter be instructed in, to any person or persons in the known world, except to a true and lawful brother Mason. . . . Furthermore do I promise and swear, that I will not write, print, stain, hew, indent or engrave it on anything moveable or immovable under the whole canopy of heaven . . . whereby the secrets of Masonry may unlawfully be obtained through my unworthiness. To all which do I most solemnly and sincerely promise and swear, without the least equivocation, mental reservation or self-evasion of mind whatever; binding myself under no less penalty than to have my throat cut across from ear to ear, my tongue torn out by the roots, and my body buried in the rough sands of the sea, a cable-tow's length from the shore at low-water mark, where the tide ebbs and flows once in twenty-four hours. So help me God and keep me steadfast.

The oath made by the Associate, or "Fellow Craft," adds to the above formula the obligation to "support the constitution of the Grand Lodge," to "obey all regular signs and summons handed, sent or thrown to me by a Fellow Craft Mason, or from the body of a just and lawfully constituted Lodge," and to "aid and assist" indigent Masons; and the penalties invoked include ingenious variations on the horrors of the former oath.

The oath exacted from the Master Mason is more stringent. The Master Mason, besides swearing to all that has been detailed, promises to fly to the relief of all other Master Masons who exhibit the grand hailing signal of distress, never to *wrong* the lodge, or a brother of that degree, never to be a party to initiating undesirable persons, never to *speak evil* of a brother Mason,

to warn such a one of *all approaching danger*, to keep inviolate a Master Mason's *secrets, murder and treason only excepted*, "*and these left to my own option.*" The penalties for perjury are increasingly hideous.

The oaths in the higher grades are similar, but each contains a significant addition. For instance, the Mark Master Mason—a grade peculiar to English or British Masonry—promises always to *grant the request* of a brother Mark Master; in the grade of Most Excellent Master, the candidate vows to *dispense light and knowledge*; the "Royal Arch" swears that he will *employ* a Companion Royal Arch Mason in preference to any other person, will assist such a one in *any* difficulty, and espouse his cause so far as to extricate him from the same, *whether he be right or wrong*, and to keep all secrets *without exception*; the Secret Monitor (or trading degree) binds himself to assist a brother in preference to any other person, by introducing him to business, by sending him custom, or "in any other manner in which I can put a penny in his way." And all these oaths are weighted with such sanguinary penalties as have already been given.

Now, we believe that it will not be denied that these or similar oaths are taken, and these frightful curses invoked, by English Freemasons on their initiation. It will not be denied that a number of mystic ceremonies, including partial stripping, the use of drawn swords, of skulls, and of darkened rooms, are performed in such initiations. Without going further, we would put it to any reasonable man whether one of two things must not be true—either that these oaths and ceremonies are irreligious and profane, or that they cover a secret of the most transcendent importance. English Masons will object to the latter alternative, and therefore they cannot avoid the former. But the genuine sect, such as it exists on the Continent, do not care to conceal that the whole of their ritual is symbolical, and points to a secret and world-wide "doctrine," which is superior to Christianity and is meant to supersede it. The English Freemasons say they are not to be judged by the Continental lodges; but they wear their clothes if they do not hold their principles. And no reasonable man can now deny that Freemasonry, as a whole, is a gigantic movement towards that "Naturalism" of which Pope Leo XIII. speaks so clearly in the late Encyclical. To prove this we need only refer to one or two well-known facts.

We may first of all quote an authority which, although it is now seventy years old, is unimpeachable. In the year 1812 a book called "*Manuel du Franc-maçon*" was published in Paris by E. F. Bazot. Bazot was Secretary of the Grand Orient of

France, and has published several books on the Craft. He says (p. 23):—

Masonry is nothing but the primitive religion which men discovered when they satisfied their first necessities. . . . Whatever strengthens goodness in a man is religion; and since no religion commands evil, all religions are honourable. But religions, alike in their principles differ so much in their teachings, that they separate man from God, because they proscribe one another. God foresaw that religious inventions of man would destroy their makers. He has, therefore, placed in the heart of every reasonable man a *natural religion*—the religion which we all recognize as *Freemasonry*.

This is plain enough. Now we will cite another unimpeachable witness, M. Ragon, a celebrity of the epoch of Charles X., whose work "*Cours philosophique et interprétatif*" was solemnly authorized after full deliberation by the Grand Orient in 1840. In this work M. Ragon undertakes to explain the symbolism of Freemasonry; and we may repeat to English Masons that one of the most extraordinary results of their position is that they are required to accept an inconceivably elaborate and impressive ritual, and yet to maintain that it means nothing worth mentioning. M. Ragon says:—

Masonry is not a religion. The Brahman, the Jew, the Mahomedan, the Christian, the Protestant (*sic*), whose religions are sanctioned by law, by time, by climate, should keep them; a man cannot have two religions; for these sacred and social codes, adapted as they are to the customs, the manners, and the prejudices of each country, are *the work of men*. Masonry aims much higher. It is the *résumé of all wisdom*, human and divine. . . . It is *universal morality* . . . it does not receive, but it gives the law, because its morality is *one, immutable, and universal*. . . . Masonry sees in every country not religionaries but men and brothers; and it opens its temple to them to free them from the *prejudices* of their country and the *errors* of their fathers' religion.

But let us come down much nearer to our own days. The "anti-Council," which assembled at Naples in 1869, adopted the following declaration, which was signed by all the 700 delegates:—

The undersigned, delegates of the various nations of the civilized world, united at Naples to take part in the anti-Council, declare as follows: They proclaim the *liberty of reason against religious authority*; the *independence* of man against the despotism of *Church and State*; the *freedom of education* against clerical instruction, not recognizing any other basis of *human belief* except *science*; they proclaim the *freedom of man* and the necessity of *abolishing* all official churches. *Woman* ought to be *enfranchised* from the bonds by which the Church

and legislation have prevented her full development. *Morality* ought to be completely *independent* of all religious intervention.

We have already more than once referred to the act of the Grand Orient of France when, in 1877, it expunged from the preamble of its statutes the declaration of the existence of God and of the immortality of the soul. This step excited some apprehension and not a little remonstrance on the part of a few members; but, let it be well observed, not a *single French lodge has broken off its connection* with the Grand Orient on this account. Indeed, some of them have gone even further. We read in the *République Maçonnique* of October, 1881 :—

At its sitting of September 25, 1882, the Lodge "Union et Persévérance" (of Paris) resolved unanimously to name as an honorary member Brother Bradlaugh, member of the English Parliament, expelled for refusing to take the religious oath. Brother Fontainas mentioned that he had been introduced to Mr. Bradlaugh in England, and had been charmingly received. The English freethinker expressed his intention of discontinuing his attendance at the English lodges on account of the religious accompaniments of Masonry in England. Thereupon Brother Fontainas told him of the progress made in France, and offered him affiliation.

This may suffice for French Masonry.* One citation is enough to show the character of the sect in Italy. In the ritual actually in use by the Grand Orient of Rome, the President asks "What is Deism?" and having received the answer, he proceeds :—

Deism is belief in God, without revelation or form of worship;

The following is from *The Freemason* of May 31, 1884. It brings our information as to French Masonry down to the latest date: "We are amongst those who deeply deplore the downward progress of the Grand Orient of France. It has since its first unfortunate departure from the landmarks of Cosmopolitan Freemasonry made a succession of false steps, leading necessarily on to others, and here in 1884 it is again revising its Constitutions. We are assured, on the best of authorities, that this succession of changes, ill-advised and revolutionary, is driving from its ranks many of the "élite" of the Order, the élite we mean of Masonic information, character, and experience, as well as social respectability, and that the Government of the Order is actually powerless, as Bro. St. Jean once said to a friend of ours it would be, to resist the influence of the movement party. We note with pain, in many of these ill-omened propositions of change (we have waded through the last bulletin of the Grand Orient of 325 pages), the still pervading doctrines of Bro. Massol, whose views and influence we hold, as they are held by many French brethren, to be utterly annihilative of French Freemasonry. Things must be bad when Bro. Duhamel, so well known and so much respected, thinks it needful to give the solemn warning, that it will not be long before even the present French Government will close the lodges as secret bodies whose discussions are hurtful to society and the State.

it is the religion of the future, destined to supplant all the other systems of the world.

The *Revista della Massoneria* of the first of August, 1874, has this significant commentary on the ancient formula of belief in God :—

We all know that this formula has no *exclusive* signification, still less any *religious* signification. It adapts itself entirely to taste, and may be used even by an *atheist*.

And we need not wonder, therefore, that the Grand Master of the Italian lodges has declared that candidates were no longer asked "What do you owe to God?" but "What do you owe to humanity, to your country, to yourself?"*

The same Masonic journal, in the same year, informed the world of the position taken up by the Spanish lodges, when the English Freemasons broke with the French Grand Orient. The sect in Spain considered that a "holy atheism" or a "virtuous deism," "without prejudices, dogma, idolatry, or superstition" was the only rational attitude of a good Mason.†

The German lodges have held several grand meetings at Berlin since 1870. The presiding spirit of two of these meetings at least was the celebrated Dr. Bluntschli. This most erudite writer has published much, both for the profane world, and for his own sect; but it is curious that in his publications intended for the general public he never mentions Freemasonry. No one catalogues more exhaustively or apportions to every factor with more precision its due weight and influence; but he leaves Masonry entirely out of account. Yet these are his views on the purpose and aim of Masonry as expressed in his own words, in a speech at Zurich in 1873:—

An association which is formed for the purpose of *binding together by ties of common humanity members of various religions*, cannot remain indifferent when it sees that the hierarchy and the hierarchical order essentially stir up fanatical hate against those who disagree with them. An Association which has taken up *moral freedom* as the *task* of its

* *Le Monde Maçonnique*, 1878, p. 204.

† The March issue of the *Voice of Masonry* prints the following significant paragraph :—"In the extraordinary honours paid to the deceased Emperor Victor Emanuel of Italy, January 15 last, I have looked in vain to see any part taken by the numerous and influential lodges of that country. Victor Emanuel was an active Mason. In the Scotch Rite he had been honoured with the highest grade. *To Freemasonry he was very largely indebted in the great revolution which gave him the throne of Italy and for ever displaced the Papacy as a temporal power.* I hope the fuller accounts, to come by letters and the press, will show that 'the Free and Accepted' were admitted to their proper place in the great festivities of January 15."

life, cannot behold without concern *a power of darkness* with unlimited resources menacing that moral freedom of men, and perseveringly abusing the trust of the masses, in order to drag the people *into spiritual and moral slavery*. This Association, *which labours to build up the temple of ennobled humanity*, cannot fold its arms and go to sleep when it knows that the ground is mined and that the Brotherhood of Darkness are preparing to blow its work into the air and to involve the progress of humanity in its destruction. Indeed, in the presence of these dangers it would be culpable folly and unjustifiable dereliction of duty were not the Association *to choose its part*.*

Dr. Bluntschli, who is a professor in the University of Heidelberg, is well known to be the leading spirit of German Masonry, and perhaps to quote him is to quote enough. But there is a curious and very impressive extract from a German Masonic review,† which we find cited in all the authors, French, Italian and German, and which we cannot help placing before our readers. It occurs in a criticism on a book of Dr. Drechsler's, and runs as follows :—

Protestantism, considered as a religion, is *the half*; *Freemasonry is the whole*. Protestantism looks upon religion as revealed by God to men, reason being only permitted to settle the form of its expression, and to give shape to the *irrational matter*. In Freemasonry, on the contrary, reason creates not only the form, but the very substance of religion. Protestantism must either return to Catholicism, or obstinately stick half-way, or *march forward into the territory of Freemasonry*; for Reason can only for a time be satisfied with the right of reducing into reasonable form propositions which are higher than reason; she endeavours in various ways to reconcile revelation with her own principles, until she arrives, after many strivings, at full and clear self-consciousness, and perceives the *impossibility of any such reconciliation*. She next claims the other portion of her rights; she rejects the wretched subject-matter proposed to her, and she freely selects or creates what is fitted for her own elaboration. This is the meaning of the present phenomena of Protestantism; of the English allegorical explanation of Christian history, and the English idealistic exposition of Christian dogma. The most recent attempts to preserve ecclesiastical Christianity resulted in banishing it altogether from the domain of reason; reason became conscious in the very process that no treaty of peace was possible. She recognized the *irreconcilable hostility between her own teaching and that of the Church*.

Probably these extracts and citations will be superfluous for most of our readers, and we do not expect that English Masons

* Quoted in "Der Göze der Humanität," p. 348.

† "Latomia," vol. iv. p. 164.

will hold themselves to be affected by them. But our object in making them is to prove beyond all doubt that Continental Masonry aims at the destruction of revealed religion—that is, of Christianity. A society, as the Holy Father says, is to be judged by the general tendency of its professed purposes.

And it may be well to recall, very briefly, what the sect has undoubtedly accomplished on the Continent during the past ten or twenty years. In 1855, at the solstitial *fête* of the Liège lodge, a Brother Goffin, well known in Belgium, propounded a programme of Masonic principles and actions which now reads like a prophecy. The heads are as follows:—Universal suffrage, gratuitous and obligatory elementary education, suppression of the National Bank, creation of vast associations of working men, association against Christian attendance at death, abolition of the punishment of death. These items were to be immediately put in hand. There were two or three reserved for the future—the abolition of standing armies, the suppression of the irremovability of judges, and the abolition of the stipends of the clergy. This manifesto was disowned by the Grand Orient of Belgium at the time; but Brother Goffin continued to flourish, and to edit the *Journal de la Francmaçonnerie Belge*. And when we look back at what has been done since 1855, we are only astonished at Brother Goffin's moderation. In France, by the labours of Brothers Gambetta, Jules Ferry, Jules Simon, Brisson, Paul Bert, and others, the power and money of the State go to keep religion out of the elementary schools, out of the army, out of the hospitals, out of the secondary schools, and out of the universities. The "Ligue d'enseignement,"* founded in 1866 by Brother Macé, with the active concurrence of M. Charles Robert, a Director-General of Public Instruction under M. Duruy, and adopted by the prominent lodges in France and Belgium, has by no means done all it means to do. Brother Van Humbeeck, the Belgian Minister of Public Instruction, who carried, in 1879, the disastrous education law of Belgium, is not only a Mason, but is Grand something or other of the "Supreme Grand Council of Belgium." It will be remembered that it was he who made a realistic speech in a great Masonic *réunion* at Antwerp in 1864, in which he compared the "revolution" to a gravedigger, and said that Catholicism was the carcase which had to be got into the grave. This gentleman's career will be happily interrupted by the recent vote of June 10, by which the Christian element in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies has been so strengthened as to command a substantial majority.

* "Instruction laïque, gratuite, obligatoire."

From all that has been said it will be seen that, whilst we do not believe that Pope Leo XIII. had the remotest intention of branding English Masons as atheists and revolutionists, we consider that, as long as they call themselves Freemasons, they cannot be reasonably exempted from any condemnation which that sect on the whole deserves. Speaking for ourselves, we acknowledge that we do consider English Masonry at this present moment to be, apart from its Protestantism, in the main very harmless indeed. The chief crime to which it leads we take to be excessive conviviality, and its principal abuse is perhaps the abuse of the latch-key. "To place English Masonry," says M. Claudio Jannet, "on the same level as the Masonry of Catholic countries, or even as that of Germany, is to make a grave mistake."* The formal excommunication, in 1878, of the Grand Orient of France is one proof that the English lodges are Christian. Their refusal to have anything to do with the Universal Masonic Congress proposed by the Italian Lodges in 1881 is another. We have carefully looked through the numbers of *The Freemason* since the beginning of this year, and there is certainly no trace of atheism or of anarchy to be found. On the contrary, the dedicatory addresses delivered at the "consecrations" of lodges are exactly such as a rather Low Church parson, with a taste for ritual and no knowledge of Church history, might deliver from an Anglican pulpit. And if any further proof were wanted, it would be found in the fact that such excellent men as Lord Carnarvon and Lord Lathom are among the Craft, and that such official believers as Anglican bishops and deans are members of the organization. As we have already said, the principal object of the sect is to fight against the Catholic Church; but in England Catholicism has not hitherto been important enough to arouse serious antagonism. Then the English people are too practical, they are too deficient in what our neighbours call "aptitudes généralisatrices," they have too little real cosmopolitanism, to enter with spirit into an association for a general upsetting and putting to rights.

Nevertheless, whilst in any case we should submit to the repeated decisions of the Holy See regarding Masonry here as elsewhere, we must say again that it appears to us simply impossible for a Catholic to belong to an English lodge, even were there no positive prohibition on the part of the Church. We take the portrait of English Masonry as traced by its own friends in such a journal as *The Freemason*, and this is what we find. We have a society which professes to exclude all religious professions, except only a general and vague acceptance of an

* Tome iii. p. 502.

Architect of the Universe. It does not, in words, insist that its members shall abjure their religious profession; but its organs and officers speak with slight reverence of "creeds" and "sects." It is a society, therefore, which officially rejects Christianity, because that society which officially ignores Christianity officially rejects it. None of its officers ever mention Jesus Christ, or holy baptism, much less do they ever recognize sacraments, priesthood, or church. Moreover, it is a society which pretends to the possession of Truth. It claims to have existed long before Solomon and long before Moses, and to have handed down through all the intervening ages a certain doctrine of Truth, which it reserves for its initiated members. This Truth, which is nowhere very clearly described, can be nothing but a certain view about the Supreme Being. Now, whatever this view may be, it is either affected by Christian revelation or it is not. If the Masonic "Truth" about the Deity is to be taken as merely a part of that grand and developed teaching which the Old Testament, and more emphatically the New Testament and the teaching Church, have given the Christian as his right and his inheritance, all we can say is that the Masonic ritual and practice have no trace of anything of the sort; but if the real view of the society is, as we strongly believe, that its own tradition is *all* that need be known or held, then Masonry is simple Deism, and no Christian can belong to it and remain a Christian. We have no doubt that most English Masons will protest that they accept and cling to the New Testament. A Protestant has so vague an idea of any revealed truth whatever, that any explanation which accounts for a man's being a Protestant and yet remaining a Christian, will account for his not ceasing to be a Christian by becoming a Mason. The English society are clearly not all agreed whether there is a certain esoteric doctrine or not. Some deny it, and say their only object or purpose is benevolence; but the thoughtful men, who have read and have understood the history of the sect, tell us there is, and there ought to be, a secret. And surely it would be utterly unreasonable and absurd to think that all this mystery, all this ritual, all these oaths and imprecations, all this tradition of a world-wide society, had existed for 5,000 or 6,000 years merely for the purpose of collecting money for orphans and widows. Everywhere, except in England, the Craft is very clear on the matter. Perhaps English Masons do not understand. The late Duke of Sussex used to say there were not six Masons in England in his time who understood what Masonry was; perhaps there are very few who do so at this moment. Perhaps those good English lodges, who wear Masonic clothes, and carry about corn, wine, oil, and candles, who rejoice in raps, and set much store by properties of various kinds, are learning by

degrees to think less and less of all distinctively Christian teaching? Perhaps they are becoming more and more accustomed to the idea that acceptance of a supreme Architect of the Universe, with benevolence, is all that man wants for the needs of his immortal soul? Perhaps they are gradually learning more and more completely to tolerate secularism in the school, in the family, and in the legislature? If this be true—and it looks very likely—then the word of the Holy Father is sound and seasonable. Masonry is, in principle and in practice, mere “Naturalism;” and it is a mere question of time and circumstance when it commences to pull down and destroy, or when it will lie in peace and make no sign.*

* The following extracts from an accredited Masonic organ, printed since the beginning of the present year, will illustrate what we have said:—

“It was once said to me by a brother well known in the Craft, and who has been a successful worker in the noble cause of our charities—‘If it were not for the charities Freemasonry would not be worth ten minutes of the attention of any intelligent man.’ Now, brethren, I venture to say that the brother who made that observation, with all his virtues and in spite of all his good works, had never mastered the true objects of Freemasonry; he was entirely ignorant of the *raison d’être* of the craft. In opposition to the idea enunciated or propounded in his sentiment, I contend that Freemasonry is not a charitable society except in the very highest sense of the word, and that if there is nothing more in it than the maintenance of our three great and splendid Institutions it is not only not worth ten minutes of the attention of any intelligent man, but that we are a parcel of utter fools, wasting our time and a large part of our means upon childish follies. I should be very sorry to think that there was even a semblance of truth in the remark of the brother I have quoted. We need not pay fees of many guineas or deck ourselves in gold lace in order to secure the privilege of subscribing our means for kindly and charitable objects. Freemasonry in its speculative and present form was constituted for the purpose of kindling and keeping alive human and divine sympathies, to preserve a *solid platform whence the barriers of class jealousies should be for the time removed, to teach society* that in the eye of the Great Architect, and under the hand of the King of Terrors, the peasant is the peer of the prince, and to keep before the view of the salt of the earth the advantage to be derived from the exercise of that charity, which indeed does *include* the giving of alms, but in itself is far superior to such a detail—the charity that *never faileth*. Our charities were quite an afterthought.”—Bro. Whytehead, in *The Freemason* of Feb. 23, 1884.

“It is natural for us to ask the question, ‘What is it which makes Freemasonry so attractive?’ *It cannot be charity alone*, although we Masons maintain such magnificent charitable institutions that any man may well be proud of supporting them, for charity might just as well be practised without our rites and without our clothing. *It cannot be morality*, however beautiful the system is which is found in our Masonic charges, for all that we teach may be found in the Sacred Volume, and might easily be studied without Freemasonry. *It cannot be only the pleasure of the social meetings* which take place after our lodges are closed, for social intercourse of the pleasantest kind may be easily enjoyed with-

We have refrained from doing more than indicate the principles in which the Holy See condemns Freemasonry everywhere, and, as we hold, condemns it justly. But, if we chose, we could point to a strain of hostility to Catholicism in English Masonry which would go far by itself to justify the Pope in suspecting it to be much more bitter than it would admit. It is not forgotten how, about the time of the conversion of Lord Ripon, in 1874, many very hard things were said; for instance, by a certain Bro. Parkinson, a Grand Master of a lodge, who, in the presence of Lord Leigh, declared that "whilst he regretted the resignation of the Marquis of Ripon, he could not share the simple wonder of those who cannot understand why a Roman Catholic

out Masonic work. All these combined no doubt offer some considerable inducements for men to join Freemasonry; but there must be something *beyond*, something *higher* than mere brotherly love and relief, great principles though they are—yes, there must be something far deeper than this which recommends Freemasonry to men of intellectual culture. If brotherly love and relief are all that Freemasonry contains, what is the object of guarding it so completely by signs, tokens and words, so that only those lawfully initiated into its mysteries may become acquainted with them? Freemasonry is but a casket which contains a *priceless jewel*, and that jewel is *Truth*; and all our rites and ceremonies, our signs and passwords, have been designed for the purpose of *guarding* this precious jewel and *handing it down from age to age* in all its purity and integrity. Just as in Grecian mythology Prometheus is said to have brought down fire from Heaven as a gift to man, hidden in a hollow reed, so, concealed in our rites and mysteries, Divine Truth has been passed on from generation to generation, and we have the highest authority for the use of passwords as a safeguard of our truths, even that of the Almighty Architect Himself, who, when He revealed Himself to Moses in the burning bush, gave him a password as a voucher for the truth of His message to the children of Israel. . . . It is speculative Masonry which has preserved for us those precious truths of which I have spoken. In every age of the world we find man, as his intellectual faculties have become developed, seeking after *Truth*. . . . But what they sought for as something lost, something unknown, *Freemasonry was quietly handing down from age to age*. It teaches us the great truths of the existence of one God, the Maker and Creator of all things, and the common Father of all mankind; it teaches us that we all, as children of this one common Father, are brethren; it assures us of the immortality of the soul, and tells us of a time when we shall be summoned to the Grand Lodge above, here the world's Great Architect lives and reigns for evermore. It *was* before us in the three degrees a beautiful allegory of the life of man from childhood even to old age."—Bro. Rev. C. W. Arnold, *Ibid.* May 17, 1884.

"Freemasonry is in its very constitution cosmopolitan and œcumenical. Wherever men do congregate on this wide earth of ours, there is, there can be, there well may be—Freemasonry. . . . The world, as we survey it philosophically and Masonically to-day, is divided into numerous bodies of religious denominations. . . . We happily know nothing of religious differences. . . . Acknowledging the great and divine "Architektonos," it bases all its moral teaching on the Bible. . . . Freemasonry (and that

cannot continue to occupy a position in the Order. The system of the Roman Church and that of Masonry were not only incompatible, but radically opposed." And it was in the following year that an Alderman, afterwards Lord Mayor, took the opportunity of a great meeting in London to launch forth into violent denunciations of the Papacy, declaring that "Masonry would always be on the side of light against obscurantism." The epithets of "intolerant," "fanatical," "effete," "childish," and "cruel" are freely applied by the editor of *The Freemason* and his contributors to the Holy See, not only for having dared to

is its great crime with many) receives into its ranks all who reverently acknowledge the Great Creator, Maker, Sovereign of Mankind. It troubles itself with no further questions and asks from none any other confession. This very toleration constitutes in my humble opinion the peculiar utility, value, and blessing just now. An American poet has said—

'But we have a *Temple not built up with hands,*
Eternal as truth in its glory it stands;
 Age dims not its lustre, grand, noble, sublime,
 Unmarred by the tempest, untarnished by Time,
 Its porch is as wide as the east from the west,
 Its altar the heart in each true Mason's breast,
 Its covering is Charity, richer than gold,
 Its jewels are good deeds of value untold.
 Here *all nations meet*, in one language and tongue,
 The anthems of praise to Jehovah are sung.
 No jarring of sects, *no clashing of creeds,*
 This Temple is wide as the world and its needs.
 All schisms are banished, for all hearts are true.
 Mahomedan, Hindoo, Christian, and Jew,
 For these are all lost in the Brotherhood, where
 We meet on the Level, and work by the Square.'

—Bro. Woodford, *Ibid.* March 29, 1884.

"The *esoteric realities of Masonic teaching*, and the forms, symbols, and ceremonial of the Craft require the most tender and judicious handling in a paper read by non-Masons."—Leading Article, *Ibid.* Feb. 16, 1884.

"Freemasonry can boast not only a most remote origin, but a most glorious career; like a golden thread in some texture of beauty, it has run through the varying fabric of human thought, and, like the great river of Egypt, it has wound its devious way through many a land, overflowing and fertilizing the nations in its course; meeting with various forms of religious belief and civil government, it has allied itself to all in proportion as each system was disciplined by order, practised in virtue, and founded on truth. Breaking through the fetters of mere human systems, it has ever boldly proclaimed those great cardinal truths which cherish virtue and point to Heaven. Salted with perpetual life, it has passed through the terrors of heathen darkness, mediæval corruption, and modern Atheism. It has kindled *true freedom of thought*. Hence it is that Freemasonry has had to encounter many formidable foes; hence especially has our Order been denounced by *superstition* and been persecuted by *intolerance*."—Bro. Rev. R. J. Simpson, *Ibid.* March 22, 1884.

breathe on English Masonry, but even for denouncing the continental lodges. Much of the declamation of Masonic speakers about Truth, Freedom, and Unity is simply aimed at Catholicism; they know very well what "Society" it is which alone can compete with their secret "gnosis" and distance their boasted benevolence. It is, of course, impossible for us to say what instructions or orders are passed to the lodges in regard to such matters as primary education, foreign revolutions, the Pope, or the Church. There is a high Masonic degree, the highest of all, it is said—that of Knight Kadosch—for which the initiated is required to strike down with a sword two hideous skulls, one crowned with a king's diadem, the other with a Papal tiara. Whether any English Masons have gone through this suggestive ceremony cannot be known. But it is quite certain that the lodges have no love for the Holy See, and that they regard the Church as their great rival. Evidence is not wanting that the bond which binds Masons together has a tendency to make them forget both law and justice. Masons who are employers, masons who are voters, who are on a committee, on a jury, or even on the bench, naturally feel themselves bound by their oath to help a fellow Mason, as far as they can, in preference to one who is profane. We know of instances in which an *employé* who has become a Catholic and courageously renounced the Society, has lost his whole means of livelihood and had to begin life again. Many priests are personally acquainted with facts of this nature. But enough has been said to show why a Catholic cannot be a Freemason, and why the Church so persistently condemns the "Sect" wherever it is found.*

* For a very full collection of historical materials, brought down to 1882, on the whole subject of secret societies, we refer the reader to the "*Sociétés Secrètes*" of M. Deschamp, edited by M. Claudio Jannet, which stands at the head of this article. The work contains upwards of 2000 pp., large 8vo. In the Dublin *Freeman's Journal* for June 7, Mr. F. H. O'Donnell, M.P., gave a lengthy, eloquent, and telling account of the antecedents and aims of the sect.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. ON FREEMASONRY.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis Primatibus Archiepiscopis et
Episcopis Catholici orbis Universis Gratiam et Communionem
cum Apostolica sede Habentibus.*

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

HUMANUM genus, postea quam a creatore, munerumque caelestium largitore Deo, *invidia Diaboli*, miserrime defecit, in partes duas diversas adversasque discessit; quarum altera assidue pro veritate et virtute propugnat, altera pro iis, quae virtuti sunt veritatisque contraria. Alterum Dei est in terris regnum, vera scilicet Iesu Christi Ecclesia, cui qui volunt ex animo et convenienter ad salutem adhaerescere, necesse est Deo et Unigenito Filio eius tota mente ac summa voluntate servire: alterum Satanae est regnum, cuius in ditione et potestate sunt quicumque funesta ducis sui et primorum parentum exempla secuti, parere divinae aeternaeque legi recusant, et multa posthabito Deo, multa contra Deum contendunt. Duplex hoc regnum, duarum instar civitatum contrariis legibus contraria in studia abeuntium, acute vidit descripsitque Augustinus, et utriusque efficientem causam subtili brevitate complexus est, iis verbis: *fecerunt civitates duas amores duo: terrenam scilicet amor sui usque ad contemptum Dei: caelestem vero amor Dei usque ad contemptum sui.** Vario ac multiplici cum armorum tum dimicationis genere altera adversus alteram omni saeculorum aetate confluxit, quamquam non eodem semper ardore atque impetu. Hoc autem tempore, qui deterioribus favent partibus videntur simul conspirare vehementissimeque cuncti contendere, auctore et adiutrice ea, quam *Massonum* appellant, longe lateque diffusa et firmiter constituta hominum societate. Nihil enim iam dissimulantes consilia sua, excitant sese adversus Dei numen audacissime, Ecclesiae sanctae perniciem palam aperteque moliuntur, idque eo proposito, ut gentes christianas partis per Iesum Christum Salvatorem beneficiis, si fieri posset, funditus despolient. Quibus Nos ingemiscentes malis, illud saepe ad Deum clamare, urgente animum caritate, compellimur: *Ecce inimici tui sonuerunt, et qui oderunt te, extulerunt caput. Super populum tuum malignaverunt consilium: et cogitaverunt adversus sanctos tuos. Dixerunt: venite, et disperdamus eos de gente.†*

In tam praesenti discrimine, in tam immani pertinacique christiani

* *De Civit. Dei*, lib. xiv. c. 17.

† *Ps. lxxxii. 2-4.*

nominis oppugnatione, Nostrum est indicare periculum, designare adversarios, horumque consiliis atque artibus, quantum possumus, resistere ut aeternum ne pereant quorum Nobis est commissa salus : et Iesu Christi regnum, quod tuendum accepimus, non modo stet et permaneat integrum, sed novis usque incrementis ubique terrarum amplificetur.

Romani Pontifices Decessores Nostri, pro salute populi christiani sedulo vigilantes, hunc tam capitalem hostem ex occultae coniurationis tenebris prosilientem, quis esset, quid vellet, celeriter agnoverunt; iidemque praecipientes cogitatione futura, principes simul et populos, signo velut dato, monuerunt ne se paratis ad decipiendum artibus insidiisque capi paterentur. Prima significatio periculi per Clementem XII. anno MDCCXXXVIII. facta : * cuius est a Benedicto XIV. † confirmata ac renovata Constitutio. Utriusque vestigiis ingressus est Pius VII. ‡ ac Leo XII. Constitutione Apostolica "*Quo graviora*" § superiorum Pontificum hac de re acta et decreta complexus, rata ac firma in perpetuum esse iussit. In eandem sententiam Pius VIII., ¶ Gregorius XVI., ¶ persaepe vero Pius IX. ** locuti sunt.

Videlicet cum sectae Massonicae institutum et ingenium compertum esset ex manifestis rerum indiciis, cognitione caussarum, prolatis in lucem legibus eius, ritibus, commentariis, ipsis saepe accedentibus testimoniis eorum qui essent conscii, haec Apostolica Sedes denuntiavit aperteque edixit, sectam Massonum, contra ius fasque constitutam, non minus esse christianae rei, quam civitati perniciosam : propositisque poenis, quibus solet Ecclesia gravius in sones animadvertere, interdixit atque imperavit, ne quis illi nomen societati daret. Qua ex re irati gregales, earum vim sententiarum subterfugere aut debilitare se posse partim contemnendo, partim calumniando rati, Pontifices maximos, qui ea decreverant, criminati sunt aut non iusta decrevisse, aut modum in decernendo transisse. Hac sane ratione Constitutionum Apostolicarum Clementis XII., Benedicti XIV., itemque Pii VII. et Pii IX. conati sunt auctoritatem et pondus eludere. Verum in ipsa illa societate non defuere, qui vel inviti faterentur, quod erat a romanis Pontificibus factum, id esse, spectata doctrina disciplinaque catholica, iure factum. In quo Pontificibus valde assentiri plures viri principes rerumque publicarum rectores visi sunt, quibus curae fuit societatem Massonicam vel apud Apostolicam Sedem arguere, vel per se, latis in id legibus, noxae dammare, ut in Hollandia, Austria, Helvetia, Hispania, Bavaria, Sabaudia, aliisque Italiae partibus.

Quod tamen prae ceteris, interest, prudentiam Decessorum Nos-

* Const. *In eminenti*, die 24 Aprilis, 1788.

† Const. *Providas*, die 18 Maii, 1751.

‡ Const. *Ecclesiam a Iesu Christo*, die 13 Septembris, 1821.

§ Const. data die 13 Martii, 1825.

¶ Encyc. *Traditi*, die 21 Maii, 1829.

¶ Encyc. *Mirari*, die 15 Augusti, 1832.

** Encyc. *Qui pluribus*, die 9 Novemb. 1846. Alloc. *Multiplices inter*, die 25 Septemb. 1865, etc.

trorum rerum eventus comprobavit. Ipsorum enim providae pater-naeque curae nec semper nec ubique optatos habuerunt exitus: idque vel hominum, qui in ea noxa essent, simulatione et astu, vel inconsiderata levitate ceterorum, quorum maxime interfuisset diligenter attendere. Quare unius saeculi dimidiatique spatio secta Massonum ad incrementa properavit opinione maiora; inferendoque sese per audaciam et dolos in omnes reipublicae ordines, tantum iam posse coepit, ut prope dominari in civitatibus videatur. Ex hoc tam celeri formidolosoque cursu illa revera est in Ecclesiam, in potestatem principum, in salutem publicam perniciēs consecuta, quam Decessores Nostri multo ante providerant. Eo enim perventum est, ut valde sit reliquo tempore metuendum non Ecclesiae quidem, quae longe firmius habet fundamentum, quam ut hominum opera labefactari queat, sed earum caussa civitatum, in quibus nimis polleat ea, de qua loquimur, aut aliae hominum sectae non absimiles, quae priori illi sese administras et satellites impertiunt.

His de caussis, ubi primum ad Ecclesiae gubernacula accessimus, vidimus planeque sensimus huic tanto malo resistere oppositu auctoritatis Nostrae, quoad fieri posset, oportere. Sane opportunam saepius occasionem nacti, persecuti sumus praecipua quaedam doctrinarum capita, in quas Massonicarum opinionum influxisse maxime perversitas videbatur. Ita Litteris Nostris Encyclicis "*Quod Apostolici muneris*" aggressi sumus *Socialistarum* et *Communistarum* portenta convincere: aliis deinceps "*Arcanum*" veram germanamque notionem societatis domesticæ, cuius est in matrimonio fons et origo, tuendam et explicandam curavimus: iis insuper, quarum initium est "*Diuturnum*," potestatis politicae formam ad principia christianæ sapientiae expressam proposuimus, cum ipsa rerum natura, cum populorum principumque salute mirifice cohaerentem. Nunc autem, Decessorum Nostrorum exemplo, in Massonicam ipsam societatem, in doctrinam eius universam, et consilia, et sentiendi consuetudinem et agendi, animum recta intendere decrevimus, quo vis illius malefica magis magisque illustretur, idque valeat ad funestae pestis prohibenda contagia.

Variae sunt hominum sectae, quae quamquam nomine, ritu, forma, origine differentes, cum tamen communione quadam propositi summarumque sententiarum similitudine inter se contineantur, re congruunt cum secta Massonum, quae cuiusdam est instar centri unde abeunt et quo redeunt universae. Quae quamvis nunc nolle admodum videantur latere in tenebris, et suos agant coetus in luce oculisque civium, et suas edant ephemeridas, nihilominus tamen, re penitus perspecta, genus societatum clandestinarum moremque retinent. Plura quippe in iis sunt arcanis similia, quae non externis solum, sed gregales etiam bene multos exquisitissima diligentia celari lex est: cuiusmodi sunt intima atque ultima consilia, summi factionum principes, occulta quaedam et intestina conventicula: item decreta, et qua via, quibus auxiliis perficienda. Huc sane facit multiplex illud inter socios discrimen et iuris et officii et muneris: huc rata ordinum graduumque distinctio, et illa, qua reguntur, seve-

ritas disciplinae. Initiales spondere, immo praecipuo sacramento iurare ut plurimum iubentur, nemini se ullo unquam tempore ullove modo socios, notas, doctrinas indicaturos. Sic eumentita specie eodemque semper tenore simulationis quam maxime Massones, ut olim Manichaei, laborant abdere sese, nullosque, praeter suos, habere testes. Latebras commodum quaerunt, sumpta sibi litteratorum sophorumve persona, eruditionis caussa sociatorum: habent in lingua promptum cultioris urbanitatis studium, tenuioris plebis caritatem: unice velle se meliores res multitudini quaerere, et quae habentur in civili societate commoda cum quamplurimis communicare. Quae quidem consilia quamvis vera essent, nequaquam tamen in istis omnia. Praeterea qui cooptati sunt, promittant ac recipiant necesse est, ducibus ac magistris se dicto audientes futuros cum obsequio fideque maxima: ad quemlibet eorum nutum significationemque paratos, imperata facturos: si secus fecerint, tum dira omnia ac mortem ipsam non recusare. Revera si qui prodidisse disciplinam, vel mandatis restitisse iudicentur, supplicium de iis non raro sumitur, et audacia quidem ac dexteritate tanta, ut specularicem ac vindicem scelerum iustitiam sicarius persaepe fallat. Atqui simulare, et velle in occulto latere; obligare sibi homines, tanquam mancipia, tenacissimo nexu, nec satis declarata caussa: alieno addictos arbitrio ad omne facinus adhibere: armare ad caedem dexteras, quaesita impunitate peccandi, immanitas quaedam est, quam rerum natura non patitur. Quapropter societatem, de qua loquimur, cum iustitia et naturali honestate pugnare, ratio et veritas ipsa vincit.

Eo vel magis, quod ipsius naturam ab honestate dissidentem alia quoque argumenta eademque illustra redarguunt. Ut enim magna sit in hominibus astutia celendi consuetudoque mentiendi, fieri tamen non potest, ut unaquaeque caussa ex iis rebus, quarum caussa est, qualis in se sit non aliqua ratione appareat. *Non potest arbor bona malos fructus facere; neque arbor mala bonos fructus facere.** Fructus autem secta Massonum perniciosos gignit maximaque acerbitate permixtos. Nam ex certissimis indiciis, quae supra commemoravimus; erumpit illud, quod est consiliorum suorum ultimum, scilicet evertere funditus omnem eam, quam instituta christiana pepererunt, disciplinam religionis reiue publicae, novamque ad ingenium suum extruere, ductis e medio *Naturalismo* fundamentis et legibus.

Haec, quae diximus aut dicturi sumus, de secta Massonica intelligi oportet spectata in genere suo, et quatenus sibi cognatas foederatasque complectitur societates: non autem de sectatoribus earum singulis. In quorum numero utique possunt esse, nec pauci, qui quamvis culpa non careant quod sese istius modi implicuerint societatibus, tamen nec sint flagitiose factorum per se ipsi participes, et illud ultimum ignorent quod illae nituntur adipisci. Similiter ex consociationibus ipsis nonnullae fortasse nequaquam probant conclusiones quasdam extremas, quas, cum ex principis communibus necessario consequantur, consentaneum esset amplexari, nisi per se foeditate sua turpitudine ipsa deter-

* Matth. vii. 18.

reret. Item nonnullas locorum temporumve ratio suadet minora conari, quam aut ipsae vellent aut ceterae solent: non idcirco tamen alienae a Massonico foedere putandae, quia Massonicum foedus non tam est ab actis perfectisque rebus, quam a sententiarum summa iudicandum.

Iamvero Naturalistarum caput est, quod nomine ipso satis declarant, humanam naturam humanamque rationem cunctis in rebus magistram esse et principem oportere. Quo constituto, officia erga Deum vel minus curant, vel opinionibus pervertunt errantibus et vagis. Negant enim quicquam esse Deo auctore traditum: nullum probant de religionis dogma, nihil veri, quod non hominum intelligentia comprehendat, nullum magistrum, cui propter auctoritatem officii sit iure credendum. Quoniam autem munus est Ecclesiae catholicae singulare sibi quae unico proprium doctrinas, divinitus acceptas auctoritatemque magisterii cum ceteris ad salutem caelestibus adiumentis plene complecti et incorrupta integritate tueri, idcirco in ipsam maxima est inimicorum iracundia impetusque conversus. Nunc vero in iis rebus, quae religionem attingunt, spectetur quid agat, praesertim ubi est ad agendi licentiam liberior, secta Massonum: omninoque iudicetur, nonne plane re exequi Naturalistarum decreta velle videatur. Longo sane pertinacique labore in id datur opera, nihil ut Ecclesiae magisterium nihil auctoritas in civitate possit: ob eamque causam vulgo praedicant et pugnant, rem sacram remque civilem esse penitus distrahendae. Quo facto saluberrimam religionis catholicae virtutem a legibus, ab administratione reipublicae excludunt: illudque est consequens, ut praeter instituta ac praecepta Ecclesiae totas constituendas putent civitates. Nec vero non curare Ecclesiam, optimam ducem, satis habent, nisi hostiliter faciendo laeserint. Et sane fundamenta ipsa religionis catholicae adoriri fando, scribendo, docendo, impune licet: non iuribus Ecclesiae parcutitur, non munera, quibus est divinitus aucta, salva sunt. Agendarum rerum facultas quam minima illi relinquitur, idque legibus specie quidem non nimis vim inferentibus, re vera natis aptis ad impediendam libertatem. Item impositas Clero videmus leges singulares et graves, multum ut ei de numero, multum de rebus necessariis in dies decedat: reliquias bonorum Ecclesiae maximis adstrictas vinculis, potestati et arbitrio administratorum reipublicae permissas: sodalitates ordinum religiosorum sublatas, dissipatas. At vero in Sedem Apostolicam romanumque Pontificem longe est inimicorum incitata contentio. Is quidem primum fictis de causis deturbatus est propugnaculo libertatis iurisque sui, principatu civili: mox in statum compulsus iniquum simul et obiectis undique difficultatibus intolerabilem: donec ad haec tempora perventum est, quibus sectarum fautores, quod abscondite secum agitarant diu, aperte denunciant, sacram tollendam Pontificum potestatem, ipsumque divino iure institutum funditus delendum Pontificatum. Quam rem, si cetera deessent, satis indicat hominum qui consocii sunt testimonium, quorum plerique cum saepe alias, tum recenti memoria rursus hoc Massonum verum esse declararunt, velle eos maxime exercere catholicum nomen implacabilibus inimicitiiis, nec ante quieturos, quam excisa omnia viderint, quaecumque summi Pontifices religionis

caussa instituissent. Quod si, qui adscribuntur in numerum, nequaquam eiurare conceptis verbis instituta catholica iubentur, id sane tantum abest, ut consiliis Massonum repugnet, ut potius adserviat. Primum enim simplices et incautos facile decipiunt hac via, multoque pluribus invitamenta praebeant. Tum vero obviis quibuscumque ex quovis religionis ritu accipiendis, hoc assequuntur, ut re ipsa suadeant magnum illum huius temporis errorem, religionis curam relinqui oportere in mediis, nec ullum esse inter genera discrimen. Quae quidem ratio comparata ad interitum est religionum omnium, nominatim ad catholicae, quae cum una ex omnibus vera sit, exaequari cum ceteris sine iniuria summa non potest.

Sed longius Naturalistae progrediuntur. In maximis enim rebus tota errare via audacter ingressi, praecipiti cursu ad extrema delabuntur, sive humanae imbecillitate naturae, sive consilio iustas superbiae poenas repetentis Dei. Ita fit, ut illis ne ea quidem certa et fixa permaneant, quae naturali lumine rationis perspiciuntur, qualia profecto illa sunt, Deum esse, animos hominum ab omni esse materiae concretionem segregatos, eosdemque immortales. Atqui secta Massonum ad hos ipsos scopulos non dissimili cursu errore adhaerescit. Quamvis enim Deum esse generatim profiteantur, id tamen non haerere in singulorum mentibus firma assensione iudicioque stabili constitutum, ipsi sibi sunt testes. Neque enim dissimulant, hanc de Deo quaestionem maximum apud ipsos esse fontem caussamque dissidii: immo non mediocrem hac ipsa de re constat extitisse inter eos proximo etiam tempore contentionem. Re autem vera initiatis magnam secta licentiam dat, ut alterutrum liceat suo iure defendere, Deum esse, Deum nullum esse: et qui nullum esse praefracte contendat, tam facile initiantur, quam qui Deum esse opinantur quidem, sed de eo prava sentiunt, ut Pantheistae solent: quod nihil est aliud, quam divinae naturae absurdum quamdam speciem retinere, veritatem tollere. Quo everso infirmatove maximo fundamento, consequens est ut illa quoque vacillent, quae natura admonente cognoscuntur, cunctas res libera creatoris Dei voluntate extitisse: mundum providentia regi: nullum esse animorum interitum: huic, quae in terris agitur, hominum vitae successuram alteram eamque sempiternam.

His autem dilapsis, quae sunt tamquam naturae principia, ad cognitionem usumque praecipua, quales futuri sint privati publicique mores, facile apparet. Silemus de virtutibus diviniorem, quas absque singulari Dei munere et dono nec exercere potest quisquam, nec consequi: quarum profecto necesse est nullum in iis vestigium reperiri, qui redemptionem generis humani, qui gratiam caelestem, qui sacramenta, adipiscendamque in caelis felicitatem pro ignotis aspernantur. De officiis loquimur, quae a naturali honestate ducuntur. Mundi enim opifex idemque providus gubernator Deus: lex aeterna naturalem ordine conservari iubens, perturbari vetans: ultimus hominum finis multo excelsior rebus humanis extra haec mundana hospitia constitutus: hi fontes, haec principia sunt totius iustitiae et honestatis. Ea si tollantur, quod Naturalistae idemque Massones solent, continuo iusti et iniusti scientia ubi consistat, et quo se tueatur omnino non habebit. Et sane

disciplina morum, quae Massonum familiae probatur unice, et qua informari adolescentem aetatem contendunt oportere, ea est quam et *civicam* nominant et *solutam* ac *liberam*; scilicet in qua opinio nulla sit religionis inclusa. At vero quam inops illa sit, quam firmitatis expers, et ad omnem auram cupiditatum mobilis, satis ostenditur ex iis, qui partim iam apparent, poenitendis fructibus. Ubi enim regnare illa liberius coepit, demota loco institutione christiana, ibi celeriter deperire probi integrique mores: opinionum tetra portenta convalescere: plenoque gradu audacia ascendere maleficiorum. Quod quidem vulgo conqueruntur et deplorant: idemque non pauci ex iis, qui minime vellent, perspicua veritate compulsi, haud raro testantur.

Praeterea, quoniam est hominum natura primi labe peccati inquinata, et ob hanc causam multo ad vitia quam ad virtutes propensior, hoc omnino ad honestatem requiritur, cohibere motus animi turbidos et appetitus obedientes facere rationi. In quo certamine despicientia saepissime adhibenda est rerum humanarum, maximeque exhauriendi labores ac molestiae, quo suum semper teneat ratio victrix principatum. Verum Naturalistae et Massones, nulla adhibita iis rebus fide, quas Deo auctore cognovimus, parentem generis humani negant deliquisse: proptereaque liberum arbitrium nihil *viribus attenuatum et inclinatum** putant. Quin immo exaggerantes naturae virtutem et excellentiam, in eaque principium et normam iustitiae unice collocantes, ne cogitare quidem possunt, ad sedandos illius impetus regendosque appetitus assidua contentione et summa opus esse constantia. Ex quo videmus vulgo suppeditari hominibus illecebras multas cupiditatum: ephemeridas commentariosque nulla nec temperantia nec verecundia: ludos scenicos ad licentiam insignes: argumenta artium ex iis, quas vocant *verismi*, legibus proterve quaesita: excogitata subtiliter vitae artificia delicatae et mollis: omnia denique conquisita voluptatum blandimenta, quibus sopita virtus conniveat. In quo flagitiose faciunt, sed sibi admodum constant, qui expectationem tollunt bonorum caelestium, omnemque ad res mortales felicitatem abiiciunt et quasi demergunt in terram. Quae autem commemorata sunt illud confirmare potest non tam re, quam dictu inopinatum. Cum enim hominibus versutis et callidis nemo fere soleat tam obnoxie servire, quam quorum est cupiditatum dominatu enervatus et fractus animus, reperti in secta Massonum sunt, qui edicerent ac proponerent, consilio et arte enitendum ut infinita vitiorum licentia exsaturaretur multitudo: hoc enim facto, in potestate sibi et arbitrio ad quaelibet audenda facile futuram.

Quod ad convictum attinet domesticum, his fere continetur omnis Naturalistarum disciplina. Matrimonium ad negotiorum contrahendorum pertinere genus: rescindi ad voluntatem eorum, qui contraxerint, iure posse; penes gubernatores rei civilis esse in maritale vinclum potestatem. In educandis liberis nihil de religione praecipitur ex certa destinataque sententia: integrum singulis esto, cum adoleverit aetas, quod maluerint sequi. Atqui haec ipsa assentiuntur plane

* Conc. Trid. Sess. VI. *De Iustif.* c. 1.

Massones: neque assentiuntur solum, sed iamdiu student in morem consuetudinemque deducere. Multis iam in regionibus, iisdemque catholici nominis, constitutum est ut, praeter coniunctas ritu civili, iustae ne habeantur nuptiae: alibi divortia fieri, lege licet: alibi, ut quamprimum liceat, datur opera. Ita ad illud festinat cursus, ut matrimonia in aliam naturam convertantur, hoc est in coniunctiones instabiles et fluxas, quas libido conglutinet, et eadem mutata dissolvat. Summa autem conspiratione voluntatum illuc etiam spectat secta **Massonum**, ut institutionem ad se rapiat adolescentium. Mollem enim et flexibilem aetatem facile se posse sentiunt arbitrato suo fingere, et, quo velint, torquere: eaque re nihil esse opportunius ad sobolem civium, qualem ipsi meditantur, talem reipublicae educendam. Quocirca in educatione doctrinaque puerili nullas Ecclesiae ministris nec magisterii nec vigilantiae sinunt esse partes: pluribusque iam locis consecuti sunt, ut omnis sit penes viros laicos adolescentium institutio: itemque ut in mores informandos nihil admisceatur de iis, quae hominem iungunt Deo, permagnis sanctissimisque officiis.

Sequuntur civilis decreta prudentiae. Quo in genere statuunt. Naturalistae, homines eodem esse iure omnes, et aequa ac pari in omnes partes conditione: unumquemque esse natura liberum: imperandi alteri ius habere neminem: velle autem, ut homines cuiusquam auctoritati pareant, aliunde quam ex ipsis quaesitae, id quidem esse vim inferre. Omnia igitur in libero populo esse: imperium iussu vel concessu populi teneri, ita quidem, ut, mutata voluntate populari, principes de gradu deiici vel invitos liceat. Fontem omnium iurium officiorumque civilium vel in multitudine inesse, vel in potestate gubernante civitatem, eaque novissimis informata disciplinis. Praeterea atheam esse rempublicam oportere: in variis religionis formis nullam esse causeam, cur alia alii anteponatur: eodem omnes loco habendas.

Haec autem ipsa Massonibus aequae placere, et ad hanc similitudinem atque exemplar velle eos constituere res publicas, plus est cognitum, quam ut demonstrari oporteat. Iamdiu quippe omnibus viribus atque opibus id aperte moliuntur: et hoc ipso expediunt viam audacioribus non paucis ad peiora praecipitantibus, ut qui aequationem cogitant communionemque omnium bonorum, deleti ordinum et fortunarum in civitatem descrimine.

Secta igitur Massonum quid sit, et quod iter affectet ex his quae summam attigimus, satis elucet. Praecipua ipsorum dogmata tam valde a ratione ac tam a manifesto discrepant, ut nihil possit esse perversius. Religionem et Ecclesiam, quam Deus ipse condidit, idemque ad immortalitatem tuetur, velle demoliri, moresque et instituta ethnicorum duodeviginti saeculorum intervallo revocare, insignis stultitiae est impietatisque audacissimae. Neque illud vel horribile minus, vel levius ferendum, quod beneficia repudientur per Iesum Christum benigne parta neque hominibus solum singulis, sed vel familia vel communitate civili consociatis; quae beneficia ipso habentur inimicorum iudicio testimonioque maxima. In huiusmodi voluntate vesana et tetra recognosci propemodum videtur posse illud

ipsum, quo Satanas in Iesum Christum ardet inexpressibile odium ulciscendique libido. Similiter illud alterum, quod Massones vehementer conantur, recti atque honesti praecipua fundamenta evertere, adiutoresque se praebere iis, qui more pecudum quodcumque libeat, idem licere vellent, nihil est aliud quam genus humanum cum ignominia et dedecore ad interitum impellere. Augent vero malum ea, quae in societatem cum domesticam tum civilem intenduntur pericula. Quod enim alias exposuimus, inest in matrimonio sacrum et religiosum quiddam omnium fere et gentium et aetatem consensu; divina autem lege cautum esse, ne coniugia dirimi liceat. Ea si profana fiant, si distrahi liceat, consequatur in familia necesse est turba et confusio, excidentibus de dignitate feminis incerta rerum suarum incolumitatisque sobole. Curam vero de religione publice adhibere nullam, et in rebus civicis ordinandis, gerendis, Deum nihilo magis respicere, quam si omnino non esset, temeritas est ipsis ethnicis inaudita; quorum in animo sensuque erat sic penitus affixa non solum opinio Deorum, sed religionis publicae necessitas ut inveniri urbem facilius sine solo, quam sine Deo posse arbitrarentur. Revera humani generis societas, ad quam sumus natura facti, a Deo constituta est naturae parente: ab eoque tamquam a principio et fonte tota vis et perennitas manat innumerabilium, quibus illa abundat, bonorum. Igitur quemadmodum singuli pie Deum sancteque colore ipsa naturae voce admonemur, propterea quod vitam et bona quae comitantur vitae a Deo accepimus, sic eandem ob causam populi et civitates. Idcirco qui solutam omni religionis officio civilem communitatem volunt, perspicuum est non iniuste solum, sed etiam indocte absurdeque facere. Quod vero homines ad coniunctionem congregationemque civilem Dei voluntate nascuntur, et potestas imperandi vinculum est civilis societatis tam necessarium ut, eo sublato, illam repente dirumpi necesse sit, consequens est ut imperandi auctoritatem idem gignat, qui genuit societatem. Ex quo intelligitur, imperium in quo sit, quicumque is est, ministrum esse Dei. Quapropter, quatenus finis et natura societatis humanae postulant, legitimae potestati iusta praecipienti aequum est parere perinde ac numini omnia moderantis Dei: illudque in primis a veritate abhorret, in populi esse voluntate positum obedientiam, cum libitum fuerit, abiicere. Similiter pares inter se homines esse universos, nemo dubitat, si genus et natura communis, si finis ultimus unicuique ad assequendum propositus, si ea, quae inde sponte fluunt, iura et officia spectentur. At vero quia ingenia omnium paria esse non possunt, et alius ab alio distat vel animi vel corporis viribus, plurimaeque sunt morum, voluntatis, naturarum dissimilitudines, idcirco nihil tam est repugnans rationi, quam una velle comprehensione omnia complecti, et illam omnibus partibus expletam aequabilitatem ad vitae civilis instituta traducere. Quemadmodum perfectus corporis habitus ex diversorum existit iunctura et compositione membrorum, quae forma usuque differunt compacta tamen et suis distributa locis complexionem efficiunt pulcrum specie, firmam viribus, utilitate necessaria: ita in republica hominum quasi partium infinita propemodum est dissimilitudo: qui si habeantur pares arbitri-

umque singuli suum sequantur, species erit civitatis nulla deformior si vero dignitatis, studiorum, artium distinctis gradibus, apte ad commune bonum conspirent, bene constitutae civitatis imaginem referent congruentemque naturae.

Ceterum ex iis, quos commemoravimus, turbulentis erroribus, maximae sunt civitatibus extimescendae formidines. Nam sublato Dei metu legumque divinarum verecundia, despecta principum auctoritate, permissa probataque seditionum libidine, proiectis ad licentiam cupiditatibus popularibus, nullo nisi poenarum freno, necessario secutura est rerum omnium commutatio et eversio. Hanc immo commutationem eversionemque consulto meditantur, idque prae se ferunt, plurimi *Communistarum* et *Socialistarum* consociati greges: quorum coeptis, alienam ne se dixerit secta Massonum, quae et consilii eorum admodum favet, et summa sententiarum capita cum ipsis habet communia. Quod si nec continuo nec ubique ad extrema experiendo decurrunt, non ipsorum est disciplinae, non voluntati tribuendum, sed virtuti religionis divinae, quae extinguere non potest, itemque saniori hominum parti, qui societatum clandestinarum recusantes servitutem, insanos earum conatus forti animo refutant.

Atque utinam omnes stirpem ex fructibus iudicarent, et malorum quae premunt, periculorum quae impendent, semen et initium agnoscerent! Res est cum hoste fallaci et doloso, qui serviens auribus populorum et principum, utrosque mollibus sententiis et assentatione cepit. Insinuando sese ad viros principes simulatione amicitiae, hoc spectarunt Massones, illos ipsos habere ad opprimendum catholicum nomen socios et adiutores potentes: quibus quo maiores admoverent stimulos, pervicaci calumnia Ecclesiam criminati sunt de potestate iuribusque regiis cum principibus invidiose contendere. His interim artibus quaesita securitate et audacia, plurimum pollere in regendis civitatibus coeperunt, ceterum parati imperiorum fundamenta quatere, et insequi principes civitatis, insimulare, eiicere, quoties facere secus in gubernando viderentur, quam illi maluissent. Haud absimili modo populos assentando ludificati sunt. Libertatem prosperitatemque publicam pleno ore personantes, et per Ecclesiam Principesque summos stetisse, quominus ex iniqua servitute et egestate multitudo eriperetur, populo imposuerunt, eumque rerum novarum sollicitatum siti in oppugnationem utriusque potestatis incitaverunt. Nihilominus tamen speratarum commoditatum maior est expectatio, quam veritas: immo vero peius oppressa plebes magnam partem iis ipsis carere cogitur miseriarum solatiis, quae, compositis ad christiana instituta rebus, facile et abunde reperire potuisset. Sed quotquot contra ordinem nituntur divina providentia constitutum, has dare solent superbiae poenas, ut ibi afflictam et miseram offendant fortunam, unde prosperam et ad vota fluentem temere expectavissent.

Ecclesia vero, quod homines obedire praecipue et maxime iubet summo omnium principi Deo, iniuria et falso putaretur aut civili invidere potestati, aut sibi quicquam de iure principum arrogare. Immo quod civili potestati aequum est reddere, id plane iudicio conscientiaeque officii decernit esse reddendum. Quod vero ab ipso Deo

ius arcessit imperandi, magna est ad civilem auctoritatem dignitatis accessio, et observantiae benevolentiaeque civium colligendae adiumentum non exiguum. Eadem amica pacis, altrix concordiae, materna omnes caritate complectitur; et iuvandis mortalibus unice intenta, iustitiam oportere docet cum clementia, imperium cum aequitate, leges cum moderatione coniungere: nullius ius violandum, ordini tranquillitatisque publicae serviendum, inopiam miserorum, quam maxime fieri potest, privatim et publice sublevandam. *Sed propterea putant, ut verba usurpemus Augustini, vel putari volunt, christianam doctrinam utilitati non convenire reipublicae, quia nolunt stare rempublicam firmitate virtutum, sed impunitate vitiorum.** Quibus rebus cognitis, hoc esset civili prudentiae admodum congruens, et incolumitati communi necessarium, principes et populos non cum Massonibus ad labefactandam Ecclesiam, sed cum Ecclesia ad frangendos Massonum impetus conspirare.

Utrumque erit, in hoc tam gravi ac nimis iam pervagato malo Nostrarum est partium, Venerabiles Fratres, applicare animum ad quaerenda remedia. Quia vero spem remedii optimam et firmissimam intelligimus esse in virtute sitam religionis divinae, quam tanto peius Massones oderunt, quanto magis pertimescunt, ideo caput esse censemus saluberrimam istam adversus communem hostem advocatam adhibere virtutem. Itaque quaecumque romani Pontifices Decessores Nostri decreverunt inceptis et conatibus sectae Massonum impediendis: quaecumque aut deterrendi ab eiusmodi societatibus aut revocandi caussa sanxerunt, omnia Nos et singula rata habemus atque auctoritate Nostra Apostolica confirmamus. In quo quidem plurimum voluntate christianorum confisi, per salutem singulos suam precamur quaesumusque, ut religioni habeant vel minimum ab iis discedere, quae hac de re Sedes Apostolica praeceperit.

Vos autem, Venerabiles Fratres, rogamus, flagitamus, ut collata Nobiscum opera, extirpare impuram hanc luem quae serpit per omnes reipublicae venas, enixe studeatis. Tuenda Vobis est gloria Dei, salus proximorum: quibus rebus in dimicando propositis, non animus Vos, non fortitudo deficiet. Erit prudentiae vestrae iudicare, quibus potissimum rationibus ea, quae obstabunt et impediunt, eluctanda videantur. Sed quoniam pro auctoritate officii Nostri par est probabilem aliquam rei gerendae rationem Nosmetipsos demonstrare, sic statuite, primum omnium reddendam Massonibus esse suam, dempta persona, faciem: populosque sermone et datis etiam in id Litteris episcopalibus edocendos, quae sint societatum eius generis in blandiendo alliciendoque artificia, et in opinionibus pravitas, et in actionibus turpitudine. Quod pluries Decessores Nostri confirmarunt, nomen sectae Massonum dare nemo sibi quapiam de caussa licere putet, si catholica professio et salus sua tanti apud eum sit, quanti esse debet. Ne quem honestas assimilata decipiat: potest enim quibusdam videri, nihil postulare Massones, quod aperte sit religionis morumve sanctitati contrarium: veruntamen quia sectae ipsius tota in vitio flagitioque est et ratio et

* *Epist. cxxxvii. al. iii. ad Volusianum, c. v. n. 20.*

caussa, congregare se cum eis, eosve quoquo modo iuvare, rectum est non licere.

Deinde assiduitate dicendi hortandique pertrahere multitudinem oportet ad praecepta religionis diligenter addiscenda : cuius rei gratia vaide suademus, ut scriptis et concionibus tempestivis elementa rerum sanctissimarum explanentur, quibus christiana philosophia continetur. Quod illuc pertinet, ut mentes hominum eruditione sanentur et contra multiplices errorum formas et varia invitamenta vitiorum muniantur in hac praesertim et scribendi licentia et inexhausta aviditate discendi. Magnum sane opus : in quo tamen particeps et socius laborum vestrorum praecipue futurus est Clerus, si fuerit, Vobis adnitentibus, a disciplina vitae, a scientia litterarum probe instructus. Verum tam honesta causa tamque gravis advocatam desiderat industriam virorum laicorum, qui religionis et patriae caritatem cum probitate doctrinaque coniungant. Consociatis utriusque ordinis viribus, date operam, Venerabiles Fratres, ut Ecclesiam penitus et cognoscant homines et caram habeant : eius enim quanto cognitio fuerit amorque maior, tanto futurum maius est societatum clandestinarum fastidium et fuga. Quocirca non sine causa idoneam hanc occasionem nacti, renovamus illud quod alias exposuimus, Ordinem Tertium Franciscalum, cuius paullo ante temperavimus prudenti lenitate disciplinam, perquam studiose propagare tuerique oportere. Eius enim, ut est ab auctore suo constitutus, haec tota est ratio, vocare homines ad imitationem Iesu Christi, ad amorem Ecclesiae, ad omnia virtutum christianarum officia : proptereaque multum posse debet ad societatum nequissimarum supprimendam contagionem. Novetur itaque quotidianis incrementis isthaec sancta sodalitas, unde cum multi expectari possunt fructus, tum ille egregius, ut traducantur animi ad libertatem, ad fraternitatem, ad aequalitatem iuris : non qualia Massones absurde cogitant, sed qualia et Iesus Christus humano generi comparavit et Franciscus secutus est. Libertatem dicimus *filiorum Dei*, per quam nec Satanae, nec cupiditatibus, improbiis dominis, serviamus : fraternitatem, cuius in Deo communi omnium procreatore et parente consistat origo : aequalitatem, quae iustitiae caritatisque constituta fundamentis, non omnia tollat inter homines descrimina, sed ex vitae, officiorum, studiorumque varietate mirum illum consensum efficiat et quasi concentum, qui natura ad utilitatem pertinet dignitatemque civilem.

Tertio loco una quaedam res est, a maioribus sapienter instituta, eademque temporum cursu intermissa, quae tamquam exemplar et forma ad simile aliquid valere in praesentia potest. Scholas seu collegia opificum intelligimus, rebus simul et moribus, duce religione, tutandis. Quorum collegiorum utilitatem si maiores nostri diuturni temporis usu et periclitatione senserunt, sentiet fortasse magis aetas nostra, propterea quod singularem habent ad elidendas sectarum vires opportunitatem. Qui mercede manuum inopiam tolerant, praeterquam quod ipsa eorum conditione uni ex omnibus sunt caritate solatioque dignissimi, maxime praeterea patent illecebris grassantium per fraudes et dolos. Quare iuvandi sunt maiore qua potest benignitate, et invitandi ad societates honestas, ne pertrahantur ad turpes. Huius rei

caussa collegia illa magnopere vellemus auspiciis patrociniisque Episcoporum convenienter temporibus ad salutem plebis passim restituta. Nec mediocriter Nos delectat, quod pluribus iam locis sodalitates eiusmodi, itemque coetus patronorum constituti sint: quibus propositum utrisque est honestam proletariorum classem iuvare, eorum liberos, familias, praesidio et custodia tegere, in eisque pietatis studia, religionis doctrinam, cum integritate morum tueri. In quo genere silere hoc loco nolumus illam spectaculo exemploque insignem, de populo inferioris ordinis tam praeclare meritam societatem, quae a Vincentio patre nominatur. Cognitum est quid agat, quid velit: scilicet tota in hoc est, ut egentibus et calamitosi supplicii eat ultro, idque sagacitate modestiaeque mirabili: quae quo minus videri vult, eo est ad caritatem christianam melior, ad miseriarum levamen opportunior.

Quarto loco, quo facilius id quod volumus assequamur, fidei vigiliaeque vestrae maiorem in modum commendamus iuventutem, ut quae spes est societatis humanae. Partem curarumstrarum in eius institutione maximam ponite: nec providentiam putetis ullam fore tantam, quin sit adhibenda maior, ut iis adolescens aetas prohibeatur et scholis et magistris, unde pestilens sectarum afflatus metuatur. Parentes, magistri pietatis, Curiones inter christianae doctrinae praeceptiones insistant, Vobis auctoribus opportune commonere liberos et alumnos de eiusmodi societatum flagitiosa natura, et ut mature cavere discant artes fraudulentas et varias, quas earum propagatores usurpare ad illaqueandos homines consueverunt. Immo qui adolescentulos ad sacra percipienda rite erudiunt, non inepte fecerint, si adducant singulos ut statuam ac recipiant, inscientibus parentibus, aut non auctore vel Curione vel conscientiae iudice, nulla se unquam societate obligaturos.

Verum probe intelligimus communes labores nostros evellendis his agro Dominico perniciosiis seminibus haudquaquam pares futuros, nisi caelestis dominus vineae ad id quod intendimus benigne adiuverit. Igitur eius opem auxiliumque implorare necesse est studio vehementi ac sollicito, quale et quantum vis periculi et magnitudo necessitatis requirunt. Effert se insolenter, successu gestiens, secta Massonum, nec ullum iam videtur pertinaciae factura modum. Asseclae eius universi nefario quodam foedere et occulta consiliorum communitate iuncti operam sibi mutuam tribuunt, et alteri alteros ad rerum malarum excitant audaciam. Oppugnatio tam vehemens propugnationem postulat parem: nimirum boni omnes amplissimam quamdam coeant opus est et agendi societatem et precandi. Ab eis itaque petimus, ut concordibus animis contra progredientem sectarum vim conferti immotique consistant: iidemque multum gementes tendant Deo manus supplices, ab eoque contendant, ut christianum floreat vigeatque nomen: necessaria libertate Ecclesia potiat: redeant ad sanitatem devii: errores veritati, vitia virtuti aliquando concedant. Adiutricem et interpretem adhibeamus MARIAM Virginem matrem Dei, ut quae a conceptu ipso Satanam vicit, eadem se impertiat improbarum sectarum potentem, in quibus perspicuum est contumaces illos mali daemonis spiritus cum indomita perfidia et simulatione reviviscere. Obtestemur principem

Angelorum caelestium, depulsorem hostium infernorum, MICHAELEM : item JOSEPHVM Virginis sanctissimae sponsum, Ecclesiae catholicae patronum caelestem salutarem : PETRVm et PAVLLVM Apostolos magnos, fidei christianae satores et vindices invictos. Horum patrocinio et communium perseverantia precum futurum confidimus ut coniecto in tot discrimina hominum generi opportune Deus benigneque succurrat.

Caelestium vero munerum et benevolentiae Nostrae testem Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, Clero populoque universo vigilantiae vestrae commisso Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xx Aprilis An. MDCCCLXXXIV.,
Pontificatus Nostri Anno Septimo. LEO PP. XIII.

Science Notices.

The Earthquake.—The earthquake of April 22, that made itself so distinctly felt in the eastern counties, was one of the most serious that has been experienced in England for some centuries. In fact, we must go back to the great earthquake of 1382 to find a parallel in the violence and destruction of its effects.

The shock seems to have centred itself about the town of Colchester. Chimneys were thrown down or shattered, and the town of Wivenhoe had all the appearance of having been submitted to a bombardment of some hours. The battlements of the old church had been hurled down, and tons of rubbish lay heaped among the tombstones. The Independent chapel was so wrecked that it will have to be pulled down. It is curious that the houses least affected were the newest ones; the jerry-built structures have strangely disappointed the expectations that some of our humorous contemporaries had formed of their stability.

Another important fact in connection with this earthquake has been established. The shock was not, as is commonly supposed, an oscillation or wave motion from south to north, but a distinct twisting or rotatory impulse from south-east to north-west. At Lagenhoe, all the chimneys that had previously faced south are now looking south-east. The bricks and rubbish thrown down were all projected in a westerly direction, and the eastern side was clear; while at Wivenhoe the shock seems to have come round from the west, and cast the *débris* on the eastern side. It seems to be established, then, that the movement was of a rotatory character, and merely local. Slight shocks were felt at Bristol, Wolverhampton, and Leicester, but these may be merely the result of the disturbance communicating itself to the palæozoic rocks, whose outcrop occurs near the towns mentioned.

It is also stated, on very good authority, that within a short time after the shock of the earthquake at Colchester the level of the water in the wells rose five feet above the highest level ever known. On the Sunday after the shock the water had risen to eight feet, and it has since remained about that level.

Photographs of the Sun's Corona.—It is confidently announced that the celebrated spectroscopist, Dr. Huggins, has at last succeeded in photographing the sun's corona without the aid of an eclipse. The news seems to have been accepted with a great deal of diffidence by the scientific world, but Dr. Huggins' previous achievements with the spectroscope have been so remarkable that one is quite prepared to admit the possibility of this latest feat of the camera and the prism. A large proportion of the light of the corona is violet; it will be

necessary, then, to employ such absorbent media that will quench the six other colours, and allow the violet alone to pass through the lens. This has been tried, and Dr. Huggins claims to have received these violet rays on to a sensitive photographic plate with most decided results. Faint streamers, bearing a resemblance to those of the corona, have certainly been discovered on the plate. At present they are very shadowy, and it is doubtful whether our own atmosphere may not have had something to do with their production. It will be necessary to wait until observers from all parts of the globe have taken up Dr. Huggins' method before we can be absolutely sure that the streamers in question are not due to the imperfection of lenses or atmospheric conditions; but should Dr. Huggins' interpretation of the photographs be the true one, we are brought face to face with one of the greatest astronomical achievements of the century.

An Antidote to Hydrophobia.—Startling and welcome news comes from France that the great biologist, M. Pasteur, has succeeded in discovering an inoculation for hydrophobia. This is so terrible a disease, so sudden in its attack, so appalling in its development, that he indeed will be entitled to the gratitude and esteem of his race who can succeed in robbing it of its horrors. M. Pasteur has already gained undying renown by his successful treatment of anthrax, but the glory he has achieved in this department will be nothing compared with what a grateful humanity will be ready to bestow should he protect us from the awful attacks of hydrophobia. He has not as yet discovered the specific "microbe" of hydrophobia, but he has succeeded in preparing a virus of threefold strength, and by triple inoculation he declares that the contagion can be rendered harmless. He noticed that certain animals, such as the ape, showed less symptoms of the disease than the rabbit. He accordingly took some virus out of the brain of a mad dog, and with this he inoculated an ape, which succumbed. Then with the weakened virus of the dead ape he inoculated two living ones in succession, until he obtained a virus which was sufficiently harmless. To test his theory, M. Pasteur inoculated a dog with the virus, the weakest in quality. He then applied the second, and finally passed on to the third, or virulent virus. And the dog thus treated was rendered proof against the disease, even when bitten by an animal suffering from the disease. M. Pasteur claims that by this triple inoculation he will be able to banish the dreaded hydrophobia from the face of the earth. In the meantime he has announced in the journals that any one bitten by a mad dog has only to present himself to the Normal School laboratory in order to be made proof against the disease.

Dust-Free Spaces.—Dr. Oliver Lodge has communicated to the Royal Dublin Society some interesting researches on dust and fog. Following up Dr. Tyndal's celebrated experiments in 1870, Dr. Lodge has discovered that when a body is warmer than the surrounding air, there is all around it a space free from dust, which appears as a dark region around the body when it is viewed transversely. And it appears that the more the body is heated the more the dust-free region is

increased; but when the temperature is lowered, the free region is lessened, and dust settles upon the body. The heating of any body seems to endow it with a repellent power which drives the dust from the surface and forces it to circulate around. This is the reason why objects in a room are less covered with dust when the sun is shining and the walls and furniture are heated. But when the air of a room is heated by stoves or gas, we must expect to find the dust settling down upon the colder furniture.

But it is still more curious to note the effect of electricity upon dust and fog. When electricity is discharged into the air, the dust gathers into larger particles and leaves it clear. A fine water fog in a bell jar when electrified turns first into a coarse fog and then rain. Next fill the jar with the dense black smoke of turpentine, it coagulates into masses above an inch long; the glass is covered with soot, but the air is clear.

It will naturally strike us at once that there are many promising fields for the experiment of Dr. Lodge's discoveries. If the foul air of tunnels could be cleared by the simple discharge of electricity, it would be a great boon to the afflicted traveller. The directors of the Underground Railway would find it worth their while to set up even costly machines could they ever hope to rid their road of its choking sulphurous vapours. Dr. Lodge is ambitious enough to hope that he may even yet contend successfully with the densest of London fogs, and he trusts soon to obtain a suitable field of operation for putting his theories to the test of experience.

Prehistoric Finds.—The extreme rarity of prehistoric human remains gives a special interest to finds of this nature. In fact, it must always remain a matter of surprise that any such remains have survived to the present day. When the Haarlem Lake in Holland was drained some years ago, the most careful investigations failed to discover any trace of human bones. And yet it was known that not many years previous battles had been fought on the lake, lives had been lost, and its banks had been the centre of a considerable population, but not one bone had escaped the dissolving action of the waters of the lake. It is for this reason that we hail with pleasure the discovery of a human skeleton at Tilbury. It was unearthed thirty-two feet below the surface in a deposit of recent formation. The skull gives indication of a very low type of human being, but there is no other evidence that the skeleton is palæolithic.

A human skull has also been discovered in a bed of clay in the neighbourhood of Prague. A few days previously a mammoth tusk was found in the same locality. The skull has been lying in yellow diluvial loam. Its flat forehead and thickened eyebrow-bones indicate a very low type of the human species.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, Cologne.

1. *Katholik.*

THE April issue treats at length of the baneful effects to the Church in Germany of the Secularization of 1803. The more commanding the position occupied by the Church in Germany may have been down to 1803, the more striking became her humiliation and misery, caused by the encroachments of infidel and unjust statesmen. No less than a hundred and four abbeys and convents were seized upon and given away, for the most part to Protestant princes in order to make up for the losses they had sustained from France. Still greater and further reaching were the indirect damages caused to the Church by the disastrous Convention of 1803. The Catholic Church saw herself all but totally deprived of her schools and universities, libraries and seminaries. Notwithstanding the public calamities which afflicted the neighbouring French Church, Catholic Germany, even so late as 1803, on the left side of the Rhine, was possessed of several universities which for hundreds of years might have boasted of excellent teachers in every department. It will suffice to mention Cologne, Treves, Mayence, Worms, Spire, and Strassburg. All these and other ecclesiastical institutions became extinct. But, what was still worse, the promises were never fulfilled of those German princes, enriched by ecclesiastical wealth, who had solemnly pledged themselves to endow as soon as possible the bishoprics, their chapters and other institutions. Not even the slightest effort was made towards rebuilding the Church, owing not only to the disastrous condition to which the Holy See had been reduced, but likewise to the unwillingness of German princes, who were eager to despoil the Church, but singularly slow to endow her. And when, after the return of Pius VII. to his ancient capital, negotiations between the Pope and German princes began to be opened, the result thereof was very far from what might have been anticipated. For the most part the solemn stipulations, particularly those referring to freedom in electing bishops, as well as to the endowment of episcopal sees and chapters, were barren of result. Vast damage was done to Catholic interests, too, indirectly; since thousands of Catholics, formerly under their bishops as secular princes, became now subject to Protestant princes, who, eager to direct every department of public life, sought to intrude their Protestant ideas into the government of the Catholic Church.

The same number contains a solid critique on "Irenäus Themistor,"

die Bildung und Erziehung der Geistlichen nach katholischen Grundsätzen und nach den Maigesetzen." (Köln, 1884.) This learned book is of great interest not only to the student of history, but also to those who rule over clerical seminaries. It has won for itself general praise in Catholic Germany. And this the author well deserved; not only for the science he displays, and sagacity in developing the rules of canon law, but likewise for the emphasis he has placed on that momentous question on which the future of the Catholic Church in Germany for the most part depends. The rules established by the "May laws," for the education of Catholic clergy, were simply pernicious; fatal to the highest interests. Catholic priests educated under these rules could not have managed even to preserve their faith unblemished. Hence it is easy to conceive that the question of clerical education is on all sides considered to be the salient point of the negotiations conducted, with a scarcely apparent result, between Rome and Berlin; the Holy See being tenacious of rights which never could be resigned, whilst the Prussian Government insists on such a vast influence over Catholic clerical seminaries as down to our age has been totally unknown in Prussia. Our author has done his work particularly well, and is to be complimented on the dispassionate spirit which pervades his book. The historical sketch of episcopal schools and seminaries more particularly does him honour. In laying down the principles of canon law regarding clerical education, he leaves no room for doubt but that the Church insists on seminary education as conducted exclusively by the bishops. Modern encroachments on the rights of the Prussian bishops are all the more to be wondered at, since the papal Bull, "*De salute animarum*" (1821), solemnly accepted and published as law of the land by Frederick William III., enjoins the building of clerical seminaries; wherefore the bishops, by refusing to submit to the May laws, are simply vindicating their most sacred rights. In the appendix are annexed some documents bearing on this important topic. For the most part they refer to Belgium, where the bishops were called on to protect the Church's liberty against the encroachment of Joseph II.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter*.—The March number draws an all but exhaustive picture of Prussian Church politics from 1758–1775. It is curious to learn Frederick II.'s principles about the Catholic Church and her relation to the State. I am not aware whether Mr. Carlyle, the English historian of Frederick II., has touched on this important subject. But even if he has done so, this part of his book ought to be remodelled, since the thousands of documents extracted from the Berlin archives by Dr. Lehmann in his four volumes, "*Preussen und die Katholische Kirche nach den Acten des geheimen Staatsarchivs*" (Leipzig, 1878–1884), have thrown new light on this king. The royal philosopher who boasted that everybody in his States could be saved "*à sa façon*," would not even allow the Catholic priests in Berlin to administer the Sacrament of Baptism. This privilege was strictly reserved to the Protestant clergy except only in some extraordinary cases. Nevertheless, Frederick II. was constantly protecting the

Jesuits in the province of Silesia, even after their suppression by Clement XIV. Of course, on that occasion he found a grand opportunity for setting at defiance the Pope's authority. A most curious fact, mentioned in Lehmann's documents, may be briefly mentioned. The Prussian Government for a time contemplated the plan of uniting the Prussian Jesuits with their brethren of the suppressed English province. Certain overtures were indeed made to Father Thomas More, the last English provincial, but he declined to accept this dangerous proposal.

The April issue contains a critique of Dr. Norrenberg's "*Allgemeine Literaturgeschichte*" (three vols., Münster, 1884). Neither Catholic England nor Catholic Germany could before boast of a general history of poetry of all peoples. Since the days of Frederick von Schlegel, the great master in the philosophy of history, no such work has been undertaken. And yet, such a book, based on Catholic principles, and at the same time quite up to the standard of modern criticism and historical research, was really a necessity. It is a sad fact that Protestant historians have tried to their utmost to lay down in the history of poetry their unchristian ideas, which render it impossible for a Catholic to read those books without endangering his faith. All the more, therefore, are we indebted to Dr. Norrenberg for his painstaking work. The English reader's attention may be directed to the passages referring to English poetry, both Catholic and Protestant, from the Reformation to the present day (vol. iii. pp. 1-125).

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*.—Father Spillmann comments on the Spoliation of Propaganda. Father Dressel fixes the boundaries between philosophy and natural science. The latter has only to inquire into visible facts; whilst the examination into the essence of bodies belongs properly to metaphysics; whilst in point of fact the champions of natural science not seldom encroach beyond their domain by basing their theories on false philosophical systems. Hence the sad result that so many representatives of science are becoming enemies to Christianity. There is more than one mutual relation between philosophy and natural science. Hence the obvious necessity of supporting Christian philosophy, since it exclusively is able to supply science with those sublime ideas which can guide through the vicissitudes of human errors. Father Schneemann very happily reminds us of the time-honoured principle of the old German Diets, by which majorities were strictly prohibited from overruling minorities in any question touching religion. It was the German Protestants who in the peace of Westphalia, 1648, eagerly fought for this principle, the Catholics willingly giving way to their demand. From that time, in the German Diets, was adopted the "*Itio in partes*"—viz., the dissension on religious questions could never be decided by the vote of a bare majority, but only by friendly compromise. What a sad spectacle is to be witnessed nowadays in Germany! Father Baumgartner traces the life of a great Bishop, who from his literary merits has a special claim on the gratitude of Catholics in England, and still more of those in Ireland. It is the late Dr. Greith,

Bishop of St. Gall, Switzerland. The fact deserves to be put on record, that Dr. Greith, during his sojourn in Rome, in 1839, was commissioned by the English Record Office to collect documents for English and Irish history. Hence also the intimate intercourse between him and Drs. Reeves and Forbes, both of whom very often consulted him on historical questions. During the Vatican Council, Bishop Greith, who had been educated chiefly at Munich and Paris, sided with the minority. From an attack of Roman heat he was obliged to leave the Council early in July, being thus prevented from assisting at the final discussion. But as soon as the voice of the Church had spoken, Bishop Greith immediately submitted, and soon came forth as a brilliant champion of the doctrine and liberty of the Church in Switzerland. His pastorals and other writings breathe a vigour of style, and show a vastness of theological and historical learning rare in our day. His work, "Die deutsche Mystik im Predigerorden," has won for itself the admiration of both Catholic and Protestant Germany. But, above all, Bishop Greith took special interest in the history of his own celebrated diocese of St. Gall and the saints it has produced. In 1864 he published his "Geschichte der Altirischen Kirche und ihrer Verbindung mit Alemannien." No student of ancient Irish and Scotch Church history can pass by this eminent work, gathered as it is from the purest sources and first-rate historical documents.

4. *Historisches Jahrbuch der Goerres-Gesellschaft*.—In the April issue Father Rattinger, S.J., gives us a learned dissertation on Dietrich von Niem, a German by birth, but for many years residing in Rome in the time of the great schism. He was a partisan of John XXIII., who was deposed by the Council of Constance, and it is to this pseudo-Pope that he directed a treatise "De bono Romani Pontificis regimine," which Father Rattinger has now published for the first time. The same issue gives an extended critique on a work deserving the attention of English Catholics—"Heinrich Hahn, Bonifaz und Lul. Ihre angelsächsischen Correspondenten. Erzbischof Luls Leben" (Leipzig, 1883). The author is a Protestant, but Protestant prejudices seldom appear in his work, which may be pronounced a most able contribution towards illustrating the eminent figures of St. Boniface and his great disciple and successor Lullus.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 17 Maggio, 1884.

The Recent Encyclical—Humanum Genus.

TWO articles on Freemasonry, suggested, of course, by the publication of the Pope's Encyclical, have appeared in the *Civiltà Cattolica* of May 17. Gambetta's famous cry, "Clericalism, behold the enemy!" while expressing no new idea among the foes of God, was a clear and definite formulary which has been, so to say, inscribed as

a motto on the Masonic banner. To this lying denunciation our Holy Father, Leo XIII., has opposed one which is true and just. He has denounced Freemasonry as the enemy—the enemy of God, of Jesus Christ, of the Church, of kings, of society, of the truth, of morality, of the family; in fine, the enemy of man. And this he has done in the already famous Encyclical *Humanum Genus*, dated April 24, 1884.

This organized attack upon the Church took its rise in England, in the early part of last century. The ultimate object was concealed from the beginning, as were the heads of the sect, and, we may add, has remained concealed even from the outer circles of its own associates. By degrees it gained strength, and became powerful in action. The Supreme Pontiffs early detected its dark plottings and its real object: war against the Church, in order to the destruction of Christianity; and they warned sovereigns of the perils hanging over civil society through its baleful influence; but few took the alarm, and many of them blindly aided in the unholy work. Napoleon I. was a Freemason, and the restored Bourbons aggregated themselves to the sect. The Orleanist Louis Philippe was a Mason; so was the third Napoleon; and all the chief revolutionary leaders who during this century have disturbed the peace of Europe, have belonged to it. The destruction of the temporal power of the Popes was the inspiration of Freemasonry, being intended as a means to an end—viz., the destruction of their spiritual power. This, and not the political unity of Italy, was the chief aim, for the Masonic sect have always been most ready to hazard the very liberty of their country rather than concede independent sovereignty to the Popes. Now, the power which Masonry wields is enormous. Crowned heads and princes of the blood royal think it an honour to be affiliated to it; and in some countries, Italy especially, things have reached such a point that, if persons would attain to honourable and lucrative positions, the most effectual passport is membership of this potent society. Nor is this surprising, since parliaments, municipalities, senates, and the very ministry of these modernized European Governments, are full of its sworn agents, so that everything bends before it.

Its great aim, as we have said, and as the Holy Father declares in his Encyclical, is war against Jesus Christ and His Church, the emancipation of peoples from revealed religion, and the consequent destruction of the work of man's redemption. Now, since the first of man's rights is the not being hindered in the attainment of the end for which he exists, which end is his supreme good, every earthly thing related to him ought to aid and serve him as means for realizing this object. The social state is one of those means; wherefore society ought to be Christian. All the efforts of Masonry are accordingly directed to overturn the order willed by God. But order cannot be taken away without introducing disorder; and this constrains Masonry to overstep the limits it had prefixed to itself; for the principles of speculative and practical truth are so closely united that the one cannot be removed without giving ingress to the worst consequences, even such as were not immediately designed. The work of Freemasonry, then, as facts

demonstrate, results in atheism, impiety, immorality, the ruin of political society, the overturning of thrones, the assassination of kings, socialism, nihilism, anarchy, and every species of horror.

It may be asked, however, if Freemasonry be such as Pope Leo XIII. describes in his Encyclical, how is it that many sovereigns have tolerated it, and still tolerate it, in their dominions, and distinguished princes have enrolled themselves in its ranks? Now it is certainly true that, although the secret societies have been recognized and condemned as the enemies of religion and of public peace and order, at different times and by several European Powers, nevertheless it is equally true that at the present day they constitute the motive power of governmental action in the so-called constitutional Governments of the European Continent—not to go further than this quarter of the globe—and that many princes also belong to them. Four reasons may be assigned for the last deplorable fact. The first is personal ambition, the obtaining of that phantom of honour of which the Masons are prodigal towards their exalted members. The second is the deception under which they labour, the society concealing from the world at large its true designs and even its actual leaders (such may be said to be peculiarly the case in England, where, owing to many combined causes, the utmost ignorance prevails as to the real scope of the association, which is commonly regarded as a mere philanthropic brotherhood). The third is the vain hope which some entertain of guiding the counsels of the sect, and thus counteracting any mischievous projects in contemplation, or at any rate discovering its secret plots. The fourth is the hatred which some of these princes personally entertain towards the Catholic Church. Thus they blindly conspire against the foundation of their own authority, and become the victims of their own stupidity and malice. So it is, then, that Russia, while persecuting the Apostles of Christ and the children of the Church, has allowed the sect to grow and increase, with what results all know.

We have no intention of analyzing this long and interesting article, but we must draw particular attention to an important document, of the date of 1819, which the reviewer gives almost *in extenso*, and which reveals the Satanic designs of the secret societies at that period. It is an "Instruction" to the Carbonari, who may be styled the Janissaries of Freemasonry, and regards the so-called "liberation" of Italy as a stepping-stone to what it calls "universal regeneration." It ought to serve amply to undeceive those who imagine that the object of these conspirators was purely political, and only adverse to the Church accidentally, as it were, because its power and policy stood in the way of the accomplishment of their dreams of liberty. One sentence, quoted from this "Instruction," will suffice to prove what were the real aims of the leaders:—"Our final scope is that of Voltaire and of the French Revolution. The annihilation for ever of Catholicism, and also of the Christian idea, for if it should be left standing on the ruins of Rome, it would thence be perpetuated." The writers allow that their work will not be that of a day, nor of a month, nor of a year; it may take many years,

perhaps even a century; but in their ranks the soldier dies—the battle continues. This “Encyclical” of the sectaries justifies every word pronounced by Leo XIII. in the *Humanum Genus*. It was confirmed at a general assembly of the Masonic lodges held in Paris in 1879. It runs thus:—“Things to be done in France and in the north. To employ every means to unchristianize, but, above all, to strangle Catholicism gradually by new laws enacted every year against the clergy. In the course of eight years, *thanks to lay instruction without God*, we shall have an atheistic generation,” &c. &c. Can anything be plainer? could there be a more distinct warning?

Remarkable Revelations concerning Freemasonry.

The second article * notices some curious documents, little known to the general public, which confirm all that the Pope has asserted of the Freemasons and their designs. One of these contains a testimony peculiarly valuable, considering the quarter from which it emanates. Among the worst of the Masons and Illuminati belonging to the school of Adam Weishaupt, in the closing years of the last century, was Graf von Haugwitz, who attained to the post of Prime Minister in Prussia, where Masonic policy was in the ascendant. He was a bad and unprincipled man, a circumstance which must be known to the readers of history, but not so his conversion, not from Protestantism to Catholicism, but from Freemasonry to natural justice. Curiosity in respect to the occult sciences first led him to join the sect, and, as in the first grades he found little to satisfy this eager desire, he sought further initiation,† and before he had attained his majority he already belonged to some of the highest grades, and was entrusted with the direction of the Lodges of Prussia, Poland, and Russia.

As Prime Minister at Berlin, he was guilty, in the performance of his Masonic masters' behests, of the most flagrant treachery towards the French emigrants and the army of Condé, as we learn from his own confession when, in subsequent years—old, sick, and blind—he was at leisure to reflect on his past career and to draw up the document in question, which unmasked his former associates, and was communicated to the Congress of Verona in the year 1822.

In this report, he describes Freemasonry as divided (just as at the present day) into two parties, the one having for its emblem “search for the philosopher's stone,” which in plain language meant search for the means of re-fashioning the world. As regards religion, the men

* This article, like the former, is founded on the work of the German lawyer, Eckert, quoted at the head of Article VII. of our present number.

† It must be observed that there are various degrees as regards the knowledge entrusted to members. This does not prevent all combining to work for the same end—that is, working for the means conducing to that end which is veiled in mystery from all but the fully initiated. Even some esteemed to be the principal leaders, and believing themselves to be such, have not been, it would seem, always possessed of the full Satanic secret. Attention to this remarkable fact was directed some time ago by the *Civiltà Cattolica*, in consequence of certain dimensions in the Masonic body in Italy.

of this party were deists and even atheists. (It represented the Republicans and Irreconcilables of our day.) The central seat of its operation was in Berlin. The other party, which resembled the modern Moderates, seemed to think and act differently. Its apparent head was the Prince of Brunswick (it may be observed that royal princes are commonly made heads, but only apparent and nominal heads), these two parties were outwardly always at variance (as are the *Opinione* and *Capitale*, their respective organs in modern Italy), but they secretly understood each other well enough as to getting the control of the world into their hands. Had he not known it from experience, he could not, he says, have conceived the indifference of Governments to the existence of this State within a State. The wickedness of the sect to which he had bound himself, at last disgusted even so depraved a conscience as was that of Haugwitz, and now his acute mind, which had set itself from the first to penetrate into the very "sanctuary of the science," discerned something deeper and darker still than what he already knew, the existence of a Masonic Chapter in which the true anti-Christian and Satanic secret was reserved, and from the decisions of which everything proceeded. He became firmly convinced that the terrible drama which had commenced in 1788-89—the French Revolution, the regicide, and all its other horrors—was there resolved upon and planned.

He had felt for some time that he must either retire from the ministry, or take a line of his own, and had chosen the latter course; but he now resolved to abandon Freemasonry altogether. He confided his intention to Prince William of Prussia, who reigned afterwards as William III., and they both agreed that the mask of religious sentiments was adopted by this association to conceal the most criminal designs, yet the prince advised Haugwitz not to leave the association, since he thought that the presence of honest persons in the Lodges might prove the means of counteracting the plots of these conspirators (in other words, he was to play the spy and betray the traitors). Haugwitz himself questions the soundness of such motives, or the justice of acting on them systematically; but does not decide the point. Natural honesty is sufficient, one would suppose, to settle such a question. Nevertheless, the prince continued to act according to this strange policy when he came to the throne, fondly imagining that he could make use of Masonry, while in fact Masonry was making use of him. It was through his old friend, now king of Prussia, to whom his report was addressed, that Haugwitz communicated his experiences and his acquired knowledge of Freemasonry to the Verona Congress. It made a deep impression on the Emperors of Austria and of Russia, but William of Prussia was in vain solicited to join them in prohibiting Freemasonry in his dominions; he who in other things willingly followed the advice of his neighbours and allies was immovable on this point. "Inform your brethren," we find him writing from Verona to his physician, Wiebel, who was a Freemason of the Grand Lodge of Germany, "that I have had much to do here with regard to Masonry and its preservation in Prussia. But I will never withdraw the con-

fidence I have placed in it, unless I have more conclusive motives for so doing. Tell them that Masonry may always rely on my protection so long as it confines itself within those limits which it has defined for its own operation." And thus the Masonic sect has continued to flourish and be most powerful in Prussia, through the blindness and simplicity, or rather the gullibility, of princes and rulers, who believe that Freemasonry will or can restrict itself to those limits which it has defined for the very purpose of deceiving those who are willing to credit it. Whoever believes he is making use of Masonry is really serving it, and will always be its victim.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Avril, 1884.

"PRUDENTIUS an Historian" is the title of the first article in this number. M. Paul Allard, the writer of it, begins by remarking how much the study of history in the strictly so-called historical sources is helped and corrected by recourse to what he calls "histoire vécue," which can be drawn out of every sort of relic of the past. A letter or inscription, a poem, a line, sometimes unexpectedly throws more light on the life of a period than whole pages of an annalist. Should we know the Rome of Augustus without Horace, or that of Domitian without Juvenal? Prudentius is for the fourth century an historical witness of this kind—the more worthy of credit that he did not dream of writing history. This, doubtless, is a new point of view for the study of the great poet. He is generally considered as the founder of Christian lyric poetry, the poet of the dogmas and solemnities of religion, &c.—it is not sufficiently remembered that Prudentius was not always an ascetic, that he had been a near witness of the great events of his time, had perhaps played a rôle in them, had mixed in the political, artistic and fashionable world of the time of Theodosius, and that a past so full of experience and recollections has left traces, even unintentionally, in his most austere and unworldly writings. M. Paul Allard brings these traces into prominence: they will show, he believes, that Prudentius is not valueless as a guide in understanding that second half of the fourth century which, both as to its morals, laws, ideas, even its art, was engaged in a decisive struggle between two religions, and which, like all periods of transition, offers us numerous and strange contrasts. Such is the aim and object of this very interesting article.

It is well known that a few lines in the *Præfatio* to his works contain all that we know about Prudentius. Nevertheless, the writer fills in some of the indefinite expressions with conjectural, but very probable, details. Thus Prudentius belonged to and lived in the diocese of Spain; had visited Italy, but probably had not travelled further; he hardly alludes to Gaul, falls into error in reference to Illyria, knows Africa and Asia only by hearsay. His parents were doubtless Christians, and belonged to the aristocracy. He was twice governor,

most likely of the same province, that of Hispania Tarraconensis: his voyage to Rome was probably made between the two tenures of that office. The high military appointment at court, of which he speaks ("Peristephanon," iv. 79-80), was most likely in the *militia palatina*, or grand officers of the crown, whose positions and privileges occupy a whole book (iv.) of the Theodosian Code. When at fifty-seven years of age Prudentius collected together his poetical works, he had already retired from public business; doubtless he had so retired before he wrote his chief works: but the "Peristephanon" seems to have preceded that retirement. This portion of the article concludes with some excellent critical remarks on the various poems.

The *Contra Symmachum* of the poet was not written all at one time. The first part was rapidly done, and intended to refute the Pagan arguments for the emperor, as St. Ambrose had refuted them for Valentinian. The second book was written after the battle of Pollentia, and is designed to strengthen the sons of Theodosius in the religious piety of their great father, by recalling his deeds; and here we have "des renseignements historiques," curious and not unimportant. First, the truth of the journey of Theodosius to Rome after the battle of Flumen Frigidum is established (in A.D. 394), Claudian and many modernes notwithstanding. Next, the great work done at the meeting there of Theodosius and the Senate, resulting in the conversion of a greater part of the senators, is stated at length chiefly from Prudentius. The sketch of the state of parties in the curia at that period—a Christian majority, but a Pagan preponderance, and the large proportion of timid or half-earnest Christians who (slaves to interest or human respect) went with the ascendant power at Rome, is highly interesting. The writer points out a noteworthy fact—that the poet, using a poet's privilege, sometimes unites in one narration events of one import, but separated in point of time: he gives the chief instances.

"Spain and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew," by the Vicomte Guy de Bremond d'Ars, is a very useful article, based on the correspondence of Jean de Vivonne de Saint-Gouard, the French ambassador at Madrid at the period. The ambassador, on the 1st of August, 1572, had in audience with Philip II. let fall some words which *may* be taken as having been intended to hint at a coming event, such as the massacre, as a proof of the good-will of France for Spain. The Count Hector de la Ferrière professes, in a recent article, to find in these words and the Spanish monarch's reply (*paroles banales*, on both sides, as each party thought) the secret of the massacre so long kept hidden. M. Guy de Bremond rightly considers that it is of no small moment to learn whether or not the massacre was thus premeditated, and having perused the five volumes of the correspondence of the above-named ambassador, which are kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale, he publishes his conviction that the words caught at as serious were mere forms of compliment to which an after event gave a sad significance. The massacre was not then premeditated. The three divisions of this very interesting study treat of (1) the relations between France and Spain at the eve of

St. Bartholomew, (2) the manner in which the intelligence of the massacre was received in Spain and its first effects, and (3) the results of the deed on the political relations of the two countries.

"The Revelations of St. Theresa," by the learned President of the Bollandists, Père Ch. de Smedt, S.J., though itself only a *résumé* of another article from another pen, deserves at least mention. The work thus summarized is the "*Phénomènes Hystériques et les Revelations de St. Thérèse*," by G. Hahn, S.J., the professor of physiology in the Society's College at Louvain, which first appeared in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, and has now been published as a separate work (J. Desbarax, Louvain). Père Hahn's really scientific study was written in reply to a question placed *au concours* last year by the Bishop of Salamanca, on the occasion of St. Teresa's third centenary. The object in view was to defend the supernatural character of the revelations of the saint against the attacks of unbelievers. The jury (a mixed one) not only unanimously awarded the prize to the Père Hahn, but wished to mark their appreciation of its high merit by raising the value of the prize.

Some may be disposed to rush to the conclusion that therefore the study contains only ridicule of the incredulous and unreasoning elevation of the saint's words into the region of the supernatural. Nothing of the kind is to be found. Père de Smedt observes that after the miracles (few in number) which one is bound to believe, the Christian no less than the sceptic is free to measure the character and truth of the miraculous, with this difference in favour of the Christian, that he is not bound to deny *a priori* and gratuitously the intervention of the supernatural. Of the truly scientific character of Père Hahn's essay we can give, in our limits, no adequate idea: the nature, symptoms and manifestations of hysteria are treated at length, after observations made during many years at the Salpêtrière at Paris, and of which he had ocular testimony. Having summarized the result of these, he next draws a picture of the character, physical and intellectual, of Saint Teresa. Then he enters into the characteristics of the two classes of the saint's visions, the intellectual and the imaginative, and of her other supernatural phenomena. Thus, without appeal to the authority of the Church, or any principle exclusively of faith, and with vigorous exclusion of any facts not perfectly demonstrated, he deals with the three questions. 1. Does any revelation of St. Theresa, taken separately, present us with certain proof of its supernatural origin? 2. Does the saint herself offer us, as to her personal qualities, assured guarantee that she was not subject to illusion? 3. Do her revelations in their entirety manifest characteristics which suffice to distinguish them from visions of a purely natural origin? Père de Smedt has done well to bring into notice this dissertation, which he rightly qualifies as "luminous and convincing." It is probably unique; but, of course, the admirer of the saint whose high character and singular supernatural favours are thus witnessed to, should study Père Hahn at first hand and without break. His article in its separate publication makes a volume of less than two hundred pages.

Notices of Books.

Essays on the Philosophy of Theism. By the late WILLIAM GEORGE WARD, Ph.D. Reprinted from the DUBLIN REVIEW. Edited, with an Introduction, by WILFRID WARD. Two vols. London: Kegan Paul. 1884.

FOR those Catholic scholars and readers who are forced to take part in the confused fray now going on in this country under the name of philosophical discussion, nothing could be more opportune than the republication of these valuable essays. For ourselves, we are confident that (except in the rarest minds) nothing but dogmatism can ever teach mental philosophy. A man who has to make up his mind on fundamental metaphysics when he is already mature will never make up his mind at all. He will never possess true knowledge, or a complete system, or symmetrical truth. The human mind is meant to be taught, as well in philosophy as in religion. That is the reason why the emphatic orders of the present Pope, which enjoin that the philosophy of St. Thomas of Aquin must be taught in seminaries, are likely to produce such excellent results in philosophic culture. No one pretends that St. Thomas, or any teacher, has any infallible gift in metaphysical learning. What is undoubted is that he is in all main points right, or substantially right, and that his shortcomings in details are nothing in comparison with the enormous advantage the mind derives from constructing for itself as it expands a broad, solid, and homogeneous platform of philosophic truth, which may serve at once for a noble possession, a vantage-ground for further acquisition, and a refuge in doubt or confusion. But we do not for one moment deny that Catholics have to take part in the struggle outside, or that they cannot do most excellent work when they interfere with knowledge and due preparation. Mr. Wilfrid Ward, who has here written an instructive and interesting introduction to his father's essays, has himself descended into the arena more than once with the happiest effect. And when, in these pages, we read once more the lines not unfamiliar in days gone by, and again follow the masterful career, as he slays his Bains, his Hodgsons, and his Mills, of a champion like William George Ward, we feel that there has been hardly any greater Catholic achievement in this country during the last quarter of a century than Dr. Ward's exposition of the grounds of theistic belief.

Dr. Ward laboured long and laboured hard during a life which was chequered by serious physical indisposition; but he did not live to complete what he had marked out for himself. His contribution to the theistic controversy is therefore rather negative than positive. He has overthrown the enemy, but not finished building up his own

fortress. He has attacked, and, as we think, overthrown, the fundamental assumptions of the "experience" philosophy, represented most prominently by John Stuart Mill. But he has not done more than indicate that train of argument (rendered possible by his triumphant exposure of Mill), by which he was to have demonstrated the existence, the personality, and the attributes of God. The two last essays of these volumes are, as Mr. Wilfrid Ward observes, all that he was spared to accomplish of the second portion of his great task.

The argument in the first volume of these essays has the character of a single combat between Dr. Ward and J. S. Mill. Mr. Mill's doctrine on the rule and motive of certitude; Mr. Mill's denial of necessary truth; Mr. Mill on the foundation of morality; Mr. Mill on free-will and on causation—such is the staple of the discussion. It is diversified in one of the essays by a few pages of more personal and concrete interest, where Dr. Ward, taking as his text the "Autobiography," published in 1873, draws attention, in eloquent and indignant terms, to Mill's aggressive anti-theism, and to his astounding and wilful ignorance of everything connected with Christianity and Catholicism.

And this was the man who sat in judgment, as if from an elevated pedestal, on the acts and motives of saintly persons; who claimed superiority over the prejudices of the vulgar; who condescendingly patronized the mediæval Church; who was kind enough to see, even in modern Catholicity, much which he was happy to approve, though far more which he was obliged to condemn (i. 201).

We have always been inclined to think that Dr. Ward rated John Stuart Mill's philosophical power and services somewhat too highly, from the time when he criticized (severely, it is true) the "Logic" in the *British Critic* of October 1843, down to the end of Dr. Ward's own life. It is true, he profoundly disagreed with, and triumphantly attacked, Mill's root-doctrine (as Mr. Wilfrid Ward terms it)—that the only source of our knowledge is experience. But Mill's acuteness and clearness seem to some extent to have blinded his critic to the intellectual dishonesty—to call it by no harder name—of a man who persistently and continuously made use of his narrow and dark dogmatism to throw discredit on every religious belief, Christian practice and respectable custom, which he could drag within the scope of his writing. We are in strong agreement with Father Harper's note at p. 263 of his new volume ("The Metaphysics of the School," vol. iii.), and we commend that note to Mill's admirers. Let them there observe how Mr. Fitzjames Stephen considers that hardly any work of our day has done so much to shake the foundations of theology as the "Logic," and how Professor Jevons states his growing conviction that Mill's "thoroughly illogical writings" are doing immense injury to the cause of philosophy and good intellectual training in England; and let him ponder what our acutest Catholic metaphysician adds:—

To the writer it seems that, while Mr. Mill's work is clearly superficial, it is only superficially clear. A more probable explanation (of his influence) is to be found in the powerful, though secret, influence which the modern Gnostics exercise over our periodical literature; by the help of which they are enabled to secure a temporary reputation for any moderately gifted author, whose writings tend in any way towards the eventual subversion of those established principles of religion, morals, political and social order, on the ruins of which they confidently hope to build their new temple.

Dr. Ward's view of Mill became doubtless more uncompromisingly hostile as he came to understand better his determined atheism; and nothing contributed more to show the man in his true colours than that "Autobiography," which, by the overruling of Divine Providence, he was permitted to leave behind him. But the Catholic philosopher's own fashion of dealing with him displays all that was best and most effective in the "experimental" method of Mill himself. Two main points argued by Dr. Ward in these volumes are the principle of causation and the freedom of the will. In regard to both the one and the other, his main weapon of proof is a plain and simple statement of experience—a statement pressed home with that perfect clearness of thought and that nervous energy of phrase which his readers know so well. By way of here illustrating a style and method which was once very familiar to the readers of this REVIEW, we quote the two passages in which he "interrogates experience" on the two subjects just referred to. It will be observed that the citations, though taken from different essays, begin with three or four lines identical in both. First, then, he appeals not to philosophers, but to the rough, uneducated mind, to prove that the "principle of causation," or "whatever has a commencement, has a cause," is cognized by the human mind as self-evidently certain and necessary.

The fair arbitrator, then, will be some person on the one hand of sufficiently cultivated faculties, but, on the other hand, who has not given his attention to philosophical inquiries. To obtain from such a man his genuine avouchment, you may deal with him in some such way as the following:—

You draw his attention to the fact that here is some wheat on the ground, ripe for the sickle. You place intelligibly before his mind the doctrine, that what caused the wheat to grow has been partly certain properties or forces of the seed, and partly certain properties or forces of the earth with which that seed has been brought into contact. He entirely assents. "I should never have dreamed," he says, "of any other notion." You point out to him, however, the possibility that God or some supernatural being has miraculously there placed the wheat without any seed having been previously. "Well," he replies, "it stands to reason that if there be a God, He can do this; but I need very strong proof indeed before I accept the supposition of a miracle." Lastly, you suggest to him that perhaps neither was seed sown nor did any preternatural being interfere, but that the wheat came there without any agency at all. As soon as he understands what you mean—which probably he does not find very easy—he is angry at his common sense being insulted by so self-evidently absurd a supposition. You rejoin, that he believes God to exist without any cause. The obvious unfairness,

as he will account it, of such a suggestion increases his wrath. In his own unscientific language he gives you to understand that God never began to exist; nay, that existence is involved in His very essence. "The monstrous allegation," he will add, "against which I am exclaiming, consists in your statement that a thing can begin to exist—can come from nothingness into being—except through the agency of some cause or other." If you then proceed to cross-question him on his word "cause"—if you suggest that he means no more by it than "prevenient," his wrath is still greater than before, so completely have you denaturalized his meaning. And he will account it just as self-evidently absurd to say that anything can commence without a cause, as it would be to say that a trilateral figure can be quadrangular, or that two straight lines proceeding in the same mutual direction can finally intersect.

We have imagined this little scene for the purpose of exhibiting those phenomena of human nature which, as we maintain, make it so absolutely certain that men instinctively regard the principle of causation as a self-evidently necessary truth (i. 327).

Our second extract is the passage in which the same method is applied to prove that there is such a thing as "anti-impulsive effort"—in other words, that the human mind intuitively recognizes that a man has a certain power of going against his natural and existing impulses.

The fair arbitrator, then, will be some person, on the one hand, of sufficiently cultivated faculties; but, on the other hand, who has not given special attention to philosophical inquiries. In order that we may obtain from such a one his genuine avouchment, we would deal with him in some such a way as the following: "How do you account," we first ask him, "for those intense deeds of valour performed by the military hero during the heat of action?" "I have no difficulty whatever in accounting for them," he replies. "In his original nature bravery was a most conspicuous quality; he had led a life eminently calculated to strengthen that quality, the surrounding circumstances of battle afford the very motives best calculated to stimulate it and to dwarf in his mind for the moment every antagonistic desire." "But then," we reply, "look at that soldier who has received so stinging an insult, and is now so strenuously resisting the impulse which prompts him to retaliation. Is that fact also explained by considering on one side his natural or acquired character, and considering on the other side those circumstances in which he is placed?" "Just the contrary," replies our arbitrator; "one sees at once what his nature under his present circumstances would prompt him to do, for it would prompt him to vigorous retaliation. This is just what, as a Christian, I so much admire in him; for, under his existent circumstances, he is resisting the urgent impulse of his nature by vigorous personal action." Such would be the verdict of our impartial arbitrator, for such we are confident would be the verdict of all persons possessing common sense, and common powers of observation, who are not entrammelled by a philosophical theory. Now, be it observed, we are not appealing to our imaginary arbitrators for the purpose of showing that in this latter case the soldier was exerting self-originated personal action. We hold this proposition, indeed, to be most certainly true, but its enforcement belongs to a latter stage of our argument. What we are here insisting upon is at all events the act of will exerted by this Christianly principled soldier, was essentially different from—nay, point-blank contradictory to—that which

was prompted by his nature and circumstances. But if there be even one such case, the doctrine of determinism is false (ii. 47).

It is "experience" of this kind that this great thinker presses upon the world, and the work has never been better done. That his reasoning has had its effect on philosophers in general is evident in many ways. As for our Catholic schools, it is time that Dr. Ward's powerful and conclusive arguments should take their place in every textbook. No one who goes through these essays can fail to see that the writer has taken up an impregnable position and has built a tower of solid truth which we cannot do better than occupy and make use of.

Library of S. Francis de Sales. Works of this Doctor of the Church translated into English. By the Rev. HENRY BENEDICT MACKEY, O.S.B., &c. II. *Treatise on the Love of God.* With Introduction by the Translator. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1844.

TO show in any adequate measure the service rendered by Fr. Mackey in his excellent editions of the Letters of S. Francis of Sales, and of his golden *Treatise on the Love of God*, would require a longer and a more detailed review than we can give in the present short notice. In truth, to form a fair judgment of what we owe to him for his careful and instructive analysis of the *Treatise on the Love of God*, it is necessary to read and to weigh the valuable introduction prefixed to this edition. We can but indicate very briefly the reasons for believing that the publication of these volumes is very opportune at this time.

In his excellent introduction, Fr. Mackey has given a short account of the contention of Fénelon and Bossuet over the *Treatise on the Love of God*. Without doubt both misunderstood the words of S. Francis, and it would appear that neither of them had mastered, or perhaps could master, this wonderful work of the highest theology. Fénelon seems to have read it, not to learn, but to find a warrant for his own lofty but unguarded thoughts. Bossuet's intellect needed the *donum pietatis* to comprehend S. Francis. It would seem that they for a time rendered the work on the Love of God *suspect*. The canonization of the Saint was sufficient to dispel this mist, and the recent elevation of S. Francis to the dignity of a Doctor of the Church has lifted his writings from the level of a *nil obstat* to the authority of a teacher in the universal Church. When the Bishops of the Church, with the common consent of their flocks in all parts of the Church, were petitioning the Holy See to lay upon his head the *aureola* of Doctor, there were some who would have restrained this dignity to theologians in whom the gifts of science and of intellect are supreme, forgetting that the gifts of counsel and of wisdom are equally from the Holy Ghost, and that the great teachers of moral theology, as S. Alphonsus, and of mystical theology as S. Francis of Sales, are

equally created by the Spirit of Truth to be guides and teachers of the Church.

It has always seemed to us that as S. Charles was an offspring of the Council of Trent in the life of pastoral charity, so was also S. Francis in the law of liberty, which is the law of love written on the heart. The delusive and ghastly heresy of justification by imputed justice drew from the fathers of that council the luminous decree and definition which teaches that "we are truly called and are just" by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost and of charity, inasmuch as "by the Holy Ghost the charity of God is poured out in the hearts of those who are justified and is inherent in them," because "Christ Jesus Himself flows into them as the head into the members, or as the vine into the branches." In this the Council of Trent gave an impulse which created the saints of active charity, S. Philip, S. Vincent, and the group of uncanonized but saintly men who renewed everywhere the heroic charity of the apostolic time. So also it fashioned the mind of S. Francis, and of the Visitation from which sprung the devotion of the Sacred Heart. It is indeed true that S. Augustin had a forecast of this special adoration of the Sacred Humanity; and S. Bernard, S. Bonaventure, and S. Bernadine all but defined it. S. Gertrude put it into words, praying to the "deified heart." But the time was not yet come. It was reserved for a humble and despised daughter of the Visitation, a true disciple of the Treatise on the Love of God, to be chosen as the teacher of this profound devotion, which opens the mystery of the Incarnation and of the most holy Eucharist as with a flood of light alike to the theologian and to the little child. The Treatise on the Love of God might be well called the Greater Manual of the Sacred Heart, and S. Francis the prophet of its adoration. But in so regarding this treatise as a work of exalted piety, we must not fail to see, as Fr. Mackey has fully shown in his analysis of it, its strictly scientific and dogmatic character. The ministration and office of the Holy Ghost the Sanctifier; His indwelling and manifold operations of grace; the freedom and power of the regenerate will, are delineated and defined with the utmost doctrinal precision. It is a work of scholastic method and exactness: nevertheless it is a work of positive theology drawn from the divine tradition of the Church, from Holy Scripture, and from the Fathers.

Fr. Mackey has very truly summed up the result of the teaching of S. Francis in these words:—"This view of life, this continual gazing on the beloved Master for whom we work, this regarding the acts of life as a mere series of acts or offerings of love, is the very central point of the ascetic teaching of S. Francis. It not only gives the nobleness, the intensity, the meritoriousness of charity to every act, but it gives also at the same time a great simplicity and largeness preserving the soul from formality, and from getting lost or wearied in the multitudinous details and minute practices of the spiritual life. It creates a loving detachment and liberty of spirit with a readiness to follow every slightest indication of God's will. . . . Amongst all virtuous actions we should carefully practise those of religion and

reverence to divine things, those of faith, hope, and the most holy fear of God—often talking of heavenly things, thinking of and aspiring after eternity, frequenting churches and holy services, reading spiritual books, observing the ceremonies of the Christian religion; for holy love feeds at will amid these exercises, and spreads its graces and properties more abundantly over them than over the simple human virtues" (Book xi. 3). . . . "In little and low exercises charity is practised not only more frequently, but also as a rule more humbly, and therefore more profitably and more holily" (xii. 6). S. Francis shows that legitimate occupation even in court or camp do not hinder the practice of divine love. He says it "is the silly, vain, superfluous undertakings with which we charge ourselves that turn us from the love of God, and not the true and lawful exercise of our vocations" (xii. 4). This sound common sense is spiritual wisdom, speaking with the voice of Holy Scripture. It has the divine simplicity of S. Paul teaching the Corinthians the law of charity, and of S. James teaching the Christian world the law of liberty. The spiritual world has its mechanics and its dynamics, as well as the physical. They cannot be put asunder; and neither can have its due effect without the other. But they are not equal in vitality. The great primeval power of spiritual life and perfection is the love of God. Without this all mechanics of human device are lifeless. With this the regenerate will becomes a law to itself. It anticipates all commandments and goes beyond all obligations, and by the free, spontaneous generosity of love it is always seeking to do more for the beloved Master and the divine Friend. Other perfection than this the revelation of faith does not teach: nor has the Church of God ever known.

Fr. Mackey has not hastily put his hand to the editing and interpreting the writings of S. Francis. His four essays on the life and writings of the Saint have qualified him to speak with authority. He has diligently and conscientiously studied his text, and has patiently and with a judicious discernment of a translator's duty turned the antique and classical French of S. Francis into clear and faithful English. Every one who has endeavoured to read the old translation of Fr. Carr, or the modern translation of some unknown hand, will be able to appreciate the difficulty of the task and the great boon Fr. Mackey has given us in his excellent version. We earnestly commend these volumes to all readers, and we desire their widest diffusion, as we desire also that the doctrine and spirit of S. Francis may reign in all our hearts, both of pastors and of people.

HENRY EDWARD, Cardinal Archbishop.

Jura Sacerdotum Vindicata. The Rights of the Clergy Vindicated; or, A Plea for Canon Law in the United States. By a ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIEST. New York: James Sheehy, 33, Murray Street. 1883.

THIS work treats at great and almost wearisome length of a most delicate subject. It also of necessity contains numerous observa-

tions upon other, yet cognate, topics. Its main and direct object is to get an immediate stop put, if possible, to that scandal of the United States, the number of its wandering priests; but many pages are devoted to the question of the appointment of an apostolic delegate for the whole country (p. 341), with powers extending over a number of years (p. 349); to the abolition of the "veritable curse" of Trusteeism or Committeeism (p. 354); to a "more satisfactory method of appointing bishops" (*ib.*); to the feasibility of instituting chapters on the model of those in Ireland or England (p. 355); to the necessity of each bishop taking his stand on behalf of denominational education (p. 358); and to the desirability of fasts and festivals being kept with similar observances in all the dioceses of the States (p. 351). As to the main point, the author's argument, repeated frequently almost in the same words and reiterated under almost every conceivable mode of expression, seems to admit of being summarized in this way. (I.) Wandering clerics are undeniably a source of grievous shame and scandal, dishonour to the Church, injury to religion, &c. (II.) With such a state of things—that is, the widely-spread existence of this scandal—"every bishop, priest, and almost every layman in the United States is conversant" (p. 72). Indeed, "few there are who have not seen with their own eyes this evil in its sad consequences, or have not heard of it with their own ears. Often has it been made the subject of even newspaper paragraphs." (III.) The evil arises from bishops dismissing priests before they have been taken on by other bishops. And truly sad is the picture drawn of what he assumes to be "the inevitable fate" of priests so dismissed (p. 65). A fate he declares to be frequently that of even good priests: "I say advisedly of many a good priest" (p. 72). The evil is the dismissing of priests from their dioceses, to roam over the land—"quasi oves perdite aut errantes" (p. 12). And this evil had at the very outset of the preface been specially characterized as that "of priests being uncanonically dismissed from their dioceses and thrown helplessly on the world, to the infinite degradation of the sacred character, to the dishonour of our holy religion, and to the great scandal of the faithful." It likewise "seems to be gaining ground as time advances and the clergy become more numerous" (p. 12). Its "existence none will deny" (p. 13). "The evil of which I speak is certainly not an imaginary one as regards the past at least. It has been a tangible, palpable, sad reality, witnessed every day of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year, in its sad consequences of roaming priests and sacerdotal scandals. . . . It has been the 'Abomination of Desolation' in the Church in the United States" (p. 74). "That I state only the plain, simple truth in this matter, the great number of priests shifting every day from the east to the west, and from the north to the south, abundantly proves. There is scarcely a month, and in many places not a week passes but witnesses one or more priests seeking in vain for some refuge, where, sheltered from the gaze of the world, they can lead a life in conformity with the nature of their calling" (p. 76). (IV.) Not only are the bishops

responsible for this mischief, but blameable too; for it is due solely to their *uncanonical* action. An apparent contradiction strikes one when the author opens his attack upon the bishops, but we willingly accord to him that deference and respect towards them may have made him somewhat halting in his charge until he had, so to speak, warmed himself up to the attack. "As a rule, they have governed their clergy prudently, mercifully, justly, wisely, and well. But there are exceptions to this wise and prudent use of episcopal authority, and of late years these exceptions are apparently becoming more numerous. . . . All know it; not only the inferior clergy, but over venerable prelates themselves" (p. 16). Further on he says, "So universal and of such long standing has been this evil, &c." (p. 74). "The scandals of clergymen in most cases result directly from their being cast by their bishops on the open and dangerous sea of the world, unprovided with anchor or sail, oar or compass. They are placed by those who ought to protect them, and whose duty it is to try and rescue them from danger, in a position that requires a miracle of grace, and the extraordinary protection of Heaven to save them" (p. 92). "When a clergyman in this country has been charged with some offence, has any proper and serious investigation, as a rule, according to canonical principles, been made into the accusation? There has not. *If it has been done, it was the exception*" (p. 313). "For now even, although Rome 'decrevit et stricte mandavit' that 'consiliarii' should be appointed in each diocese 'quamprimum,' and that all ecclesiastical causes should be brought before them, not many of our venerable prelates, as far as I can learn, have heeded this solemn injunction made by virtue of holy obedience, or if they have gone through the formality of constituting in their dioceses *Quasi Judicial Counsels* (*sic*), I doubt much if there *has been one case tried in the United States** according to the spirit and letter of the 'Instructio' since its promulgation" (p. 347). (V.) And, apart from all such motives as paternal solicitude or even Christian charity for their clergy, this heartless behaviour of the bulk of the American Episcopate is in open and manifest violation of obvious enactments of canonical law. "Nullum sacerdotem," was the injunction of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, "a proprio episcopo dimittendum, nisi certo constet eum ab alio episcopo recipiendum." And, says our author, "Some of our venerable prelates have not observed the above salutary decree. When a priest erred, their only solicitude seemed to have been, not how they would correct and save him, but how they could get rid of him. Many bishops have given letters dismissory to clergymen, though they well knew that they had secured no other bishop, and knew very well, too, that no other bishop could receive them. . . . Can any adequate reason be given for this sad state of things" (the scandal, &c., of wandering priests), "other than the positive disregard of the above quoted statute. . . . It is self-evident that this crying evil of homeless and wandering priests would

* The italics are our own. [Ed.]

not exist if the above statute of the Council of Baltimore were observed by all our venerable prelates" (p. 76). And again: "This evil of homeless priests, wandering from diocese to diocese, or again, of priests homeless at home, begging their daily bread from the charity of the clergy and the laity, would most certainly not exist if every bishop in the United States heeded and followed in practice the above wise and salutary instructions and admonitions with regard to their clergy, besides observing towards them the method of acting laid down by the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore. To any one reading the Councils of Trent and of Baltimore this is evident. It needs no further proof. It is as clear as the noonday sun" (p. 78). Again: "The images of men who were good and true, and who were driven to desolation and ruin, or suffered the extreme of mental anguish or bodily privations, in consequence of uncanonical action on the part of their bishops, seem to rise up before me and to plead in behalf of the clergy in the United States," &c. (p. 82). Finally: "We have plenty of law on the statute books, but, alas! little of it observed. The *Acta et Decreta* of Baltimore, the various Instructions from Rome, not excepting the very latest, 'have been laid on the shelf'" (p. 343). (VI.) As to the remedy for these terrible abuses:

How can the evils I have touched upon in these pages and others known to all be effectively remedied? . . . We want now, at length, the Instructions from Rome, the *Acta et Decreta* of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore to be taken down from the shelf, and opened and read, and their enactments put in force. . . . We want an Apostolic Delegate, who, attended on his right hand by our most rev. archbishops, and on his left by our right rev. bishops, will "take down from the shelf" the almost forgotten *Acta et Decreta* of Baltimore, and the different Instructions from Rome, and like Esdras of old, read them "distinctly and plainly to be understood" by the hierarchy of this land, and insist by virtue of his power and authority that all the laws of discipline contained therein be faithfully observed (p. 345).

Will no other remedy serve or assist? "In the judgment of many of the clergy and of some of our venerable prelates themselves, there is but one speedy and efficacious remedy. That remedy is the appointing by Rome of an Apostolic Delegate to these United States. . . . The clergy are heartily sick and tired of the uncanonical manner in which, as a rule, they have been treated" (pp. 346-7). Pending such an appointment by the Holy See, the author solemnly appeals to the prelates to take the matter up instantly and earnestly.

In the end, as in the beginning of my humble work, I appeal to our dearly beloved archbishops and bishops to put an end to the evil of which I have spoken in these pages. . . . Establish Canon Law as far as practicable and necessary in all that concerns your relations with your clergy. This will remedy the evil. . . . Be not offended if I, in unison with hundreds of others, earnestly but most respectfully entreat of you to carry out in practice the laws of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore for the protection of the clergy, as well as the provisions of the admirable "*Instructio*" *Quamvis*, &c. (pp. 371-3).

At considerable length, and possibly with a redundancy of reiteration

such as we have pronounced rather wearisome in the author, we have laboured to give a fair statement of the main argument of a somewhat goodly volume. Nor has this been done with a view of refutation. Such a course could hardly be undertaken without a far more intimate knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs in America than most, if any, on this side of the Atlantic possess. Suffice it, then, at the outset of our remarks to observe that we may safely rely upon the course that the Holy See may determine to adopt, after full investigation and much conference with the American prelates recently summoned to Rome; and, that the criticisms we feel it right to pass upon the work are intended to keep its readers from that bias which its fervid glow too naturally imparts, and from committing themselves unreservedly to the acceptance of statements which, in spite of all the reverent and respectful references to the episcopate, would leave it, if true, rather an object of scorn and dismay. To begin, then, with the argument at its beginning. (I.) As to the evil and scandal of wandering clerics, there can be no possible divergence of opinion. (II.) As to the prevalence of this evil in the United States, we were prepared to accept something of the kind propounded by the author. It is devoutly to be trusted that he has exaggerated an evil, the existence of which almost necessarily follows upon the existence of America as a new world receiving the overflow of the old. (III.) Indeed, the author strangely fails to make mention even of any such cause or origin of the evil; he directly and persistently throughout the whole length of his book lays all the blame at the door of the bishops. Such an omission, we think, points to positive unfairness upon a most important, one might almost term it fundamental, item of the heavy indictment; although the author's whole tone almost compels us to be convinced that too warm an advocacy of possibly an admirable cause has rather led him so strikingly astray, than the slightest wish on his part to degenerate into the false position of a partisan. (IV.) And the bishops have brought all this about—nay, are daily bringing it about—for he expressly states that the evil is on the increase—by dismissing uncanonically and without the usual arrangements provided by Canon Law, in fact arbitrarily, such priests as fall under their disapprobation—good and otherwise, promiscuously. And this although (V.) there are special provisions in the ecclesiastical laws of the United States to prevent them from exercising such undue and reprehensible powers. And here our observations upon (III.) and (IV.) as well as, and taken together with (V.), must run into some little length. For it is in reference to these portions or points in his argument that the author seems to us even more strangely forgetful than ever. He appears not so much to ignore as to be incomprehensibly ignorant of the fact that a vast proportion of the American clergy do not belong to the diocese which they temporarily serve. He writes as though the body of the clergy of the United States were like our own, trained almost exclusively by and for the bishops of the country, whereas in the States it is notoriously otherwise. They are thronged with priests in no way bound by the mutual bond which unites bishops and priests in this country.

And these are, for some cause or another, practically their own masters. Having once got free from the bishop who brought them up and educated, or at least ordained them, and to whom they were thus originally bound, they can never be relied upon by another to remain in his service, should disinclination or any other motive impel them to depart from it and seek employment in some other diocese. Unfortunately, the need of priests is so great, that in many places such wanderers are welcomed by the bishop, who runs almost any risk rather than suffer his flock to be wanting the bread of life with no one to break it unto them, or to be deprived of the sacraments at the terrible hour of death. How few are there of us who, within our own limited sphere, have not known one or more priests who, in the phrase that such instances have made a common one, have "gone to America?" And in Ireland the cases are far more frequent, as well as in Germany and other continental countries. Now, then, as to the position of the bishop towards such subjects—if subjects they can be called. In the majority of cases they are accepted on trial, and but for a specified time. They have no such footing and no such rights as those so frequently quoted by the author from Canon Law, from the Synod of Baltimore, or from the "Instructio" *Quamvis*. He should have noted well the precise terms of his main quotation before applying it so unwisely and so unsparingly, and he would have seen that the priest's own bishop, the only one bound by the Synodal decree, has long ago vanished as a factor from the main question—discarded by the very man for whom our author so persistently claims his intervention. As things then are, it is obviously the bishop's aim, indeed it is his only prudent course, should the cleric's conduct be unsatisfactory, to bide the expiration of the period of trial or employment, however desirous he may be of severing the connection speedily. And the "I have no further use, &c. for you, Sir," so indignantly reprobated by the author (p. 313), is after all strictly canonical, and oftentimes the only proper and safe means of acting on the part of the bishop. Considering the vast proportion of what we might truthfully term independent clerics amongst the American clergy, it is quite possible that the bulk of the dismissals complained of by the author might, on examination, turn out to be of this perfectly legal and justifiable nature. At any rate, it amounts to a certainty that a great number of the cases pertain to this category; and that they should be unknown to or ignored by him must detract very considerably from the value of his work with all judicious readers. As regards priests belonging in the strict sense to the bishop and the diocese, we have no fault to find with the author's remarks. On the contrary, we would heartily commend them to the attention of those who in their desire to better the status of our English clergy, often overlook their strong and substantial position, secured to them by a law which it must be fairly acknowledged to be the glory of our episcopate never to have disregarded. If the scandal of a wandering cleric be met with in this country at all, it is almost without exception the case of one who has long ago left—and left voluntarily—the jurisdiction of his first, and strictly speaking, his only own bishop. Nay,

if bishops could allow themselves to speak when charitable reserve seals their lips, too often could they tell a sad tale of how most reluctantly, and against every wish of their hearts, the exeat was extorted from them. Hence we cannot bring ourselves to believe that the sad plight so graphically depicted by the author is come to by "many a good priest." We can imagine it just possible in an isolated case, especially if certain eccentricities of manner have intervened. Once set free from his own bishop, once his own master—and that in nine cases out of ten not only by his own fault, but at his own distinct and deliberate wish—a priest cannot in common justice expect full and permanent rights from a bishop to whom he gives in return services merely temporary, and at his own good pleasure or simple caprice. The position has become a situation of mere contract, and if the bishop is firm in conceding no more than he originally promised—that is, remunerative employment for a specified time, it may be readily supposed that he had good grounds for not caring that the connection should continue, most probably the precise grounds upon which the first bishop was literally compelled to grant the original exeat. (VI.) We cordially agree with the author that for any such miscarriages of justice he laments, neither the Holy See nor the Canon Law of the country is responsible. The rights given to the clergy of the United States in 1878 by the "Instructio" Quamvis are considerably more extensive than those bestowed upon the English clergy by its predecessor and prototype in 1852. It is quite certain that in this country no dismissal of either a missionary rector from his mission, or of a priest from his own diocese takes place save through the intervention of the Canonical Commission of Inquiry. In America, says our author, "from present appearances it looks as if the 'Instructio,' like the Council of Baltimore, would be laid on the shelf" (p. 48). Now, if this be true, and true in regard not to "excorporate" priests, but priests belonging to the dioceses, then, but then only, is there justice in the cry that has been sent up in these pages for speedy and efficacious measures of reform—reform, whence alone it can come as a blessing—from Rome.

It is certain beyond doubt that every such cry or claim has made itself fairly heard and listened to at the recent conferences between the authorities of Propaganda and the Archbishops of the United States. And possibly considerable advance may soon be made as regards the status of English as well as American priests. For without in any way accepting the exaggerations, or being blinded to the shortcomings of the work under notice, it may be reasonably presumed that as Catholicity gains ground in our midst, a return will be gradually made to the common law of the Church in its bearings upon the relations between bishops and their clergy. Over thirty years have now elapsed since Propaganda yielded to the petition of the Fathers of the First Provincial Council of Westminster. "That our most holy Lord would deign to allow and to ratify a plan of management proposed to them, by means of which the inconveniences enumerated would be avoided, and the system of parochial management introduced

by degrees." It is quite open to respectful question as to whether the chief item of this admirable plan—the selection of missions for missionary rectories, has been so worked as to satisfy the fair demands of the clergy, and in this as in many other matters the appeal of our similarly circumstanced brethren of the States cannot fail to have some beneficial effect upon ourselves.

We had something to say upon other points, but space fails. Yet surely, in his advocacy for unity of discipline as to fasts and feasts throughout the vast length and breadth of America, our author forgets—in a decidedly un-American fashion—the prodigious extent of the country and its variations of climate, manners and customs, which are, after all, the basis and source of any such diversity—and, in fact, most frequently necessitate it.

The Religious State. A Digest of the Doctrine of Suarez, contained in his treatise "De Statu Religionis." By WILLIAM HUMPHREY, Priest of the Society of Jesus. 3 vols. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

THIS laborious and skilfully executed work is a distinct addition to English theological literature. A scientific treatise for English readers on the religious state has become absolutely necessary. There are treatises in French, and there are short sketches of the subject in English. But the religious state is such an important fact, it raises so many questions, and contains in its idea so much theological doctrine, that both priests and laity, both nuns and their directors, both bishops and theologians, have been waiting for such a book as this. It is difficult to say whether religious themselves or the uncloistered world are more injured by inadequate and unscientific views about "religion." The lay world, Catholic and non-Catholic, loses a great deal by not knowing the value of a vow, the theory of obedience, the true meaning of the active life as distinguished from the contemplative, and other matters of a similar kind. The general Catholic public, which sees various religious orders and congregations established in its midst, would be less tempted to judge and criticize, if it had a sufficiency of that salutary learning which helps to understand the obligation of a rule, the effect of constitutions, the definition of poverty, and the meaning of exemption. And as for religions themselves, though we may not here dwell upon the controversies which sometimes disturb the peace of the cloister, the chapter-house, or even the choir, yet it must be evident that a moderately full legal textbook of their obligations, spiritual and fraternal, individual and corporate, must be a matter of primary necessity in flourishing churches, such as the Catholic Church, in English-speaking countries. In Father Humphrey's pages all inquirers and students will find the doctrine of the great Spanish doctor, Francis Suarez, epitomized, yet not too briefly or with too meagre and lean a presentment. By omitting "controversies," Father Humphrey has managed to give Suarez very fully in these three handsome and clearly printed

volumes. His style is quiet, methodical, precise, and as clear as the subject admits. Every one will be struck with the air of legal exposition which pervades the book. The learned translator takes a grip of his author under which the text yields up every atom of its meaning and force, and the English paraphrase comes out, rather unadorned it is true, but most satisfactory to those who look for real information and the adequate rendering of technical scholastic Latin. As a slight specimen of the work we transcribe a paragraph on a much misunderstood subject—blind obedience:—

Hence, we see the sense in which blind obedience is to be given by perfect religious to their prelates. Since blindness consists in privation of sight, and is transferred by metaphor to spiritual things, it is certain that it is not so transferred in a sense to signify privation of all knowledge and judgment. A man is not to obey like a brute or in a stolid way, but as a man of right reason, for the fathers who use this phrase require at the same time lynx eyes in the perfectly obedient religious, by which he may discern God in his superiors, and whereby he may also discover sin if it should exist in a precept. Religious blindness should exclude the human reason by which he might be moved to obey a superior—namely, because he is learned, or prudent, or because he commands things which are pleasing to us, rather than solely by the reason of the will of God. It should exclude also the human reasonings by which the subject would examine why the superior should so prescribe, or why he should prescribe this or that to him rather than another. In one word, this blindness excludes the prudence of the flesh, but it does not exclude the prudence which is spiritual and supernatural. Since obedience is a most perfect virtue it no less requires in order to a perfect act of it the guidance of prudence than do other moral virtues, but this is proper to it that the prudential judgment which directs it should be founded more in an extrinsic principle and in the judgment of the superior than in one's own judgment. As it excludes one's own judgment it is called a blind obedience, and it excludes one's own judgment so far as that judgment is vitiated or imperfect, but not so far as it implies all use of one's own understanding. As a blind man is led by another, and sees, as it were, with another's eyes, so is it with a subject in his relation to his superior (i. 121).

Exposé de la Doctrine Catholique. Par P. GIRODON, Prêtre. Précédé d'une Introduction par Mgr. D'HULST, V.G. de Paris, Recteur de l'Institut Catholique. Two vols. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

WE have, more than once, expressed our desire to see an increase of English books which should contain "expositions of the positive side of Catholic doctrine set forth with power, beauty, and feeling." It is very pleasing to recognize in this "Exposé" of M. Girodon exactly one of this class of books in French, which would, we venture to think, be a distinct boon in an English translation. It is not a technical treatise of theology, nor a controversial work, nor a catechetical manual, but a serious and methodical treatise nevertheless, in which our Catholic belief is set forth in an admirable synthesis of studies—current feelings and difficulties being always kept in view,

and, where necessary, specially dealt with. Only in this last-named way is the work controversial; but the most effective polemic is to insist on the clearest and fullest possible statement of the true doctrine. We quite agree with these words of the author's preface:—

My aim has been to make an *exposé*, as complete and methodical as I could, of Catholic doctrine. I have always been struck with the uselessness of refutations and controversies. Singularly enough, they chiefly benefit Christians who are already convinced! Others read little of them, and even then find only the solution of some of the difficulties of detail. Besides, they soon entrench themselves behind a thousand new difficulties against the faith. The true way of gaining minds and hearts is to show the truth and explain it simply, just as it is. Man, in spite of himself, is made for truth—he feels it, he recognizes it; so that by its own divine attraction it persuades a mind in good faith, and at least commands the respect of one who refuses to accept it.

The author has looked to St. Augustine, Bossuet, and more especially St. Thomas of Aquin as his models, and with much of the gentle charity of the last-named he has written his book. It only remains for us to say that we cordially endorse the very high praise which the learned rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris accords it in his introduction.

The preliminary chapters treat first of faith, its nature, its relation to the exercise of reason, and its motives. We have been particularly pleased with one article, headed "Comment on arrive à la Foi;" it shows the author not only as a theological scholar, but as also a man of reflection and experience and of a *practical* mind. It is an excellent specimen of his work, but by no means does it stand alone in excellence. Next, "Revelation" is dealt with, what it is, proofs of it, &c.; and next, "Holy Scripture," its value, its authenticity, its inspiration, &c. "The Church," which is the next preliminary topic, is admirably treated. In less than a hundred pages we have a succinct statement of what the Church is, her infallibility and other gifts, her duty to the world, the relations between Church and State, liberty of conscience, and the differences and relations between the natural and supernatural orders in life. The whole of this portion is well done, the pages dedicated to the subject of papal infallibility being very well stated with especial reference to both the old Gallicans and the new Old-Catholics. The author, again, shows his experience and practical wisdom in his treatment of "The way in which the Church fulfils her mission;" having a pertinent word about bad popes, bad priests, bad Catholics, the bad state of Catholic nations, &c.

Then comes the first great division of his work, treating of Catholic dogma. And here with the same fulness of theological knowledge and practical acquaintance with our own day (of course, more particularly in France), and our own difficulties, he treats of God, His attributes, Creation, Man, and Original Sin. These are the general headings and give no idea of the wonderful way in which the author compresses much study into comparatively few pages; and his pages, we should add, are all carefully written in a clear and pleasant style.

The second volume opens with equally well-executed chapters on the Incarnation, on Devotion to the Blessed Virgin as a consequence of the Incarnation, on Grace and the Sacraments. The last part of the work treats of morality, the moral virtues, and the evangelical counsels.

There is much in these pages of which we should like to give a more detailed account to our readers; there are passages not a few which we have marked to be quoted as specimens of one excellence or another of the author's style and method. But we find that a long article would be needed; so in our short notice we must advise those whom it may interest to consult the book. One or two slight inaccuracies need not occupy our space, one *à propos* of English marriage laws would almost correct itself if the volumes came to be translated. In conclusion, we may say that in consequence chiefly of the excellent method adopted by our author—the method of calm, judicial exposition—we feel sure that this French work would prove to be of no small service to such English inquirers as can use it in the original. We are glad, therefore, to bring it to the notice of the clergy as a book that may be advantageously recommended to converts.

Ancient Religion and Modern Thought. By WILLIAM SAMUEL LILLY.
London: Chapman & Hall. 1884.

IN this interesting book we have the fruit of the thought and the labour of a thoughtful and earnest Catholic writer. Mr. Lilly has read through so many books, weighed so many systems, and honestly faced so many difficulties, that he seldom writes without imparting both instruction and pleasure to his readers. A large part of the present volume—which is mainly, though by no means wholly, a reprint of articles in various high-class periodicals—is taken up with an examination of ancient non-Christian systems of religion, or religious philosophy, such as Confucianism, Magianism, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islamism. Some forty pages are devoted to the fashionable “pessimism” which had for its prophet Schopenhauer. The significance, in modern religious thought, of the Tractarian movement and of Cardinal Newman's writings is treated at considerable length, and the book concludes with a long dialogue in which the writer deals with Matter and Spirit.

We are not quite sure why the name of Schopenhauer comes up so often in modern discussions on the philosophy of religion. He is certainly in every way a most disagreeable man. The reader will thank Mr. Lilly for transcribing the very plain character which was given him, to his face, by his mother, when she explained why she really must decline to have him to live with her:—

Your way of living and regarding life, your grumbling at the inevitable, your sulky looks, your eccentric opinions which you deliver oracularly and without appeal—all this disquiets, fatigues, and saddens me. Your mania for disputation, your lamentations over the folly of the world and

the misery of mankind, prevent my sleeping and give me bad dreams (p. 8).

Schopenhauer's theory is that nothing exists except a blind, foolish, and irrational will, of which all phenomena are but manifestations; hence, no God, no personality, no free-will, no conscience, and no virtue. His conclusion is that the world is the worst possible world. This variation on the ancient doctrines of fate and necessity owes some of its popularity or notoriety to Schopenhauer's free and Rabelaisian style of setting it forth. No doubt it has a considerable affinity with the tendency of men of science—to see nothing but blind force in Nature, and only corporeal impulses in themselves. Mr. Lilly has done us a service in laying bare with a dexterous hand the hideous teachings of a man who, whether worth it or not, is certainly talked about.

Those who know Mr. Lilly's writings will be prepared to find him extremely interesting on the ancient religious systems of the East, whose extensive sway and influence are among the most remarkable phenomena of this age as of ages gone by. He is fond of following out Clement of Alexandria's thought—that there was something divine in them all. His third chapter will be found extremely useful to priests and students, as well as to general readers who have no time to wade through the Oriental literature which is rapidly accumulating.

On Cardinal Newman, Mr. Lilly is eloquent and enthusiastic. To him he has recourse whenever he is in want of a profound or beautiful passage to illustrate his argument. The great Oratorian is the subject of some brilliant paragraphs in the second chapter, and we need not say that every Catholic heart is in sympathy with any one who quotes and praises him. We feel inclined to object, however, when Mr. Lilly says of this great writer that "his main principle" (in the attainment of religious truth) "is that which he originally learnt from Butler—that *probability* is the guide of life" (p. 95). This is explained to mean that "formal logical sequence is not adequate to the giving us such certitude as we have in religious matters"—the well-known doctrine of the "Grammar of Assent." But it seems to us hardly accurate to summarize that doctrine in the dictum just set down. Cardinal Newman's teaching is that the existence of God, and our knowledge of His essential attributes (besides other matters), are not indeed to be proved by logic; but he does not say that the result is a "probability." He says, as Mr. Lilly himself quotes him (*ibid.*), "certitude is the result of arguments which, taken in the letter, and *not in their full implicit sense*, are but probabilities." This is a different thing, and it implies that our knowledge of God is founded on certain immediate and necessary principles of the mind which shine by their own light and are recognized to be true without reasoning. We do not for a moment maintain that Mr. Lilly substantially misrepresents Cardinal Newman; on the contrary, the context and other passages of this volume prove that he has perfectly understood him. But we have heard it said, both by Catholics and non-Catholics, that Cardinal Newman's view is that religious knowledge, as well as religious belief,

is nothing but "adhesion to the more probable." We do not agree with all that the Cardinal has written in the "Grammar of Assent," but we do decidedly deny that he has formulated a doctrine which would at once extinguish both the intellectual light and the gift of divine faith.

It would be interesting and useful to follow Mr. Lilly through his ingenious speculations, in the fifth chapter, on soul, body, matter, spirit, death and punishment. He is inclined to the view that matter is only the resultant of the relations of a finite spiritual energy to space (p. 339). He does not make it very clear what this means; but, as far as we can understand it, we certainly do not follow him. When the angel smote the Assyrian army, that was the manifestation of spiritual energy in space; but it was a different thing from the bodies of the smitten soldiers and from the arms and limbs of the host. It is not enough to say that matter is a "resultant" or a "manifestation;" you must try to say what its primary elements are. There must be a difference between the phantasmal body which the Angel Raphael assumed and the true body which belongs to the soul of a man. There must be a real difference, of a generic sort, between the angelic spirit and the human soul. Besides, as Pythias in this dialogue pertinently asks, What is *space*? "The spirit or the thinking substance may exert resistance under the three dimensions, and so may appear as matter" (p. 16). It is clearly impossible to conceive of space unless you conceive matter first. Space can be nothing but extended matter. To say a spirit exercises energy under length, breadth and thickness, is reasonable enough when there is already something long, broad and thick to energize upon; but to explain material substance itself by this phrase is not only to explain it away, but to shirk the whole mystery of the question—viz., How comes there to be this threefold dimension?

We think Mr. Lilly ill-advised in revising or countenancing the view of Traducianism. Even if no formal condemnation of that view can be pointed to, yet the consensus of theological teaching would surely make it rash to hold it.

With these one or two drawbacks, the writer's views on these profound and pressing questions are put with great power of language and persuasiveness of reasoning and analogy, and will repay examination.

The Metaphysics of the School. By THOMAS HARPER, S.J.

Vol. III Part I. London: Macmillan. 1884.

FATHER HARPER, continuing his great task, has been obliged to divide his third volume into two parts. The first of these parts is now before us. It is taken up with the discussion of one single subject—the Efficient Cause. We do not propose to make any analysis of these pages. To a student such an analysis would be worse than useless. The book itself is so closely reasoned that little or nothing could be taken away. The reader will here find the vast range of

topics which, in the scholastic philosophy, come under the heading of the Efficient Cause, treated with all the writer's well-known erudition and power of English. The definition and divisions of the Efficient Cause, the real efficiency of finite being, even material, the formal principiant of efficiency, the condition of efficient causality, these, with many more, are the topics which are argued out in accordance with the teaching of St. Thomas. Readers who have little taste for pure scholasticism will find an infinite variety of acute notes and remarks, directed to controversies of the day. We may point, as an example, to the long appendix to Article 3 (pp. 79 to 152), in which the author discusses the bearing of the scholastic views of "generation" on modern physiology. Nothing more useful has been done for many a day.

History of the Church. By J. CHANTREL. "Ecclesiastical History." Translated from the fourth edition by E. F. VIBART. Dublin: James Duffy & Sons. 1883.

WE cannot yet be said to be well furnished with histories of the Church in our own language, though much has lately been done to supply our requirements by the translators of Darras and Alzog. But there is still plenty to be done in this special field by those who are willing and able to do the work in a satisfactory way. A shorter work than those of Darras or of Alzog is often needed in schools and colleges. Chantrel's "Ecclesiastical History," which we now wish to introduce to our readers, seems admirably fitted to supply this need. It is in one volume of 589 pages, beginning with the birth of our Lord and coming down to the year 1871. M. Chantrel rightly regards the history of the Church as dating from the beginning of the world. What is usually called the history of the Church—that is, of that divine visible institution founded by Jesus Christ—he calls "Ecclesiastical History."

This "Ecclesiastical History" which is now presented to us in an English dress, has many good points to recommend it as a textbook. In the first place, it is interestingly written. We know how hard it is to write briefly and interestingly at the same time. But M. Chantrel seems to have quite a talent for this. He has written many volumes of history for schools, and they have been received with great favour. In the second place, this "Ecclesiastical History" is arranged with remarkable lucidity and order, and the principal facts and dates catch the eye at once as you turn over the pages of the book. Those who have had to teach the young know the importance of this matter in all textbooks. The paper and type are also good, and these are points of no mean value in books of this description.

The translator has done her work with painstaking labour and fairly well. It would be too much, perhaps, to expect that there should be no awkward phrases which indicate their French source and which cannot be called idiomatic English. There are several peculiarities and mistakes which require to be corrected in the next edition. We may mention, for instance, a passage at p. 123, where

Novatian is said to have "accused Cornelius of being *libellatic*." The translator wanted a kind friend here to explain the Latin word *libellatici*. Again, at p. 213, we have the heading "The Brigandage of Ephesus." Of course we know the "Latrocinium," or Council of Robbers, is meant, but we cannot think that *Brigandage* is the proper translation of M. Chantrel. At p. 384 *Scotus Erigena* is called "*Scotus Erigenus*." At p. 399 we have "Knights-Teutonic," whereas we have always heard them called Teutonic Knights. It would be well, also, if in the next edition the spelling were carefully revised. In spite of these inconsiderable faults, we are extremely indebted to Mrs. Vibart for presenting us with M. Chantrel's excellent "*Ecclesiastical History*," and we may compliment her on having done her task faithfully and creditably.

The Life of St. Mildred, Abbess of Minster in Thanet. By a Lay-Tertiary of St. Francis. London: R. Washbourne. 1884.

THIS little volume contains some good first-hand historical work; and the author, whoever he is, deserves to be congratulated. St. Mildred's life goes back to the seventh century, and takes us first to the western part of Mercia, bordering on Wales, over which her father, the youngest son of Penda, ruled either as king or *regulus*. Once converted, he became as good Christian as he had ever been bold warrior, and the whole family—father, mother, and four children—all came to be canonized by the "*vox populi*." The father, Merwald, is said to have founded the monasteries at Leominster and Wenlock, in which latter his daughter Mildburg ruled—a holy woman who has a place in the Roman Martyrology. He is credited, too, by the Bolandists, with founding the see of Hereford. His wife Ermenberga eventually brought her three daughters to Thanet, and there began the convent whose fame under the name of her daughter Mildred still lives.

The author traces the life of St. Mildred with great perseverance and research, giving sufficient indications in his notes of the vast amount of inquiry and reading he has gone through, yet preserving in his text a bright graphic style which holds one interested and befits the simplicity of the Saxon narrative.

It is interesting to note that the author undertook this life of St. Mildred of Minster at the request of the present Benedictine nuns at Minster, who, in May 1882, welcomed back to her old home the relics of the saint which had been restored to them from Deventer in Holland, where they had long been preserved in honour. The relics rested on their way at St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, and Pope Leo XIII., besides granting indulgences for the event, has raised St. Mildred's feast (the 13th of July) to a Major-Double at Ramsgate, and at Minster to a Double of the Second Class; Urban VI., having long ago, in 1388, declared it a Double there. Thus, after centuries, during which, however, the public worship of St. Mildred lived on in France and Flanders, has the flame been rekindled in her own Isle of Thanet, with a fair promise that, let us trust, is destined to be abundantly fulfilled.

This excellent little life of "the 'mater primaria' of Saxon Monasticism" is well brought out, and adorned with a charming picture of the saint; but the binding is unfortunately out of keeping with an ugly and unmeaning print which marks the side.

The Life of Elizabeth Lady Falkland, 1585-1639 (Quarterly Series).

By LADY GEORGIANA FULLERTON. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

THIS is a volume of considerable interest. The subject of the biography was a woman of unusual ability and great nobility of character, whose lot was cast in troublous times. The record of her life after she became a Catholic is quite romantic in its incidents, and the story of her constancy in persecution and sufferings has often the pathos of heroism. The volume has also no little historical interest, being based on and enriched with many passages from a contemporary biography written by one of Lady Falkland's daughters. We get graphic and interesting touches of life and manners under the first Stuarts. In this connection we may note the detailed account of the "immortal Chillingworth," whose real character, here sketched from intimate knowledge, will be new to many readers. His duplicity and infidelity aimed at destroying the newly found faith in the case of Lady Falkland's daughters. Lady Falkland's life lay between the two dates given on the title-page. She became a Catholic in 1626, whilst her husband was in Ireland as Lord Deputy. He was a Protestant, as were then all her children. His estrangement from her and cruel resentment, as all her other trials, must be read in detail in these pages, as also the touching record of her vivid faith, persevering prayer, patient labouring for her children's conversion, her genuine and high virtue. Her life is a fine practical lesson in not a few points of Catholic teaching, and we gladly recommend it. Lady Georgiana Fullerton well deserves a word of warm thanks for an interesting story pleasantly narrated.

Étude sur les Forces Morales de la Société contemporaine. La Religion et L'Eglise. Par LOUIS DE BESSON. Paris: E. Plon & Cie. 1888.

THE work of the old "Apologists" has, it seems, to be gone over anew in this age of reviving paganism and atheistic thought. Many of the objections against religion in general and Christianity in particular, which were answered so well in the days of Justin and Tertullian, have to be dealt with once again, and that in the forms of thought and language of our own day. The work before us may be looked upon as an apology for religion in general, and for the Catholic Church in particular. The writer is a man of vigorous and deep thought, and of powerful eloquence. He is amongst those who are profoundly moved to see the depths of degradation and irreligion into which his beloved country is fast sinking, and he considers it his duty

to do his best for her safety. His contribution to the work of regeneration is this admirable and eloquent book. He calls it a "study of moral forces," and for the reason assigned in his preface.

Those who attempt to measure the living forces of a nation must not limit themselves to ascertaining what is its military, economic, or political power, but they must examine with especial care what are its faith, its culture, its virtue. Religion, which elevates the soul above selfish interests, science which develops and strengthens the intelligence, the family which, by the practice of obedience and by the habit of mutual love and devotedness, moulds hearts and prepares them for social virtues, are the real moral forces of nations. It is the real nature and the general forms of these moral forces that I mean to study, as well as the mode of their existence and the means and difficulty of their action in the France of our own day.—Pref. p. 2.

The work is divided into three parts; the first treats of "Religion and the Church," the second of "Science and the School," the third of the "Family and the Home." The first volume, "Religion and the Church," is the only one which is yet published. This first volume is again subdivided into three parts, and each part into two books. The first part is entitled "Religion considered as a Moral Force." The author first considers the influence of religion in general, showing how there never has been a nation which has not had its religion. "The existence," he says, "of religion is a universal and constant fact, and this fact corresponds to an instinct which is primordial and essential to the human soul." Not only this, but "religion is, beyond contradiction, that very power which most effectually unites men and brings them towards a common centre, by awakening in them the memory of their common origin, and restoring in their souls that divine image which is the principal trait of their mutual resemblance." In the second book of the first part, the writer treats of the "Christian Religion as a Moral Force." This is, of course, the principal object of his study—the grand, sublime, and wondrous influence which the religion of Jesus Christ has ever exerted since its establishment, on whatever section of the human race has come within its reach. The second part treats of the "Church considered as a Moral Force." Here we have a delightful chapter on the "Priesthood," which shows how men set apart from the multitude, trained to high spiritual views, and having God's mysteries entrusted into their hands, become a wonderful power to change the face of the fallen world. In other chapters we are treated to vigorous and charming passages on the "intellectual" and "moral life" of the Church. When, in chap. iii. of the second book of this second part, the author treats of the "sanctity of the religious life," he rises to the full height of his powers, and gives us pages of great force and beauty. He passes the highest eulogy on the religious orders as they were in France before the late expulsions, maintaining that their fervour and their efficiency were as great as in the most glorious days of monastic life.

The third part treats of "The Relations of the Church with the State and Modern Society." Here the author has chapters on "The

Concordat," "The Liberty of the Church," "The Church and Political Progress," "The Church and Economic Progress," and "The Church and Free Thought." In handling these subjects, M. Besson proceeds circumspectly, "for the days are evil;" but there is no "uncertain sound" in his words. He shows how the Church is the true mother of the poor and the afflicted, that science will never be able to heal the wounds of fallen humanity, and that the Church of Jesus Christ, divine and heaven-sent, can alone fulfil this difficult mission.

We can scarcely speak too highly of M. Besson's clever and eloquent book. We hope that it will not be very long before we may have the pleasure of making known to our readers the appearance of the remaining volumes.

Ad Vaticani Archivi Romanorum Pontificum Regesta manu ductio. Curante D. GREGORIO PALMIERI, Benedictino Casinensi, sec. ejusdem Archivi custode. Romæ: Spithöver. 1884.

IN a brochure of some 200 pages the learned Dom Gregorio Palmieri, sub-keeper of the Vatican archives, furnishes a most acceptable guide to those who may have to consult the Pontifical Registers preserved in those archives. The work undertakes to give a list of the volumes of the documentary collections, mentioning their numbers in successive order and then indicating what year or years of each particular Pope each volume is concerned with. The particular collection which is here indexed does not by any means exhaust the documentary treasures of the Vatican Library. It contains, it is true, some 2,000 volumes, dating from John VIII. to Clement VIII., and thus covering about four centuries. But these documents belong to what is the *Archivum Vaticanum* proper. In other *Archiva* there are other MSS.; each of the Roman congregations has its own archives, and in the Vatican itself there are vast collections not here indexed, as, for example, the series of registers made at Avignon during the time the Popes dwelt there. From the very interesting preface of the learned Keeper, we gather both what enormous labour has already been expended by various custodians in cataloguing the manuscripts of the Vatican Library, and also the great desire there exists on the part of the present Pope and of the authorities to place the treasures of this unique collection within the reach of *bond fide* students. We hope that the writer may, as he hints, follow up this useful guide with other calendars of the MSS. of Bulls, Briefs, Appointments of Bishops, Collations of Benefices, Payments, Petitions, Epistles, &c., which so vividly illustrate the history of the Church.

Fénelon à Cambrai d'après sa correspondance. 1699-1715. Par EMMANUEL DE BROGLIE. Paris: E. Plon, Nouritt & Cie. 1884.

THIS excellent attempt, by the Prince Emmanuel de Broglie, to estimate Fénelon's worth and character anew, will be found very opportune. Every one is familiar with Fénelon's advocacy of "Quietism,"

and the Papal condemnation of March 12, 1699; and with his prompt and humble submission thereto; and with the fact that he lived in the comparative privacy of his northern diocese thenceforward to his death in 1715. But, then, the king had also exiled him—what manner of man was he? Was he a soured and fretful prisoner at Cambrai; was he a man of deep and solid virtue and a sincerely zealous bishop; was he a misunderstood saint, or a merely disappointed “ambitieux;” had he any practical good sense, or was he a confirmed mystic; or, finally, was he “a ‘personnage à double face,’ half mystic, half worldly, as chimerical in politics as *exalté* in religious matters?” For, as the author remarks in the preface: “Les opinions sur son caractère morale ont subi les plus étranges vicissitudes, et aucun jugement précis, définitif, ne s’est formé sur son compte.” The Jansenists, then the philosophers of the last century, then Saint Simon—they have done their best, each in turn, to popularize conflicting and mistaken appreciations of him. What truly was the real Fénelon? If this question needs to be answered for French readers it surely needs to be answered for English readers.

M. de Broglie has answered it successfully in an extremely pleasant little volume. He finds in the bulky correspondence of the celebrated archbishop, between the years named on his title-page, the portrait of the Fénelon of reality drawn in clear outline, and often filled in to its smallest details. It is a most interesting narrative; and we soon perceive that if we have here the least public, we certainly have the most beautiful, portion of that eventful life. Indeed, the life at Cambrai was a self-denying, devoted and edifying life, filled with charitable activities and energetic zeal in multiplied episcopal duties. We have pleasing sketches of the old palace at Cambrai, of the circle of chosen friends who lived there in charming union with Fénelon, of the round of daily prayers and duties which they passed together in almost monastic strictness and quite monastic regularity, of the archbishop’s economic housekeeping, of his diocesan administration in general, marked by sound common sense. The letters of direction, too, are sagacious and practical; in fact, as the author puts it, a certain “sûreté de coup d’œil” was united strangely enough in Fénelon “à une certaine chimère dans l’esprit.” We have, in one place, the archbishop writing home in real concern about the state of the flooring in some of the palace rooms! His correspondence with old friends at Court forms a not less interesting portion of these pages.

In speaking of Fénelon’s activity against the Jansenists it is both natural and just that the author should remark on the contrast so favourable to Fénelon between his conduct towards adversaries and that of adversaries towards him in the controversy on “Quietism”: “his zeal never grew bitter; he never suspected his opponents” of what did not appear: indeed, we may add, the cheerful good-humour of Fénelon all these years, the absence of any rancour or of any raking up or hinting at an old grievance, is remarkable. It is pleasant, too, to see how quickly Fénelon regained in the French Church and elsewhere the authority he might be supposed to have irrevocably

lost. Only two years after the papal condemnation the esteem in which he was held at Rome was so well known in France that, *à propos* of a certain question then much agitated, each side in the dispute, each a religious order, wrote to him begging, if not for help, at least for a promise that he would observe neutrality (p. 148). Clement XI., too, gave him public token of his kindly feeling and confidence. Of the *bona fama* that grew and spread among the people with the knowledge of his virtuous and zealous life, the author gives as an illustration the well-known incident of the Scotchman Ramsay, who at four-and-twenty had gone through as many different religions as countries, and ended (attracted by the fame of Fénelon) in becoming a Catholic and his hero's biographer (pp. 224 *seq.*). The story of Ramsay is not altogether without suggestion of John Inglesant—with less dramatic incidents it is true, and quite a different climax; but then one is reality and the other romance!

Without being unexceptionally in accord with the author in each statement or reflection, we can cordially recommend his excellent book. We are with him in the main, and emphatically so when he hopes (Preface) that in "the hours of doubt," through which France is at this moment passing, and in the midst of much that causes anguish to the heart of Christian Frenchmen, the pages which he has written will not only satisfy "un intérêt de curiosité," but present something "singulièrement fortifiant" in the example of a noble and generous mind, whose virtue was "marked" by trial, and who showed to the world that in remaining a humble and obedient child of the Church, he ceased not to be, rather became all the more, *a man*, a man of strong mind and independent character.

Leonis X. Pontificis Maximi Regesta gloriosis Auspiciis Leonis, D.P. PP. XIII., feliciter regnantis e Tabularii Vaticani Manuscriptis Voluminibus aliisque Monumentis adjuvantibus tum eidem Archivio addictis tum aliis eruditis viris collegit et edidit JOSEPHUS, S. R. E. CARDINALIS HERGENROETHER, S. Apostolicæ Sedis Archivista. Fasciculus primus pag. viii.—137. Friburgi Brisgoviae: Sumptibus Herder. 1884.

WITHIN a few years we have seen edited the Regesta of two of the most remarkable Popes of the Middle Ages. To the Ecole de Rome we are indebted for the Regesta of Innocent IV. (1243–1257), the great doctor of canon law, and defender of the Church's liberty against the unceasing usurpations of the Emperor Frederic II.; and the Regesta of the saintly Benedict XI. (1303–1304), which came out only last year. And now we have the perhaps more interesting and carefully edited Regesta of Leo X. brought out by the Prefect of the Papal Archives. The position occupied by Cardinal Hergenröther leads us to anticipate that his editing of documents which refer to one of the most momentous pontificates in the sixteenth century will be more complete than could be that of any private person. In

the preface to what we may style this monumental work which is dedicated to, as it is brought out under the auspices of, Leo XIII., the editor dwells at length on the reasons which prompted him to select the reign of Leo X. This Pope, the first Medici in St. Peter's chair, witnessed that Renaissance towards the development of which, in Italy, he himself so much contributed. Hence, whilst he is exceedingly praised by those humanists whose doubtful character nobody tries to deny, he is upbraided by some good Catholics, who rebuke him not only for the aid he lent the Renaissance, but also, and perhaps still more, for a certain indulgence—a slowness in denouncing and repressing the formidable heresy which began in Germany. It is with the utmost satisfaction that we subscribe to the Cardinal's declaration that the publication of the Vatican monuments relating to Leo X., must give rise to another and more favourable opinion of this Pope. Leo X. was fond of external splendour, and largely supported artists and men of science; but, as his Eminence duly remarks, what he loved far more was the "*decor domus Dei et candor animarum.*" Any one at all familiar with the ecclesiastical history of that time will readily confess that Leo X., in a certain regard, could boast of great successes; they are duly considered by the Cardinal. The documents now published, and still more those which the learned editor hopes, in time, to bring to light from the Vatican archives, will be a solemn vindication of Leo X. It may, notwithstanding, be unhesitatingly admitted that great abuses, mainly in the matter of ecclesiastical livings, existed in his time. They had come down from the centuries; but Leo X. in the Lateran Council, and afterwards the Council of Trent, exerted every nerve for extirpating them.

Only a few of the *Regesta* refer to Leo's career prior to his election to St. Peter's Chair; the main body of them starts with March 19, 1513, the day of coronation (nos. 14–1902). No less than 1,888 of these documents belong to that day. They are entirely provisions of ecclesiastical livings in various countries of Western Europe. Italy and Spain come first, then follow France and Germany. Comparatively few relate to England, while Scotland and Ireland are more frequently mentioned. The documents of the later dates are of higher interest; especially the Pope's letters to Kings Sigismund of Poland and Albrecht of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic order in Prussia. The total number of documents in the first part, just published, amounts to 2,348. Besides the main contents of each document, the Cardinal has inserted the exact names of the scriptors and the date of issue, and has given critical annotations in footnotes. He hopes to complete the publication in three years. We repeat that it is a noble monumental work, and earnestly recommend it to all students of history and theology. The *Regesta* will become one of the chief standard works for the due appreciation of that disastrous revolutionary movement of the sixteenth century under the miseries of which we are still sighing.

BELLESHEIM.

How to Earn the Merit Grant. By H. MAJOR, B.A., B.Sc. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1883.

THE title of this work is rather ill-chosen, it is suggestive of cram and devices to hoodwink H.M. Inspectors. But the work is far removed from any such attempts. It may be characterized as a collection of methods of teaching the different subjects of an elementary school. The author is an experienced and able teacher, and he places before the public the results of his reading and of his own special work. And these results are given in no stinted measure: methods of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic. The opinions of educationists, the criticisms of inspectors are all detailed in their proper place. Some readers will complain of an *embarras de richesse*, and will be puzzled how to choose between the conflicting systems. But the thoughtful teacher will be grateful for the suggestiveness of the work. He will be led to see his own defects of omission and commission, he will receive many new lights and hints for the detail of his work. No amount of methods will convert a poor teacher into a skilful one, but many an earnest mistress in out-of-the-way districts will welcome the work and learn much from it. We can confidently recommend it to managers to be placed in their school, and the low price for so large a quantity of matter is another point in favour of the book.

A Review of Hume and Huxley on Miracles. By Sir EDMUND BECKETT, Bart. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1883.

THIS is a handy little volume of reply to Huxley's re-discussion of Hume's arguments against miracles. Sir E. Beckett is a doughty champion for the orthodox view. His language is clear and terse and characterized by some rather hard hitting; he has no hesitation in speaking his mind on the foibles of his adversary. The reader instinctively feels himself in the presence of a master thinker, a veteran controversialist, and cannot but experience a sort of malicious delight in seeing the great champions of science subjected to such smart handling. But the work has a value over and above its polemic character. It will be found a very convenient sketch of the positions for and against miracles.

The atheist is not honest in his attack upon the miraculous. He will unfold a number of arguments and put forward a variety of ingenious insinuations, but this is all unreal, it is only a feint, his real attack is from another side altogether. His strength really lies in the conviction that he has formed that no amount of argument, no evidence however overwhelming, will persuade him to believe in a miracle. This is the real secret of the opposition, and he is always compelled to fall back upon this position when hard pressed.

The arguments of the atheist are characterized by the same dishonesty. A little examination will reveal that the Agnostic invariably

demands for a miracle evidence that from the nature of the case it is impossible to produce. Thus Huxley declines to believe in any resurrection from the dead unless we can satisfy him that the temperature of the dead body had sunk below a certain point, that the *rigor mortis* had been decisively established. This is not honest. It is clear that we cannot bring forward any such evidence. But the Agnostic declares such inability to be discomfiture, and goes off crying "victory."

Hence such discussions are but too frequently a waste of time. They may, however, serve the purpose of teaching a tottering believer to stand fast. They will show the subtle coincidences, the weight of testimony, the supernatural character, that surround the miracles of the New Testament. They will establish the striking fact, that while our Lord and the Apostles appeared to neglect any attempt to produce direct evidence for their miracles, the indirect proofs may be multiplied almost to infinity.

There is one serious fault we have to find with this work, the insulting manner in which Sir E. Beckett casts his aspersions upon what he terms "Popish" miracles. We cannot understand such conduct. If he thinks to gain credit with the enemy by reviling his fellow-soldiers in the same warfare, such treatment of us is base; but if he thinks that Catholics establish the Gospel miracle by reference to those of our saints, we can only declare such ignorance incredible. He states, on p. 27, that our miracles "nobody takes the trouble to disprove and nobody believes . . . because they all fall without any refutation for want of sufficient evidence." We fear Sir E. Beckett is speaking without his brief. If he will not believe us, let him turn to Professor Crookes, a scientific observer of the highest eminence. It was, if we are not mistaken, in the "Quarterly Journal of Science" for 1875 that the Professor discussed the question of levitation; and he was forced to the conclusion that the evidence of miraculous suspensions in the air in the case of many Catholic saints was overwhelming. Sir E. Beckett is very short-sighted in making such sweeping denials of later miracles. The unbeliever is more acute, he knows that if only one miracle is established, if only one interference with the "laws of nature" is proved, the whole order of the miraculous becomes both logical and probable.

The Theory and Practice of Teaching. By the Rev. E. THRING, M.A.
Cambridge University Press. 1883.

IT is hard to say whether we are disappointed or not with this book. We certainly expected a great deal from the Head Master of Uppingham, a veteran pedagogue, and a literary man whose earlier efforts are still remembered and enjoyed. The old charm is here, the polished satire and sparkling phrase are as delightful as ever, and the work is full of educational lore. But it is too full; there is no stowing away the materials; neither paragraph nor chapter is

spacious enough to bear the bursting thoughts that throng each page. The reader feels bewildered in the maze of ideas into which he finds himself plunged; thoughts sometimes "too deep for tears;" thoughts loose, "running about riderless." The work is divided into two parts. Part I. contains the Theory of Education. An undercurrent of bitterness runs through the whole of this part. It is but half-veiled by the playful titles that head each page with sphinx-like meaning, only to be resolved by those who sit within the charmed circle. "Who Owes the Debt?" "A Nation Deformed," "New Life *versus* Slumber," "The Factor of Market Price," are some few of the epigraphs that meet the eye on first opening the pages. To Mr. Thring the education time is out of joint, but he is afraid to give full rein to the bitterness of thought that is gathering within him. Hence he indulges in insinuation, girding and nagging, with occasional flashes and displays of deep and lofty thinking. In denouncing the utilitarian view of education, he demands: "Is the boy to sit and toil day by day, and let the sun shine upon hill and dale, and he not see it? Is he to miss the freshness of the air, the games, and the thousand and one delights that pass glittering through the kaleidoscope of the boy's mind, so fertile in fancy and so free? And all for what? On the chance, forsooth, that by-and-by, if he's lucky, he may fetch a high price in the world's auction room. Is he to strain and strive, and use time and energy and brain, and starve his ravening for free enjoyment and activity and fun, only to put himself up to the highest bidder, and value his life for what other people think of it, and not by what it is worth to himself? This will not do" (p. 69). An indignant protest indeed, that will meet with many a fervent response.

Part II. is termed "Practical," but the phrase must be taken in the author's employment thereof. Let no gerund-grinder seek here for practical methods for stowing away larger stores of the waters of Helicon in the hapless boy's brain. It is practical in the sense that in this part the raw material of the school-room is now under discussion in place of the bigger school-room of the world that occupied Part I. If the teacher here seeks in vain for "rules to teach him how to use his tools," the thinker will be repaid by the gems of thought that lie scattered in profusion through the pages. Few writers are so happy as Mr. Thring in aphoristic sayings. Take such sentences as—"A dull boy's mind is a wise man's problem;" "The low class is the teacher's pride and the pumper's dismay;" "Attitude makes false work as well as betrays bad work;" "There is a fearful theory, born and bred in the quagmires of Marsh-dunceland, that nothing is learning unless it is disagreeable."

But the whole section is an earnest pleading for a patient, loving study of the boy's mind; to bear in mind the weakness of their reason and the strength of their memory, the feebleness of their attention, and their astounding ignorance on general subjects. We must, however, qualify the statement we have made, that there is no "practical" advice of the utilitarian type. There is one educational device put

forward as singular in its nature as it is in its appearance in the book. "The pupil in language," he says (p. 190), "might be defined in his early stages as one whose business it is to stamp on his memory *the last syllables of words*." This doctrine is, as far as we know, quite a novel addition to pedagogic lore, and at first seems a little eccentric. But we do not feel at all sure that there is not much wisdom in the advice—at all events, teachers would do well to give the suggestion a fair trial. There is one remark we cannot refrain from making in conclusion. The only indication in the work that the author is a teacher of a *higher doctrine* is the statement on the title-page that his name is the Rev. Edward Thring, M.A.

Biblical Thesaurus; or, a Literal Translation and Critical Analysis of Every Word in the Original Languages of the Old Testament. With Explanatory Notes in Appendices. By the Right Rev. J. HELLMUTH, D.D., D.C.L., Assistant to the Bishop of Ripon, formerly Bishop of Huron, Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical Literature, &c. &c. Vol. I, Part I. Gen. i. to xvi. 2. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

THIS work, if it is ever finished, will be very bulky and expensive, for the present instalment only covers a portion of Genesis, and explains that only from the philological point of view. Much space is still needed for discussion on the composition of these chapters, the relations to geology, ethnography, the traditions and mythology of other nations, &c. &c. The Right Rev. author means to make his work exhaustive; he is to give an explanation and definition of each single word, to deal with every variety of Biblical research, and so to "obviate the necessity of referring to any dictionary, concordance, or any other book of reference on the Old Testament." In this way he hopes to "save the reader an immense amount of time and trouble," to encourage Hebrew studies, and to render great service to the "ordinary English reader."

The plan condemns itself. It is bad enough to be presented with interlinear translations of Genesis, books which are simply insults to the common sense of the public. A man ought to consider whether it is worth his while, all things considered, to learn Hebrew. If he decides in the affirmative, then his reason should tell him that Hebrew, like other useful things, can only be learned by hard labour, that every scheme which allures him from constant devotion to the grammar and dictionary is a delusion and a snare, an appeal to laziness and folly. But if an interlinear Genesis is contemptible, what are we to say of the vast work which is to stretch like a Colossus from Genesis at the beginning to Chronicles at the end of the Hebrew Bible? Bad as the plan is, we forget its badness in the unspeakable wretchedness of the execution. The inspiration of Scripture is fully and reverently acknowledged. But, allowance being made for this sole merit, we do not hesitate to say that the book combines in itself every

fault possible or conceivable. We did not think such a work could have appeared at this time of day in any civilized country. Indeed, the only interesting thing about this wonderful production is that it sets the reader marvelling how such depths of absurdity were reached. We may set down a good deal to want of education; but it would be unfair to deny that the mental constitution of the learned author must have contributed a great deal to the result actually attained. Philology is very prominent, but it is a philology which is pre-scientific. The author assumes the "formation of Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Latin, and other languages from the Hebrew." Starting from this principle, any word in Latin or Greek is boldly assigned to any Hebrew word which has the least resemblance to it in sound. We thought, for example, that "dirigo" was a derivation from "rego," but we learn from the new Thesaurus its identity with the Hebrew "Darak," to tread. The English "rod" is connected with the Hebrew "Radah," to rule (p. 25). A Hebrew word meaning "shoot" or "sprout," is assigned to a root dimly resembling it, which means to fast, "the putting an end to which by proper means is expressed by Tsemach, used of plants, hair, and even abstract things." A sage opinion is recorded (p. 24) that "Adamah," "earth," may come from "Ed," "mist," being the "portion of the earth which was watered by the mist." Etymologies equally nonsensical may be found on every page. The exegesis is worthy of the etymologies. Thus, the last verse of chapter iv., "Then they began to call on the name of Jehovah" is rendered "Then it was commenced to call [idols] by the name of Jehovah." The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan and Rashi in his commentary, render "Then profanation was made in calling on the name of Jehovah," a version to which there are insuperable objections but which is sober and grammatical compared with Dr. Hellmuth's. Almost every line has its blunder. Then we are told (p. 44) that "Ish" has no plural, and that "Ishim, when it occurs, refers to angels;" the fact being that Ishim occurs three times (Ps. cxli. 4; Prov. viii. 4; Isai. liii. 3), and always means men. On p. 40, "Yitsar" is said to be fut. of "Tsarah" "to press," preceded by Vau conversive. This statement proves that Dr. Hellmuth is ignorant of the very elements of Hebrew grammar. For badness unredeemed we have never seen the like of this book, nothing "simile aut secundum." And yet the author has been employed as teacher of Hebrew in theological schools. It seems incredible that he should ever have deceived anybody, except perhaps the members of that wise and learned body, the Anglo-Israelite Association.

W. E. ADDIS.

Mobilization and Embarkation of an Army Corps. By Lieut.-Colonel GEORGE ARMAND FURSE. London: Clowes & Sons.

THE aim of this book, even were we to ignore the author's avowal in the preface, is apparent throughout. It is to regulate our preparations for war in such a way as to be in a position to complete

VOL. XII.—NO. I. [Third Series.] Q

them with the greatest possible dispatch, when a force has to be sent by sea for military operations in a foreign country. The writer insists on our not leaving everything to be thought of at the last hour, on the necessity for making all officers alike acquainted with the work to be performed on mobilization, and on a fair division of labour.

One of the most important suggestions proposed as a preparation for any sudden emergency, is to keep the bulk of the troops that compose the Army Corps first for foreign service always at Aldershot, with all the stores they would need on passing from a peace to a war footing, and that the corps, or a portion of it, proceed to the seat of war intact, with the staff it has been accustomed to work under in peace time.

Colonel Furse gives in his preface a prominent place to the fact that much of the efficiency of an army depends on the interest taken by the nation in military affairs. The apathy of the British nation in this respect is remarkable. Much of this feeling doubtless arises from over-confidence—the knowledge that the country is protected from immediate attack by the sea which divides it from the Continent. Reverses such as the annihilation of the troops at Isandhlwana, or the defeat at Maiwand, have taken place some thousands of miles from home, and have not touched too closely the commercial interests of the nation. Such disasters, by the very fact of their being a defeat, accompanied by a serious loss of life, produce temporary emotion, but nothing more; there is always full confidence that the disaster will be soon effaced. On the other hand, let the swagger of a few fiery French colonels, mixed with invectives against “perfidious Albion,” be heard, and we see the nation panic-stricken at the idea of its weakness; there is a rush to arms, and hundreds of thousands of men enrol themselves voluntarily for the defence of the country. What occurred barely twenty-four years ago shows that the nation can fully appreciate its danger when the danger that threatens it lies close to home.

It is proverbial in all the armies of Europe that the English guard themselves badly in the field. This partly arises from over-confidence, and the feeling that the enemy will not dare to molest them, apprehending that by doing so he will get more than he bargained for. This feeling reflects itself in the nation at large, and is one of the causes of the apathy in military affairs which so justly irritates military men.

Colonel Furse remarks that a country with the untold wealth that England possesses must naturally be an object of envy to its neighbours, and at some period or other will invite attack; and every one must agree with him, that a country like England, with its enormous wealth at home and its large possessions abroad, requires a larger and a better army than we can boast of at present; our neighbours across the water have shown us how suicidal it is to neglect the warnings of far-seeing men. The expositions of Trocher, the suppressed despatches of Baron Stoffel, were warnings which, if taken in time, might have saved France from the humiliations of 1870. Self-confidence, pride, and refusal to admit that anything was wrong in the army, or required

to be altered, brought frightful calamities on the country, and destroyed the prestige of France as the leading military power of Europe. The want of forethought, and the waste of the leisure times of peace in preparing for war, have been fully exposed by Colonel Furse in this and in other books written by him. Books like the one we are now noticing, however, are not regulations; they simply expose the views of the writer. They may be useful to studious men, but are not accepted as authority for action. Only when the maxims they contain are codified and issued as regulations by competent authority, will they become of real force and be put into practice when the time comes. The study of important questions in time of peace is at present much neglected by our staff officers, who merely devote themselves to the detail work of their office, and seldom endeavour to go beyond that.

The chapter on horses gives ample food for serious consideration. In it will be found some reasons for our failure in transport in the late operations in Egypt. It may be still fresh in the memory of many of our readers how at the commencement of the advance of our troops from Ismailia the old cry of failure of transport means made itself again heard. In point of fact this very essential requirement for an army in the field was very inadequately provided; the preparations set on foot for the purchase of animals were made far too late, whilst the markets selected for the purchases, in several instances, were at such a distance as precluded the possibility of the animals arriving in time to be of any use. Had our former experience been utilized this would never have happened. Colonel Horne, in his valuable treatise on tactics, wrote—"An army will never fail so long as it can learn and apply a lesson." We have had many lessons on transport, but as yet we have not been careful to apply them.

The chapter on embarkations is full of valuable hints. Our military literature is defective on this subject, and the writer in this chapter, and in a chapter on transport by sea in his book on "Military Transport," has given us all that we possess on these important matters. As he justly remarks, here we have nothing to borrow from the armies of the Continent; the subject is purely our own. Wise indeed should we be if in other points we borrowed less from continental armies, and originated measures more consonant with our peculiar circumstances, which differ so essentially from theirs.

The preparations for embarkation and the equipment of the troops are carefully considered. Indeed, almost every military topic of interest at the present time is touched upon in the course of the work, in many cases perhaps too briefly.

A very important question on which Colonel Furse dwells is the reduction of fully-trained men for other employment than fighting. He devotes a chapter to the auxiliary services now required by a properly organized army. These he considers should be provided from other sources than from the ranks of the army of operations. In this we fully concur. The scope, constitution, equipment, and

matériel necessary for these various services have been fully recorded, and the author's observations cannot but be of great assistance in the preparation of any future expedition. Up to the present time we have been compelled to attend to these matters at the last moment; now we shall have something to refer to.

The third chapter, devoted to the question of "Men," deserves deep study. In a small army like ours, raised by voluntary enlistment, in competition with the labour market, obtaining a sufficient number of men is a very difficult question. The difficulty in procuring the best men, questions of age, physical development, length of service, reserves, inducements to enlisting, deferred pay, establishments, are all dwelt upon. On the latter point, the great uncertainty that the military service labours under, owing to the constant alteration of establishments and the ever-varying constitution of a force sent out on active service, must be obvious to all. Colonel Furse justly considers that this uncertainty, the having to refer for detail to head-quarters, and the centralization of our stores, causes serious delays in mobilization, and consequently retards our preparations for war.

Studies in History, Legend, and Literature. By H. SCHÜTZ WILSON.
London: Griffith & Farran. 1884.

THIS volume is, as its preface informs us, mainly a reprint of essays already published in the *Nineteenth Century*, *Cornhill Magazine*, and *Westminster and Modern Reviews*. In some of the historical subjects the author goes a little too much in detail into bygone scandals of history, and wherever he touches on the Catholic religion it is in a spirit of the most unsympathetic criticism. These blemishes in point of taste are the more to be regretted as the studies are otherwise admirable of their kind. Mr. Schütz Wilson knows how to tell a story effectively, and his sketch of Eppolein and Gailingen, the robber-knight of the fourteenth century, is a spirited narrative of legendary and romantic adventure.

Two essays on "Faust" contain much interesting criticism on the great demoniac drama and its various histrionic interpreters, and show an intimate familiarity with the history and conditions of the German stage.

The last study of the series, on the theme of Madame Roland, is an impressive picture of that fair and stately heroine and victim of the Revolution, so pitifully yet loftily deluded, so fervidly yet falsely inspired. The author writes with the enthusiasm her tragic fate naturally evokes—this radiant Pythoness of error, whose high fame and pagan courage and pride, exalted by suffering, are glorified to all time in the sanguinary apotheosis of the scaffold. It is perhaps natural that an end so terrible and so bravely met should colour all subsequent estimates of her character, and blind her biographers to the real meanness that underlay its assumed nobility. Mr. Schütz Wilson, like others, rather suggests than discloses the true mainspring of her conduct found in the petty, feminine envy of the ambitious

bourgeoise for the royal lady whose persecution she joined in, and whose fate, by a singular Nemesis, she shared. And while Marie Antoinette's sufferings, sanctified by religion, atoned for all the errors of her life, Madame Roland's death, though faced with stoical heroism, expiated nothing in one who held herself above all necessity for expiation.

The Wisdom of Goethe. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE, Emeritus Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh. London: William Blackwood & Sons.

PROFESSOR BLACKIE adopts as the motto of this little volume one of the proverbs of Solomon: "Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom, and with all thy gettings, get understanding." Goethe, as we remember to have read somewhere in the Professor's writings, is, in his judgment, the wisest man of the century. Hence he was led to make the present compilation, or, as he says, "to lay before the intelligent youth of this generation, in a systematic form, Goethe's most significant dicta on the important problems of sound thinking and noble living." Now, that Professor Blackie has executed his task well we readily admit. His extracts are happily selected, although we cannot but regard their want of references to the works whence they are taken as an unfortunate omission. They are, as a rule, well translated; and they convey to the English reader a fair idea of the more important sides of Goethe's view of human life. But, as we need hardly say, our estimate of the Sage of Weimar's doctrine differs widely from Professor Blackie's. "Wisdom" certainly is "the principal thing;" but as the same authority says, "Ecce timor Domini, ipse et sapientia, et recedere a malo intelligentia." The wisdom of Goethe is but a poor wisdom by the side of this; and when we find Professor Blackie's little volume put forth as a guide "for the conduct of life," in place, apparently, of the Divine oracles, we are forced to say with St. Augustine, "Væ animæ audaci quæ speravit si a te recessisset et aliquid melius habitaram."

So much we cannot help saying by way of protest against the extravagant claims which Professor Blackie makes for Goethe. To which we must add that the elaborate estimate of Goethe's "character as a man and a citizen" which the Professor has prefixed to his selection seems to us to be much wanting in ingenuousness. The intellectual greatness of Goethe no one will deny. His ethical character—we use the word in the largest sense—seems to us to have been unquestionably upon a much lower level. Heine was not far from the truth when he spoke of Goethe as "the great pagan of the century." And even so viewing him, he fails to come up to the spiritual standard of the greatest of those wise old spirits that adorned classic antiquity. To mention only four names, Plato and Sophocles, Virgil and Marcus Aurelius, must in our judgment be ranked far above him as men and as teachers of men.

Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Dr. BERNARD WEISS, Counsellor of the Consistory and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated from the third Revised Edition by the Rev. DAVID EATON, M.A. Two vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1882.

WE cannot altogether congratulate Messrs. Clark on their selection of this work as an addition to their Foreign Library. The whole work, both in its conception and execution, is essentially German, and all Mr. Eaton's skill as a translator fails to make it anything else. In a Protestant country like this, we have quite enough soli-Biblical theology home-made to care much for an imported article from Germany. Besides, we doubt if much sound theology can come from Berlin, Biblical or otherwise. Having got rid of all clear dogmatic truth, German theologians like Dr. Weiss are forced to find a substitute in the construction of a Theology of the Indefinite. As this is mainly a hazy evolution from the inner consciousness of its professors, we feel sure that it will never commend itself to English minds. Its learned author defines Biblical theology to be "the scientific representation of the religious ideas and doctrines which are contained in the New Testament." Its aim is to "represent the individually and historically conditioned manifoldness of the New Testament forms of teaching." Dr. Weiss encourages his disciples to devote themselves to this attractive study by the assurance that it is "a growing science." What with Revised New Testaments and their marginal notes, it seems to our unenlightened minds that the truths which may be proved by Scripture are growing fewer every day, so that here at least Biblical theology will soon be a very simple matter.

Arminius Vambéry. His Life and Adventures. Written by himself. With Portrait and Illustrations. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1883.

PROFESSOR VAMBÉRY, who fills the chair of Oriental Language and Literature in the University of Pesth, gives us in the present volume a strictly personal narrative of his own adventurous career, but making no pretence to give either a geographical or ethnological description of Central Asia. The author's well-known "Travels in Central Asia" has been translated into various languages, and his "Life and Adventures" will doubtless attain as wide and as deserved popularity. Throughout the narrative its absorbing interest is fully sustained, and the Professor tells his "round unvarnished tale" with such fluent ease that one readily appreciates his reply to the late Napoleon III., who remarked that his frame was not at all in proportion to the great hardships he had endured: "I did not travel through Central Asia upon my legs, but upon my tongue." Very pathetic is the distinguished Orientalist's sketch of his early struggles. Lame from his

birth, and inured to privation, scantily clothed and barely sufficiently fed, he began the world for himself at the tender age of twelve.

He was apprenticed to a dressmaker, but "when he had got so far as to stitch two pieces of muslin together," he was engaged by the village innkeeper to teach his son, varying his duties as tutor by "cleaning the family boots and occasionally waiting on thirsty guests." With eight florins, his first net earnings, he makes his way to St. George, determined to pursue his own studies.

The money I had brought with me was just sufficient to purchase me the necessary books, and kind and charitable people helped me in many other ways. Seven different families each gave me one day in the week a free meal, adding to it a big slice of bread for breakfast and another for lunch. I also got the cast-off clothes of the wealthier boys. By dint of application, and owing, perhaps, to the quick and easy comprehension natural to me, I succeeded in passing my examination at the first Latin class, as the second at the head of the class.

At fourteen he removed to Pressburg, where he writes: "There began again my struggling and striving and desperate exertions to support myself. I remained for three years, now in the capacity of a servant, and then teaching she-cooks, chambermaids, and other individuals thirsting for knowledge." At sixteen he was conversant with many languages, and at twenty had mastered Turkish. At two-and-twenty he lands penniless at Constantinople, but succeeds in maintaining himself as a French tutor and successfully prosecutes his Oriental studies. In 1862, aided by the Academy at Pesth, he journeyed to Teheran and Persepolis, and in 1863, having ingratiated himself with some Sunnite dervishes, he commenced in their company his perilous journey from Teheran to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand, disguised as one of the party. He admirably sustained his assumption, but in a few days gets from Hadji Bilal the following hint:—

Thou must have observed that both I and all our companions, without distinction of age, have said one *fatiha* (blessing) on the men. This thou too must now look to. I know that it is not the custom to do so in Roum, but here people will wish it of thee, and they will find it very strange that thou, professing to be a dervish, dost not fulfil the duties of a dervish. Thou knowest the form of blessing; utter it with confidence and a proper expression of devoutness. Thou mayest bestow the holy breath *nafes*, too, if called to the bedside of the sick; but *ever remember to hold out thy hand*, for well do these people know that we dervishes live by our holy trade, and that a present is never amiss with us.

We must now commend the reader to the professor's own good company, assured that when he receives his last *fatiha*, he will exclaim with Lord Strangford, "Well done, dervish!" The last chapter is devoted to an account of the Professor's political writings. He writes all along "with his heart in his mouth," his modest candour being indeed one of the charms of the book. Whether as an illustration of successful travel or of successful study, the "Adventures" are a brilliant example of what pluck and perseverance may achieve, and

should be reckoned as instructive in school or college, as they are undoubtedly entertaining to the general reader.

Christian Charity in the Ancient Church. By G. UHLHORN, Dr. Theol. Abbot of Loccum. Translated from the German by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1883.

SOME of our readers might, on reading in the title-page of this book the distinction "Abbot of Loccum" appended to the author's name, suppose that he is a Catholic and a monk. But such is not the case. He is a Protestant, as passages occurring here and there in his work would of themselves be enough to show. How he happens to enjoy the venerable title of Abbot of Loccum may, at first, seem surprising. But it must be remembered that in Protestant countries, monasteries were, at the time of the Reformation, changed into houses of education, and the rectors of them retained the title of Abbot. The title was also given, as a distinction, to theologians of eminence. Hence it comes that Dr. Uhlhorn claims to be Abbot of Loccum.

The work which Dr. Uhlhorn gives us is one of undoubted erudition and great research. The author divides it into three books. The first he calls "The Old and the New." In this book he gives us, in the first two chapters, a picture of a "World without Love." He shows us that far from there being no care of the poor in pre-Christian times, there was, in reality, a great deal spent by the State, especially at Rome, on the needy. But there was no true charity. There was, as a matter-of-fact, business-like care of the poor, a sort of modern work-house help; but no love or sympathy for them as suffering brethren. He maintains that even under the Law true charity was wanting; but it seems scarcely fair to take the Pharisee as the typical Israelite. In the second part of this first book, he deals with the grand manifestation of love in Jesus Christ, and shows how that new heavenly principle introduced by our Divine Lord soon influences the human heart to show kinder and more tender feelings for the poor and indigent.

The second book is termed "The Age of Conflict." In this book the author describes in particular the fearful poverty and distress which afflicted the Roman Empire in its days of decline, when the rich were spending their immense wealth in recklessness of all kinds — when the threatening barbarians were waiting to sweep down upon their rich city. The Christian churches were animated with a true spirit of charity and this spirit was kept up till the third century. Not until then do we hear of Christian preachers reproaching Christians with the coldness of their brotherly love. In the post-Constantinian age we hear a Chrysostom, a Basil, an Ambrose, an Augustine thundering forth their denunciations against selfishness and want of self-sacrifice. But of this want of liberality we hear nothing in the previous ages. The special means of supplying relief to the poor were monthly contributions to the church chest, the oblations at

the "Celebration of the Lord's Supper," and occasional additional collections when a particular need required them. Almsgiving formed a real part of the public worship in the early Christian times.

The third book is designated "After the Victory." In this the author shows how, when the old Roman world had perished under the onslaught of the Northmen, the Church was found amid the ruins healing and comforting the distressed. She organized more thoroughly means for relieving the poor and the sick. Hence we have the great, widespread system of "alms," in speaking of which the author cannot help showing his incapacity to understand how the "alms" of the living can benefit the souls of the departed. Moreover, he repeats the old Protestant and erroneous statement, that praying for and helping the souls in purgatory came gradually to be taken up in these days—days so long posterior to the Apostolic times. The chapter on hospitals in this third book is especially interesting, and shows how, in the Middle Ages, these charitable institutions had a close connection with monasteries: they were often combined with and were themselves a kind of monastery. It may be accepted as a fact, the author tells us, that both the male and female attendants in hospitals (not to mention those who were, properly speaking, its servants) lead a monastic life. St. Gregory the Great expressly requires that such only should be chosen as presidents of hospitals as were "religiosi"—i.e., monks or nuns. In the chapter on monasteries, the author does not show himself very appreciative of these institutions, and does not seem to think that our Lord's exhortations to high perfections, and His glorious promises of exceptional rewards to those who leave all things to follow Him, are a sufficient explanation of their coming into existence. There is much erudition and clever historico-philosophical induction in Dr. Uhlhorn, but not much show of devout enthusiasm or faith in the boundless energy of supernatural principles. He is rather dry and heavy himself, and seems inclined to sneer at such ardent Catholics as Ratzinger and Chatel, who have written on subjects akin to his own. Still this work of Dr. Uhlhorn is of substantial value and interest, and is the result of careful and varied historical research.

Ethic: demonstrated in Geometrical Order, and divided into Five Parts. By BENEDICT DE SPINOZA. Translated from the Latin by WILLIAM HALE WHITE. (Trübner's Philosophical Library.) London: Trübner & Co.

THIS translation is well done, but we confess we gravely doubt whether it was worth while to do it. We do not, of course, mean to say that Spinoza's "Ethic" does not deserve the attention of all who are called upon to investigate the course of modern thought. Undoubtedly it does; but then such students will probably prefer to read it in the original Latin. Certain it is that so severe and abstruse a writer will never be read by the general public, of whom Swift said, not unjustly, that most of them are as capable of flying as of thinking,

and yet, apparently, it is for the general public that Mr. White has laboured. We live, Mr. White considers, and with reason, "in an age of disintegration." On every side people are asking "Wherein can you help me?" Now to this question, he thinks, Spinoza can give "a solid answer." But whether that be so or no, one thing is certain—namely, that, as he tells us, "Spinoza cannot be understood without consecutive study and strict attention to every line from beginning to end." And to say this is surely to say, in other words, that Spinoza is for the few. Mr. White writes:—

A religion constructed of the elements of this world and of nothing more would indeed be no religion. It is of the very essence of a genuine religion that it should take the other side; that it should be the counterpoise, the perpetual affirmation against the perpetual negation which lies in the routine and vulgarity of existence. The demand to which the Christian doctrine of eternal life is an answer is, in some shape or other, absolutely constant, and there must, in some shape or other, be a reply to it. The promise, however, of a future life is only one element in religion. It tells the humblest of a supreme God to whom we are each one of us personally related. It is a window to men through which they look into the Infinite, are satisfied and consoled.

Now this is very true. But does Mr. White imagine that Spinoza's teaching can ever appeal thus to the mass of humanity? or that he can ever appeal at all, indeed, save to a small number of cultivated minds?

So much at the outset with regard to this undertaking of Mr. White's. It seems to us, to speak frankly, but lost labour to put the "Ethic" into English. As to its value and importance in itself, that is quite another question, and too large a question to be entered upon here. Let it suffice to say that the time has perhaps now come when it and its matter may be judged more fairly by Catholic philosophers than was possible at an earlier period. The old error, which ascribed atheism to Spinoza, has surely passed away for good and all; and even those who most deplore his intellectual aberration will most gladly recognize the intense religiousness of his mind. Here, as in so many other matters, Samuel Taylor Coleridge stands as the precursor and type of the change which has come over English thought. While unable to follow Spinoza's way of thinking, his admiration for him, morally and intellectually, was very great; indeed, in the "*Biographie Littéraire*," he records his deep belief that the "Ethic" is "one of the three best works" given to the world since the introduction of Christianity; while, in a pregnant sentence recorded by Crabb Robinson, he hits its great ideal fault: "Did philosophy commence with 'It is' instead of 'I am,' Spinoza would be altogether true." But we are skirmishing with a question with which, as we have said, this is not the place to grapple.

History of Burma: including Burma Proper, Pegu, Taunsin, Tenasserim, and Arakan, from the Earliest Time to the End of the First War with British India. By Lieut.-General Sir ARTHUR P. PHAYRE, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., and C.B. (Trübner's Oriental Series.) London: Trübner.

THIS book supplies a want, and will certainly take rank as a standard authority upon the subject with which it deals. Hitherto no continuous history of the Burmese Empire has appeared in any European language. Even the "Gazetteer of British Burma," published some time ago by authority at Rangoon, although containing much valuable information, is very incomplete. Perhaps, of all previous works on the subject, the abridgment given by Father Sangerman in a well-known work, of which an English version appeared in 1833, under the title of "Description of the Burmese Empire," is the best. In the book before us, Sir Arthur Phayre has fully utilized the singularly rich opportunities afforded him by his long residence in Rangoon, and has drawn largely on authorities not hitherto accessible to Europeans. But more than this, as he modestly tells us—

In preparing the present little book, where the annals of the adjoining countries have been available, they have been compared with the statements as to contemporary events found in the chronicles of Burma. This especially the case as regards China and Siam. The accounts of Burma and of Pegu in the narratives of European travellers, commencing with Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, have been summarized in a supplementary chapter (Pref. p. ix.).

Sir Arthur Phayre's book is supplemented by a valuable appendix, containing full lists of the Kings of Burma Proper, Arakan, and Pegu, found in the native chronicles, and is accompanied by a carefully drawn map of the Burmese Empire, which Messrs. Trübner would have done well to have mounted.

The Epistles of St. John. The Greek Text, with Notes and Essays. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co. 1883.

THIS volume is a worthy sequel to Dr. Westcott's "Commentary on St. John's Gospel." It is the work at once of a thorough scholar and an earnest believer. It is not a compilation and discussion of other men's opinions, but the outcome of his own study of the apostle's thoughts and words. Dr. Westcott excels as an interpreter, and not as a textual critic. In his method of interpretation he belongs to the literal school, who devote their deepest attention to the minutest details of verbal criticism. He interprets St. John as he "would interpret any other book;" but, unlike certain foreign critics, he never forgets the reverence due to an inspired writer. Very truly, Dr. Westcott remarks,—

The verification of this method lies in its results. If it discloses to patient investigation unsuspected harmonies and correspondences of

thought; if it suggests good reasons for holding that views of faith which seem to be conflicting are really complementary; if it inspires with a vital power dogmatic statements which grow rigid by the necessities of controversy; if it opens on this side and that subjects of study which await fuller investigation; if it enables us to feel that the difficulties of our own time were not unnoticed by those, who under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, saw the Eternal; if it brings a sense of rest and confidence which grows firmer with increasing knowledge; then it seems to me that it needs no further justification.

It can hardly be questioned that, with Dr. Westcott's reverent handling, it does yield beneficial results which other methods had overlooked. How immensely laborious such a method must be, is manifest to any one who examines the critical discussions which are appended to each chapter of Dr. Westcott's work. Our only quarrel with the learned author is in regard to the textual question of the "Three Heavenly Witnesses." At the end of the fifth chapter of the First Epistle, the evidence for and against the verse is very fully stated, but not, as it seems to us, quite fairly—not so fairly, for instance, as in a somewhat parallel case he treats the Vulgate reading, "*Solvit Jesum*," in 1 John iv. 3. Dr. Westcott assumes that the verse had no place in the old Latin, and that it arose from St. Cyprian's mystical interpretation of the earthly witnesses as typifying the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. There is not a particle of evidence to show that St. Cyprian ever gave any such interpretation; it is far more reasonable to suppose that he found verse seven in his Latin Bible, and quoted it. What we especially complain of is, that Dr. Westcott lays great stress upon a passage in Facundus of Hermione, who gives the mystical interpretation of verse eight, and calls it St. Cyprian's, but wholly ignores the contemporary statement of St. Fulgentius, who expressly states that St. Cyprian was quoting the seventh verse. The real explanation of this apparent contradiction between these two great lights of the African Church we believe to be that offered by the Abbé Le Hir—that Facundus, writing as he did in Constantinople and addressing himself to Justinian, was forced to have recourse to a mystical interpretation, because he knew that the seventh verse was not in the current Greek copies. "It is surely," as Dr. Scrivener has said, "safer and *more candid* to admit that Cyprian read verse seven in his copies, than to resort to the explanation of Facundus." Besides, the words "*in terra*," which occur in the quotation of Facundus, imply that he had the verse in his Bible. Nor is it fair of Dr. Westcott to assume that the Prologue to the Canonical Epistles is apocryphal, in the face of the fact that St. Jerome's Prologue is found in one of the earliest copies of the Vulgate—viz., in the "*Codex Fuldensis*," which Victor, Bishop of Capua, corrected in 546.

In addition to the Commentary on the Epistles, the volume contains three valuable essays, very carefully written, and embodying the results of very wide reading. That on "*The Gospel of Creation*" is not a little surprising as coming from a Cambridge Divinity Professor. It is a learned disquisition on the old scholastic question as to whether the Incarnation would have taken place if Adam had not fallen. Dr.

Westcott favours the Scotist solution. His concluding remarks are well worth quoting :—

The thought that the Incarnation, the union of man with God, and of creation in man, was part of the Divine purpose in Creation, opens to us, as I believe, wider views of the wisdom of God than we commonly embrace, which must react upon life. It helps us to feel a little more, and this is the sum of all, what the Incarnation is, what it involves, what it promises, what it enforces, what it inspires; that fact which we strive to believe, and which is ever escaping from us; that fact which sets before us with invincible majesty Christ's power to subdue all things to Himself.

Folk-Lore of Shakespeare. By Rev. T. F. THISELTON DYER, M.A.
Oxon. London: Griffith and Farran. 1883.

THOUGH Shakespeare wrote "not for an age, but for all time," a study of the peculiar characteristics of the age in which he lived, and for which he immediately wrote, cannot but increase interest in his works, and add materially to their appreciation. As might be expected from the author of "British Popular Customs," Mr. Thiselton Dyer has a large stock of information on the sayings and doings of our forefathers, which, with wide reading on cognate subjects, he presses into his present service, producing a volume acceptable and helpful to Shakesperean readers and students. The author takes a word, a phrase, an allusion, and illustrates it not only by a passage from the poet, but with parallel passages from contemporary writers, with the result of often elucidating an otherwise obscure passage. We choose at random from page 396 :—

TRAP-TRIP.—This was probably a game at cards, played with dice as well as with cards, the success in which chiefly depended upon the throwing of treys. Thus, in a satire called "Machiavell's Dog" (1617) :—

"But, leaving cardes, let's go to dice a while,
To passage, *treitrippe*, hazarde, or mumchance."

In "Twelfth Night" (ii. 5), Sir Toby Belch asks, "Shall I play my freedom at *tray-trip*, and become thy bond slave?" It may be remembered, too, that in "The Scornful Lady," of Beaumont and Fletcher (ii. 1), the chaplain complains that the butler had broken his head, and being asked the reason, says, for—

"Reproving him at *tra-trip*, sir, for swearing."

Some are of opinion that it resembled the game of hop-scotch, or Scotch-hop; but this, says Nares, seems to rest merely upon unauthorized conjecture.

The book is an elaboration of this method, its chapters being grouped under the various headings of "Fairies," "Witches," "Ghosts," "Demonology," "Natural Phenomena," "Fishes," "Birds," "Animals," "Plants," "Insects and Reptiles," "Customs," "Sports and Pastimes," "Proverbs," "Birth and Baptism," "Marriage," "Death and Burial," "Proverbs," &c., &c. It is naturally full of quotation, and the references are always carefully given. We

might make a few critical remarks if space allowed ; we think that the difference between "Folk-lore" and "Superstition" might be more sharply discriminated ; and occasionally we note some confusion in the author's classification, as—*e.g.*, at page 54, under the heading "Good and Evil Demons." But Mr. Dyer is to be congratulated on the book in its entirety. An index is indispensable to a volume of this kind, and the present index, though copious, might advantageously be extended in a future edition.

The Upanishads. Translated by F. MAX MÜLLER. Part II. (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. xv.) Oxford : at the Clarendon Press.

THE Upanishads—sometimes called the old and genuine Upanishads, and sometimes the classical—are eleven in number, namely :—

1. Khândoya-Upanishad.
2. Talavakâra or Kena-Upanishad.
3. Aitarîya-Upanishad.
4. Kânshtîkî-Upanishad.
5. Vâgasaneyî or Îsâ-Upanishad.
6. Katha-Upanishad.
7. Mundaka-Upanishad.
8. Taittirîyaka-Upanishad.
9. Buhadâranyaka-Upanishad.
10. Svetasvatara-Upanishad.
11. Prasna-Upanishad.

Translations of the first five of these were given us by Professor Max Müller in vol. i. of the Sacred Books of the East. In the present volume we have translations of the last six, and also of the Maitrâyana-Upanishad, and thus the fundamental Upanishads of the Vedantic philosophy are rendered accessible to the English reader.

The task which Professor Max Müller has accomplished has been a most arduous one. In the first place the text is often doubtful ; and the original meaning of the writers, even apart from that, is very frequently most obscure. Hence the rendering of certain passages is, as the Professor warns us, tentative only, while in respect of others he confesses to have followed the commentators, although conscious at the time that the meaning which they extract from the text cannot be the right one. Still, on the whole, there can be no doubt that we have in this and the former volume an interpretation of these venerable documents of primeval Indian wisdom which will enable us to form a tolerably accurate conception of it. Interesting in the highest degree it certainly is—its practical value is quite another question. Professor Max Müller, after observing upon certain difficulties which may be overcome when once we have arrived at a clear conception of the general drift of the Upanishads, continues :—

The real difficulties are of a very different character. They consist in the extraordinary number of passages which seem to us utterly meaning-

less and irrational, or, at all events, so far-fetched that we can hardly believe that the same authors who can express the deepest thoughts on religion and philosophy with clearness—nay, with a kind of poetical eloquence—could have uttered in the same breath such utter rubbish. Some of the sacrificial technicalities, and their philosophical interpretations with which the Upanishads abound, may perhaps in time assume a clearer meaning, when we shall have more fully mastered the intricacies of the Vedic ceremonial. But there will always remain in the Upanishads a vast amount of what we can only call meaningless jargon, and for the presence of which in these ancient mines of thought I, for my own part, feel quite unable to account. . . . Still, all ancient books which have once been called sacred by man, will have their lasting place in the history of mankind, and those who possess the courage, the perseverance, and the self-denial of the true miner, and of the true scholar, will find even in the darkest and dustiest shafts what they are seeking for—real nuggets of thought, and precious jewels of faith and hope ("Introduction," p. xix.).

Religion in China. Containing a Brief Account of the Three Religions of the Chinese : with Observations on the Prospects of Christian Conversion amongst that People. By JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D. Third edition. London : Trübner.

THE object of this book is sufficiently indicated by its title. The author, Dr. Edkins, is a missionary, of we know not what Protestant sect, who has resided for many years in China, and who here sets down his views of the chief religions of that country, and of the prospects which it offers to Christian propagandism. Much of the information which he gives as to the actual working of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, is interesting; and his account of the arguments by which he and his fellow-missionaries seek to win to their own variety of Christianity the professors of those religions, is sometimes very curious. So, too, are his remarks upon Catholic missions, and the vast work which they are doing. We shall quote one page as a specimen of our author's mode of writing and controversial power :—

To assist in the training seminaries for native priests is one of the most important duties of the Catholic missionaries. A large number only can meet the wants of their numerous stations, scattered through all the eighteen provinces of the empire. Most of the pupils in the seminaries are received when very young. The consequence often is, that on growing up they are unwilling to submit to the restraints which the life of a priest would impose on them. I knew one who after receiving his education wished to marry, and not to become a priest. The European missionary in charge of the seminary frustrated his hopes by inducing his intended wife to enter a nunnery. He left the Catholics after this, and entered the employment of Protestant missionaries as a teacher of the language. For this occupation his knowledge of Latin was of some advantage. He still continued to pray to Mary, although he professed attachment to Protestant views in most respects. He was asked why he did not give up the worship of the Virgin. To this he replied, that he could not abandon it without a great sacrifice of feeling, having been always accustomed to it. "But," he was informed, "every being except God is forbidden to be

worshipped." "In honouring the mother," he said, "I honour the Son." "You may honour her," said the missionary, "but you should not pray to her. She cannot hear prayers and answer them, as God can, and as Jesus can." In answer to this he related an anecdote, which led him, as he stated, to place great trust in Mary. When at the seminary he had been accused of a crime of which the true perpetrator was one of his fellow-pupils. He prayed to Mary that the true criminal might be discovered in seven days, and his own reputation vindicated. The prayer was answered within the necessary time, and he felt such confidence ever after in the efficacy of prayers to the Virgin, that he could not think of omitting them in his morning and evening devotions. It was suggested to him that he ought to refer the interference on his behalf that had occurred to the providence of God, not to that of the Virgin. We were never told in Scripture to pray to her, nor could we expect her to answer prayer. He replied that in this instance his prayer, which had been remarkably answered, was addressed to Mary and not to God. "So," said the missionary, "may the sailor say of his prayer to Teen-how, the 'heavenly queen.' He supposes that goddess to preside over the sea, and he supplicates her protection from storms. To her he ascribes his safety, though he ought to refer it to the providence of God." "But," he replied, "Mary is the mother of Jesus, and has intercessory power with God, which Teen-how-shing-moo, 'the holy mother, queen of heaven,' has not. Jesus honoured His mother," he added, "on the cross, and we must honour her also." His attention was drawn to the second commandment, which forbade the worship of all images; but he would not admit the inconsistency of the worship of Mary's image with this commandment, because the kind of worship offered to her was different from that offered to God (p. 170).

The Philosophy of the Unconscious. By EDOUARD VON HARTMANN. Authorized Translation by WILLIAM CHATTERTON COUPLAND. In three vols. London: Trübner & Co.

WE suppose it was inevitable that this work should be translated into English, and that being the case, it is perhaps well that the task has fallen into hands so competent as those of Mr. Coupland. When "the History of Human Error" comes to be written, a large space in it will have to be devoted to the aberrations of "philosophy falsely so called;" and assuredly of such philosophy, that of Modern Pessimism is not the least noxious. We could not, of course, recommend Mr. Coupland's volumes for indiscriminate perusal, even by Catholics who take interest in metaphysical discussions. On the contrary, we deem it our duty most emphatically to warn people against them. The Church's prohibition of bad books is founded on a true knowledge of human nature. It rests, as the Cardinal Archbishop tells us in a well-known work, on "this plain and sound reason, that it is not one in a thousand who is able to unravel the subtlety of infidel objections." And as his Eminence goes on to observe: "The human mind is capable of creating many difficulties of which it is incapable of finding a solution. The most crude and ignorant mind is capable of taking in what can be said against truth. Therefore it is that the Church, in her abounding charity,

warns us against spiritual poison : "Ne tetigeritis, neque gustaveritis, neque contractaveritis." Those only may lawfully touch, taste, and handle, whose business it is to find and make known the antidote. And to Catholic teachers who are lawfully called to an examination of the spiritual maladies of the age, and especially of that form of intellectual sickness which we term Pessimism, but who for one reason or another prefer an English version of Von Hartmann's work to its German original, Mr. Coupland's volumes will be welcome as being executed with care, perspicuity, and accuracy.

What to do, and How to do it. London : Kegan Paul & Co. 1884.

THE Sanitary Laws Enforcement Society" has done a useful work in placing in the hands of the public a concise and handy volume elucidating the law "affecting the housing and sanitary condition of Londoners, with special reference to the dwellings of the poor;" a subject which the editor very truly says is "enough to drive the unprofessional inquirer to despair." However useful might be the 100 pages of matter contained in this book, we venture to think that not the least useful part will be found to be the very full and carefully made index at the end. It is one thing to have all this matter to hand, another to be able to put your finger on the particular point you want, and the editor has been well advised in spending some trouble on the elaboration of his index. We think it would have been an advantage had there been in the appendix a schedule of the various Acts on the subject, as, though most of them are treated of in different portions of the work, there is nowhere any table giving the Acts at a glance. This would have rendered the book much more valuable as a handbook for reference.

There is one point to which we should here like to draw special attention. By the "Common Lodging Houses Act" of 1851 [14 & 15 Vict. c. 28], "all such lodging houses must be registered, and regulations may be made under the Act as to the number of lodgers, &c. . . . The special feature of the Act is the power which it gives to the metropolitan police of enforcing its provisions" (p. 28). Now it is well known that the result of this Act has been most beneficial, and that common lodging houses compare favourably with the best tenement houses. Now mark the contrast. By the 29 & 30 Vict. c. 90, sec. 53, "one of the principal Secretaries of State may, on the application of the local authority of the metropolis, by notice in the *Gazette*, declare the following enactment in force, and thereupon the local authority is empowered to make regulations" of the same kind with reference to tenement houses as are already in force in respect of common lodging houses (p. 23). By 37 & 38 Vict. c. 39, the power to apply the rules was transferred to the Local Government Board, and no application on the part of the local authority was required to set the Act at work. Moreover, the police can also act under this Act in the place

of the neglecting sanitary authority. Lastly, the Local Government Board has made use of its power, and has declared *sect. 55 of the Act of 1866 to be in force throughout the whole metropolis* (p. 25). The only thing, therefore, that is required to place tenement houses under regulation and inspection is the exercise by the vestries of their powers. The editor goes on to say—"A considerable number of the vestries have already taken action" (p. 25). We should like to know how many: we think Sir Charles Dilke said *one*; and, further, "what they have failed to do they may, by proper representation or adequate pressure, be made to do" (*ib. sup.*). We should like to know how.

This instance serves to illustrate how well justified was the opinion expressed by us, that most of the existing evils would eventually be traced to the action of the vestries. We conclude with one more quotation: "If you wish to see the vestry do its work, become a vestryman."

HENRY D. HARRON.

The Reign of Henry VIII. from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey.

By the late J. S. BREWER, M.A. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER.
In two volumes. London: John Murray.

IN these two volumes are republished the prefaces to the four volumes of letters and papers of the reign of Henry VIII., edited by the late Professor Brewer for the Master of the Rolls. No student of the period of English history needs to be told of the great value of these treatises, in which their highly gifted author has exhibited, at least in outline, the main results of the studies of many years—studies of a thoroughness quite unusual even among the more pretentious writers of our annals.

Few, indeed, observes Mr. Gairdner, have been the historians who have really examined with their own eyes and handled with their own hands the many documents on which they built their inferences; fewer still who could pass critical judgments on the handwritings, so as to identify the author of anonymous letters, note the significance of endorsements, and discriminate between an original manuscript and a copy of later date. But in matters such as these, Mr. Brewer was more expert than those with whom it might be supposed to be a business. He brought together manuscripts which before lay in hopeless confusion, ascertained their dates, their authorship, and their significance, by the light of internal evidence; perused and reperused and compared with each other hoards of difficult and obscure documents, until they had yielded up their secret; and finally gathered up the results of his researches in clear, systematic order, illuminating the whole subject for the general reader, as well as for the student, by the clearest and most lucid exposition.

It is "these results" which have been brought together in the two volumes before us from the ponderous calendars in which they were originally published, and certainly the Lords of the Treasury have done well to consent to their being presented to the world in this more accessible form.

The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson. With an Introduction by
JOHN MORLEY. London: Macmillan. 1884.

THIS is an admirably printed edition of the writer who, as almost all American critics seem to be agreed, holds the chief place in their philosophical literature. Emerson, we may take it, is the main product of American thought; and that this is so, is a fact which gives rise to curious and not very cheerful reflections. Mr. John Morley, in his Introductory Essay, remarks, not unhappily, that the watchword of Emersonian teaching is *Æquanimitas*. But how does he maintain this equanimity in view of the "heart-piercing, reason-bewildering fact" which human life presents to any one who will honestly survey it as it is? Simply by abstaining from so surveying it; by looking only at the more pleasant of its aspects and turning away from its more terrible sides. Pascal, as Mr. Morley reminds us, bade us imagine, if we would realize what human life is, a number of men in chains, and doomed to death; some of them each day butchered in sight of the others; those who remained watching their own lot in that of their fellows, and awaiting their own turn in anguish and hopelessness. Many of our readers will remember a similar passage in Cardinal Newman's "Apologia"—we doubt if any one who has once read it could ever forget it—where his Eminence paints the unspeakable distress with which he is filled when he looks into the world of men: "the sight is nothing else than the prophet's scroll, full of lamentation and mourning and woe." To all this Emerson made his judgment blind.

The course of Nature, and the prodigious injustices of man in society, affects him with neither horror nor awe. For the fatal Nemesis or terrible Erinnyes, daughter of Erebus and Night, Emerson substitutes a fair-weather abstraction named Compensation. One radical tragedy in Nature he admits—"the distinction of more and less." If I am poor in faculty, dim in vision, shut out from opportunities, in every sense an outcast from the inheritance of the earth, that seems indeed a tragedy. But see the facts clearly, and these mountainous inequalities vanish. Love reduces them, as the sun melts the iceberg in the sea. The heart and soul of all men being one, this bitterness of His and Mine ceases. His is mine. Surely words, words, words. What can be more idle when one of the world's bitter puzzles is pressed on the teacher, than that he should betake himself to an altitude whence it is not visible, and then assure us that it is not only invisible, but non-existent. This is not to see the facts clearly, but to pour the fumes of obscuratation around them.

Surely this criticism of Mr. Morley's—than which, to our way of thinking, he has never written anything better—is well-founded. But if such a philosophy is the principal outcome of American thought, so much the worse for American thought, must be our verdict. For the rest we are by no means blind to much that is excellent in Emerson's writings, or to that personal winningness, springing from his composure, courage, and freedom from low and personal ends, no less than from his intellectual endowments, which rendered him an object of such enthusiastic admiration to his disciples.

Richelieu et la Monarchie Absolue. Par Le Vicomte G. D'AVENEL.
Vols. I. and II. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

THE author of these volumes studies not so much Richelieu or the monarchy as France herself at that period. He leaves aside her diplomatic history, writes neither the life of the minister nor the story of his ministry, but is concerned with the effects of the latter within France—its influence on the social and domestic life of the nation, the administrative system to which it gave rise. The complete work (which will extend over four volumes) is to be divided into five parts—"The King and the Constitution," "The Noblesse," "General Administration," "Finances," which are treated in these two volumes; and "Provincial Administration" and "Communal Administration" which will occupy the remaining volumes.

Want of both space and time this quarter compels us to defer detailed notice of this first instalment of what manifestly is an interesting and important work, as dealing, from abundant knowledge, with the internal condition of the French nation at a turning-point in its career. Even from a cursory glance it is evidently a study of superior merit. We shall be glad to see the completion of it, and the author's own appreciation of the mass of details which he is accumulating.

The Anabasis of Alexander. Literally translated, with a Commentary, from the Greek of ARRIAN the Nicomedian. By E. J. CHINNOCK, M.A., LL.B. London. London : Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

THE Rector of Dumfries Academy is, we believe, the first to present this valuable Greek work in an English dress. The Anabasis of Flavius Arrianus, a writer of the second Christian century, stands, doubtless, first on the list of ancient authorities for the life of Alexander the Great, since, though a great admirer of his hero, the author is not credulous, but, on the contrary, a writer of practical sense, impartial, and of sound judgment. The translator has supplied a running commentary of very useful notes, both geographical, historical and philological. The latter are not without interest to others besides students, because they frequently show where this writer of a later date departs from the purity of the classical Attic. Mr. Chinnock's work will, we expect, be held in esteem, for most English readers will now take from his careful translation all they care to know of Arrian's Anabasis.

* * *A number of Book Notices in type have, to our regret, to be held over till October. Several devotional works received will, we hope, then be noticed, as also other books recently to hand.*

ERRATUM.

At page 470 of the April number, line 11 from top, for "Commenta" Reformationis Lutheranae, read "Monumenta."

THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1884.

ART. I.—DRYDEN AS A HYMNODIST.

The Works of John Dryden. Illustrated with Notes, Historical, Critical, and Explanatory, and a Life of the Author. By Sir WALTER SCOTT, Bart. Revised and corrected by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Vols. I. to VIII. Edinburgh: W. Paterson. 1882–1884.

I.

DYDEN'S claim to be held as a translator of hymns, if it be sustained, will add one more element of versatility to a many-sided reputation which, amongst English men of letters, is almost if not quite unique. His reputation as a master of "our sweet mother tongue" was based perhaps on the vigour and power of his "facile and masculine prose." It was raised by his success as the great dramatist—both playwright and critic—of his age. But the edifice of his fame was certainly completed by the eminence which he achieved during his lifetime—an eminence which has increased rather than lessened since his death—in the third division of literature, viz., in nearly every kind and sort, save one, of English poetry.

Dryden has been well described by a late critic as "the best writer of prose beyond all question among our poets, and the best poet beyond all question among our prose writers." And it has been shrewdly observed by a still later author, in regard to his plays, that "the fact that he did something else much better has obscured the fact that he did this thing, in not a few instances, very well. His plays indeed are far inferior as plays to his satires and fables as poems. (But, adds the same writer), the plays of Dryden are a great deal better than the average critic admits."

One of the first of the second order of English dramatists, in a
VOL. XII.—NO. II. [*Third Series.*] S

wide sense of the term; the very first of translators from the classics; if not the founder of a school, at least the great teacher and exemplar in the art of criticism—he was the only English poet not only of the highest, but of any considerable rank who also utilized his magnificent powers with equal effect in satirical and didactic poetry alike. For Dryden—in addition to other efforts in which he surpassed his contemporaries—was a writer in verse on politics, on philosophy and on polemics. But, if in metre he makes us think exactly and argue logically and conclude rationally on controverted topics of religion, science and civil government, he was the author also of elegies and essays, of songs and odes and satires, of heroic stanzas and courtly addresses, of epitaphs, panegyrics and other funeral poems, and of epistles, prologues and epilogues to many persons and on many subjects. It is clearly not impossible, then, in the nature of things, that Dryden may also claim to be reckoned—in lines on which hitherto he has apparently left no mark—as a writer of hymns. Whether such a claim on behalf of such an author and such a man be wise or indiscreet, and whether the claim will raise or lower his credit with the world, are points which need not now be discussed. In any case, the question of hymnody opens a fresh aspect of Dryden's composite genius. But if new, is the aspect likewise a true view? Is it within the bounds of probability—the assertion of authorship not having been previously made by any one (save with exceptions); the hymns themselves (in their great majority) not having been published by himself, nor even in his lifetime; and the proofs of composition (if so they may be called) being mainly founded, nearly two centuries afterwards, upon internal criticism and circumstantial evidence? Is it indeed possible that Dryden should have been a translator, and a great translator, of hymns?

Such is the topic of inquiry in the following pages. That the inquiry is timely, not to say urgent, will be admitted when this fact is remembered. An exhaustive and critical edition of Dryden's works, edited by one of the chief living authorities on the poet, is at the present moment midway in publication. If Dryden's claims be not allowed to be just, the hymns, or most of them, which are mentioned or estimated in this article, will be denied admission into the only standard edition that this generation is likely to witness. It is, of course, by no means certain that, after reading the following argument, critics will accept its conclusions. Still, if the claim be made at all, it should be made at once: and the sooner it is made, and the sooner it is accepted (to some extent at least) the better.

Dryden's versatility of genius; the attention which he had bestowed upon both the theory and practice of translating from the Latin, his conversion to the Catholic faith in the full powers

of his manhood, and the needs of the communion to which he belonged, together with the fact that he had avowedly rendered a very few Catholic hymns into English—these are suggestive circumstances, not to say indirect proofs of his having been a translator of hymns on a wider field. Indeed, it may be argued that, had so accomplished a convert to the Church at so critical a period, had so eminent a name in the republic of letters, had such a consummate master of English verse, had such a prolific versifier from the Latin done nothing to popularize amongst his co-religionists the grand ancient hymns of Christianity, the omission would have been noteworthy and some apology, or at least some explanation, would have been required. For, the existing translations in his day—and they did exist, though the present generation knows nothing, or next to nothing, of them—of which three well-defined types, of 1604, of 1619, and of 1685 remain, were indifferently good, not to say positively bad: and the number of the translations was few, being confined chiefly to the Breviary hymns for Vespers, to the hymns in the Office of our Lady and to some of the Sequences from the Missal. The difficulties which arise on the score of anonymity and of the posthumous publication of the hymns under consideration, as being of secondary importance to the main issue, may be passed by here and now, though they can be satisfactorily explained. Meanwhile, an estimate of his versatility of genius may be gathered from the words of Dryden-students and Dryden-critics which were written long previously to the present inquiry, and hence are wholly independent of the present argument. These opinions will be freely used and will be repeated, though not always with marks of quotation. For a new judgment on, or a new estimate of Dryden's powers will not here be ventured upon: but rather, these being taken for granted in the words of others, the extension of his powers in a new and hitherto unsuspected outlet will alone be suggested as not improbable. It will need neither critic nor student to supply instances of his versatility of genius; nor to draw reasonable inferences from proofs of it, in favour of the demands of hymnody. And this is all that will be attempted. Dryden, Dryden's gifts and Dryden's works will only be viewed, in the present article, in relation to his claims as a hymnodist.

II.

Perhaps, says Dr. Johnson,

“no nation ever produced a writer that enriched his language with such a variety of modes.”

He may be properly considered, according to the same gruff

old literary philosopher, "the father of English criticism." Of his great master, the poet Pope has declared that he

"could select from his works better specimens of every mode of poetry than any other English writer could supply."

The prose of Dryden, is the verdict of no ordinary writer of prose, Sir Walter Scott,

"may rank as the best in the English language."

Almost every succeeding author of note, from his day to ours, if the occasion offered, has re-echoed his praises, *e.g.*, Wycherley, Congreve, Garth, Addison, Gray, Churchill, Burke, Gibbon, Charles Fox, and Byron. Even Hallam, also, and Macaulay: the latter, whilst commenting

"in severe terms on the weakness of the man who could prostitute his majestic powers to pander to the taste of a profligate Court,"

did ample justice to his undoubted genius. His services, indeed, to the literature of his country, an able writer in the "Quarterly Review" affirms (No. 292, vol. cxlvi., Oct. 1878) were "manifold and splendid;" and no other name in the annals of literary biography

"has represented so completely the English character and the English intellect. . . . He determined the bent of a great literature at a great crisis. . . . He banished for ever (continues the same critic) the unpruned luxuriance (of an earlier literature, and) vindicated the substitution of a style which should proceed on critical principles, and should aim at terseness, sustentiousness and epigram."

He wrote eight-and-twenty dramas in thirty-one years: and of these "Don Sebastian" (1689) has been pronounced the finest tragedy which the English stage had seen since the death of Shakespeare. Indeed, in Sir Walter Scott's generous appreciation, had he published this play only, it would have secured the author's immortality. In the meantime, the "Essay of Dramatic Poesy" (1665), an essay which is said to mark an era in literary criticism, placed Dryden at the head of contemporary prose writers; and the "*Annus Mirabilis*" (1666) placed him at the head of contemporary poets. Moreover, to follow the same skilful guide and reviewer, Dryden

"had shown us how our language could adapt itself to the various needs of didactic prose, of lyric poetry, of argumentative exposition, of easy narrative, of sonorous declamation. He had exhibited for the first time, in all their fulness, the power and compass of the heroic couplet; and he had demonstrated the possibility of reasoning closely and vigorously in verse. . . . The first poet and first critic of his age (his powers eventually acquired) a maturity, a richness and a ductility which are the pride and wonder of our literature. . . . (He then arrived at a period of his career) when the obscurer vicissitudes incident to a writer for the stage were to be changed for the

more striking experiences incident to one who figures on the troubled scene of party politics. He was now to achieve his proudest triumphs. He was to enter on that immortal series of satirical and didactic poems compared with which his former efforts sunk into insignificance."

Sir Walter Scott is not less warm and enthusiastic on the object of his biography. Dryden, he says,

"was destined, if not to give laws to the stage of England, at least to defend its liberties; to improve burlesque into satire; to free translation from the fetters of verbal metaphrase and to exclude from it the license of paraphrase; to teach posterity the powerful and varied poetical harmony of which their language was capable; and to give an example of the lyric ode of unapproachable excellence; and to leave to English literature a name second only to those of Milton and Shakespeare."

Whilst, if we accept only the more modified, more critical and cooler enthusiasm of the latest of Dryden's biographers, Mr. G. Saintsbury, in his brilliant monograph of the poet in Mr. John Morley's series of "English Men of Letters," we may admire the versatility of his powers by noting the change that came over the character of Dryden's work in 1680. In the space of less than seven years he produced a series of satirical and didactic poems, which

"are quite unlike anything which came before them and have never been approached by anything that has come after them. (Not only, observes the same author,) is there nothing better of their own kind, but it may be almost said, that there is nothing better in any other literary language."

Amongst such poems, "Absalom and Achitophel" (1681), "*Religio Laici*" (1682), and "The Hind and the Panther" (1687),

"hold the first place in company with few rivals. . . . (In a certain kind of satire,) they have no rival at all; and in a certain kind of argumentative exposition they have no rival except in Lucretius. . . . (In short,) the first poet and the first critic of his age,"

the author who in all the three divisions of literature, in prose, in play-writing, and in poetry has risen higher in the estimation of cultured persons during a period of two centuries than any other author has risen in all the same three divisions, Dryden's influence has been something prodigious. "With the exception of Shakespeare, there is probably no other name so familiar to the student of English literature."

III.

These are some of the characteristics of Dryden's versatile genius, as it has been depicted, apart from the present inquiry into his hymnody, by competent critics and students. These are some of the estimates which they have formed of his powers, of

his work, and of the results which ensued from both. The estimates and the characteristics refer to his prose, his poems and his plays. But, in so far as general criticism can be made particular, and in so far as opinions definitely formed on given topics can be applied to fresh subjects in a like direction, so far may these opinions be held and these criticisms be offered on the versions of Catholic hymns which I venture to ascribe to the pen of Dryden. These versions are found in a fresh rendering of many of the hymns—and for the first time of a rendering of all the hymns—in the Breviary, of some in the Missal, and of certain other authorized hymns of the Church. They appeared as “a new and approved translation” in the year of grace 1706. They were published anonymously; were printed with no printer’s name affixed; and were issued in the popular book of Catholic devotions for the day—*The Primer, or Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. The translations were made from the hymns appointed to be used for the chief seasons, festivals, holy-days and week-days of the Church; and they extend to about one hundred and twenty in number. A first glance, and still more a study of the hymns, ensures for them a favourable impression which gradually ripens into admiration. Whosoever may have been the author of the translations, he was no ordinary versifier; he was no mere rhymer; he was no novice in the art of turning Latin poetry into English verse. Rather, he then proved himself to be an accomplished adept; and since, though unknown by name, has been accepted by Catholic translators as a master to be followed and imitated. The hymns in the *Primer* bear strong marks of family relationship towards each other and strong marks of individuality in their rendering—very strong, if it be remembered that the originals come from various sources, and from various writers, and were composed at different dates. The English translations were clearly done on a plan, done by some rule, done by one who followed a law of translation. Certain resemblances in form, not to say mannerisms (in a harmless sense of the word) in style, repetitions of thought and expression, repetitions of word, of phrase, of unusual and peculiar metre, even of whole verses (these being the *glorias*), run through the collection from end to end. Without speaking too dogmatically, it is almost certain that the whole series—perhaps with exceptions—comes from a single brain and from a single hand. Whosoever may have been the author, the versions transparently display the wider characteristics claimed for the poet by Drydenian students and critics which have been already quoted; and still more, if it be possible, those subtle characteristics some of which have yet to be stated. The general aspect of the hymns is not less decidedly marked than their individual features—specially in the construction of

sentences, in the employment of pronouns and use of adjectives, in the play upon words and the arrangement of words, in the carefulness at times, and at times, too, the carelessness displayed in the choice of rhymes. Whosoever may be the author, he was certainly—if the terms quoted above may be repeated and to an extent adapted—the father of a new school of English Catholic hymn-translators, which since his day have multiplied. His collection enriched the English language, at that date and in the century before hymn-singing became the fashion, with a great variety of hymns. Some of his hymns may be ranked amongst the very best versions in the English tongue; and from his work may be selected a large number of better specimens than any other English author can supply. Some of the translations, all-unconsciously to their editors, or perhaps unreflectingly, have found their way into Protestant hymn-books. Some have always been reproduced in Catholic hymn-books and books of devotion; and not always—it is to be regretted—without alteration. And some, again, have formed the basis of fresh translations, and have been used as models, and that by late writers from whom even unintentional plagiarism and imitation would have been the least expected.

Whoever, again, may have been the author of these hymns, if any reliance can be placed upon internal subjective evidence, he was certainly a Catholic, he was presumably a layman, he was probably a convert from Protestantism, and if a convert, he was converted from the established religion. He was, upon the like testimony and with not less certainty and perhaps on more objective evidence, a classical scholar; a man imbued with classical ideas, thoughts, expressions; a man of the world, probably also not unacquainted with courts and princes. He was, also, a man of letters, of the day and hour, and was specially familiar with that side of letters which touched translation, and with that theory of translation which Dryden formulated, wrote upon and worked by—for he literally carries into practice, with modifications, in Catholic hymnody the rules theoretically laid down by Dryden for rendering into the vernacular from the heathen classics. Of course much, if not all of this criticism must be accepted or denied without positive evidence. It were impossible to substantiate each assertion within limits at disposal for the present discussion. But, before the end of the article I hope to be enabled to afford evidence of a typical kind by which these and other estimates may be morally tested. If the proof that will be given for some statements be held sufficient, other statements for which no definite evidence is offered may be esteemed trustworthy. In any case, the reader can consult the hymns and will judge for himself. One more estimate, however, may be given. Whosoever the author may have been, to adopt once again

and lastly the opinions pronounced above, these versions placed him at the head of contemporary hymn-translators. This will not convey much praise in the judgment of critics. There were, however, others, and apparently cultured and anonymous Catholic priests, who were not unworthy rivals in hymnody, at the close of the seventeenth and in the early years of the eighteenth centuries. His mission, in this direction, was to free hymn-translations from the fetters of verbal metaphrase and to exclude from it the license of paraphrase. He succeeded in producing something in hymnology unlike anything, in the way of translation, which came before him; and in some instances he has never been approached by anything, on the same lines, which came after him. And, more than any other writer before or since, he thoroughly deserves, in the region of English hymnody, the application of the remark which has been bestowed upon Dryden by one of his recent critics and has been withheld from him by another, in relation to his influence upon the English language and English verse. The remark was originally made of the Emperor Augustus in regard to his adornment of the imperial city, Rome, viz., that he found it built of brick and that he left it built of marble. This is undeniably true of the translator of the *Primer* hymns of 1706, in relation to Catholic hymnody. And the translator of the *Primer* hymns I believe to have been Dryden.

IV.

The following are reasons for the opinion that the hymns in the *Primer* of 1706 are from the pen of Dryden. In giving reasons sufficient in my judgment for holding this opinion, I shall endeavour to carry conviction to the reader's mind by general and broad statements, rather than by minute and subtle instances. Circumstantial evidence, coincidences, verbal and phraseological comparisons, critical deductions—these steps in the argument, which have convinced me and led to the position occupied, would be tedious to the reader and might be considered out of place in this REVIEW. I shall, however, supply testimony enough to support the contention and references to authorities and proofs sufficient for further inquiry, if it be needed. And, I am glad to be able to say that a considerable number of the hymn-translations attributed to Dryden have been republished and may be examined by those who will have the curiosity to look at them in a volume lately published, "*Annus Sanctus*" (Burns & Oates).

The hymns in the *Primer* of 1706—as it was said above, 120 in number—were, at the date of publication, a "new version." A few exceptions, indeed, may be made to this general statement on the title-page; but very few can be made. It is true of the

great majority of the hymns. Of these 120 hymns, one only (it is believed) was published by Dryden himself, or was published during his lifetime. All the rest were both anonymous and posthumous. *Veni Creator*, "a paraphrase" as it was termed, first saw light (it is said) in the year 1693. This single hymn forms but a narrow basis, the reader will think, on which to raise a theory that shall embrace six score hymns, and account for their authorship nearly two centuries after the latest date at which they could have been written. However, this basis may at once be enlarged and its area may even be multiplied. For, in the first collected edition of all Dryden's works, in prose and poetry, published at the beginning of this century (1808) by Sir Walter Scott, two more hymn-translations are added to his account. These two hymns had been received by the editor in MS. after the whole work was set up in type: and he was satisfied with a pedigree which led the MSS. backwards to the poet's lifetime. The additional hymns, as is well known, are *Te Deum*, and what Sir Walter vaguely and indefinitely calls the "hymn for St. John's eve." This last hymn requires careful consideration.

The "hymn for St. John's eve," as the reader of Dryden will remember, was rendered into a peculiar metre, into one, so far as I am aware, equally unknown to previous hymn-translators and to the originals from whence, at that date, hymns were translated. In reality, Scott's four verses are the opening lines of a long and peculiar hymn (cf. Daniel, "*Thesaurus Hymnologicus*," vol i. p. 209) of fourteen stanzas, on the Nativity of St. John Baptist. They were written, not by Lactantius, as Sir Walter was inadvertently led to suppose, but by Paul the Deacon, a noble of Lombardy, who was sometime secretary to the last king of the Lombards and died in the monastery of Monte Cassino at the close of the eighth century. The portion printed by Scott, is the first part of a threefold division of this hymn, the portion which is sung at both Vespers of the feast. The remainder of the hymn which, divided into two, form the corresponding hymns in the Breviary for the hours of Matins and Lauds, have also been translated. They are printed in the *Primer* of 1706; and will be reproduced below for the reader's examination. They are done into the same metre as Scott's "hymn for St. John's eve": and internal evidence, which it is hard to put into words shortly, indisputably points to the same translator for all three parts. This claim on Dryden's behalf to the authorship of all three divisions of the hymn of Paul the Deacon is more important and will carry more results with it than at first sight appears probable. For, in the *Primer* there are published for the first time in 1706 not fewer than ten new translations of hymns in the same unusual—and I will say inappropriate—metre, which, if criticism is any guide in

anonymous literature, must be pronounced to be severally from the pen of one translator. The eight other hymns not yet mentioned are for these festivals of the Catholic Church: 1 and 2, Whitsuntide, Matins and Lauds; 3, St. Martina, January 30; 4, Lauds of St. Michael; 5, Angel-Guardians, October 2; the Common for Matins 6, of a Virgin and Martyr, 7, of a Virgin only, not a Martyr, and 8, of Holy Women. Of these hymns, the last three distinctly connect themselves with the "hymn for St. John's eve" by referring back to and quoting from the first line of, but not actually printing in full, the doxology common in the Breviary to all the four hymns. No student of Dryden's works, and I think, no competent literary critic could for one moment dispute the common authorship of these eight hymns and of the three for the Nativity of St. John; nor yet the common parentage of the hymns for Matins and Lauds of the festival and of Scott's "hymn for St. John's eve," which is—may I say—admittedly Dryden's. But, if any one does feel doubtful on the point, I would ask leave to advance two other incidental proofs to the same end, over and above those that have been already urged. Thus: 1. The Matins hymn for the Nativity of St. John contains one of several striking instances of a mannerism of Dryden which has been noted and illustrated, with much effect, by the poet's latest critic, Mr. G. Saintsbury. His monograph, already mentioned, appeared three years ago, at a time, I am enabled to say, when Mr. Saintsbury was not acquainted with the *Primer* hymns: and thus the support which it affords to the theory maintained in this paper is wholly independent. I will not further interrupt the thread of the argument here, beyond saying this—that the first three stanzas of the hymn contain five repetitions of the pronoun "you" or "your"; and that this peculiarity (quite unknown to other hymn versions of the day or of earlier date) is observed and annotated by Mr. Saintsbury as a characteristic of Dryden's secular poetry. He quotes (p. 31) fifteen lines of Dryden's *Astræa Redux*, in which the same unpoetical pronouns are repeated not fewer than ten times. 2. Few persons who have read, and none who have studied "The Hind and the Panther" can forget the opening words of that masterpiece and most incisive attack in controversial theology in verse:

A milk-white hind, immortal and unchanged
Fed on the lawns and in the forest ranged.

The translator in the *Primer* of the last hymn for the feast of St. John had to render into English the line:

Nesciens labem nivei pudoris.

The Rev. Father Caswall who, in his "*Lyra Catholica*" (a new

edition of which has lately appeared), and equally with the translator in question, has done into English the whole of the Breviary hymns turns these words into

O blessed Saint of snow-white purity.

But the translator of 1706 does not hesitate to render *nivei* by the composite adjective applied by Dryden to the Church of him of whom St. John was the forerunner and prophet, "milk-white." On this coincidence of expression I lay no great weight by itself. In conjunction with other traits of a similar sort, the evidence becomes of a cumulative character and is almost conclusive. And if I may be allowed to assign these eight hymns to Dryden's hand, the number now amounts to thirteen hymns out of 120 which I claim for the Catholic Poet-laureate of the seventeenth century, *i.e.*, more than one-tenth of the whole collection under debate.

I now come to the consideration of a single hymn about which I am forced to be egotistical. Three years ago, when engaged on a collection of English Catholic hymns from the Latin, now published under the title of "Annus Sanctus," I was led to the conclusion that the celebrated version of *Dies Iræ* attributed to Lord Roscommon was not by him, but came from the pen of Dryden. This theory was stated in the DUBLIN REVIEW, for January and April 1881, and at that date I had not seen the *Primer* of 1706. Subsequent investigations show that one date in the argument was erroneous: but the correction in detail, caused by a fresh discovery of an earlier version of the Sequence, was unimportant and only antedated its publication by a few years. One of the minor considerations which made me think that the authorship of the hymn had been wrongly ascribed, was a circumstance which was reported at second or third hand by Dr. Johnson, and was repeated by him in his life of Roscommon. It was to this effect: that that nobleman had died with the certain words from his own rendering of *Dies Iræ* on his lips, *viz.* :

My God, my father, and my friend,
Do not forsake me in my end.

It approved itself to me, in the common order of things and taking human nature as we find it, that the last words really uttered by the dying man would probably be those of any other person rather than himself. Now, it so happens that in the original stanza of *Dies Iræ*, *viz.*, the penultimate, here rendered into English, there is no Latin equivalent for any one of the three terms in which the suppliant invokes the Divine Being—"My God, my father, (or) my friend." Now, observe. In the *Primer* of 1706 the three hymns for the season of Advent

are rendered into English, of which the first and third (Ambrosian hymns) are linked together by a common *gloria*, and the second (of Gregorian origin) is presumably by the same translator. And it so happens, again, that the same identical line, with the change only of the indefinite article for the personal pronoun, is repeated—"a God, a father, and a friend"—with no more authority in the text for the English words than is found for similar rendering from *Dies Iræ*. I do not say, of course, that this is conclusive of an identity of authorship. But the reiteration of the words, without any equivalents in the original, must be held to be significant and suggestive; and in concert with much other incidental evidence is fairly indicative of sameness in the translator of the three Advent hymns in the *Primer* and the *Dies Iræ* respectively. The last-named hymn, also, is included in the same volume: and no person, I suppose, would, apart from all external evidence, accuse the editor of the Catholic *Primer* of knowingly inserting these four hymns by a Protestant translator. Whilst no one has ever dreamt of ascribing *En clara vox redarguit*, the Advent hymn in which the line in question occurs, to the credit of Lord Roscommon.

Thus the number of hymns hypothetically attributable to the pen of Dryden gradually increases. It is needless to continue the tale of augmentation by units or to calculate the numbers by percentages: so I will conclude this part of the argument by stating his present claims on a certain number of versions, and by asserting his claims in the future to the residue, or to the greatest proportion of the residue, of the hymns in the volume in question. It has been shown elsewhere (v. *Saturday Review*, August and September 1884: "Drummond and Dryden as Hymnologists"), and, without difficulty could be shown again, that a widespread tradition both written and unwritten exists amongst Catholics on the subject of Dryden's versions from the Latin hymns. He is supposed to have translated, towards the close of his life and after he had submitted to the Catholic Church (1685-1700), what amounts in the aggregate to a considerable body of hymns. Not unnaturally in these traditions his name is more usually connected publicly with the finest hymns of the Church, rather than with those that do not reach the highest level. But, both alike have their history and to many English versions is the name of Dryden affixed. Already these primary hymns, so to speak, have been discussed, *Veni Creator*, *Te Deum* and *Dies Iræ*. To these may be added others of a like or of a similar calibre, but of varied date and authorship, amongst them *Jesu, dulcis memoria*, *Pange lingua*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, *Ave maris Stella*, *Salve Regina* and *Stabat Mater*. Hence, it would appear that a consensus of Catholic tradition, more or less trustworthy, but in

any case existent, credits Dryden with the translation of many, if not of most, of the very first hymns of the Church. And the allotment of these hymns to such a source will inferentially carry with it a large body of other hymns—in fact, the major part of the entire series “for the year” which are printed in the *Primer* of 1706. And to this point I will now address myself as briefly as possible.

The *Primer*, it may be repeated, contains 120 hymns. These 120 hymns are divisible into five portions. First, the hymns for daily use are 31 in number. Next, the hymns for the Seasons are 30 in number. Thirdly, the Saints’ days, proper and common, are represented by 42 hymns. Then, the Office of our Lady, with the Antiphons, includes 8. And lastly, the miscellaneous hymns include 9 hymns. To hymns in every one of these divisions is the name of Dryden attached with greater or less authority and in larger or fewer numbers. Already his claim upon versions in the division for the Saints’ days has been vindicated, in relation to the “hymn for St. John’s eve.” In the part termed miscellaneous, at least five out of the nine are definitely assigned to him—amongst them the *Te Deum*, St. Bernard’s hymn, the funeral prose of Thomas of Celano, Jacopone’s *Stabat Mater*, and the Pentecostal hymn of King Robert of France. In the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary three out of nine, probably, are his. And of many of these, it must be added, that they are representative hymns: *i.e.*, they form integral portions of a series of two or more hymns for special occasions, or on special subjects. But these may be passed by, in order to confine the reader’s attention, as crucial instances, to the divisions for the Day and the Hour (31 hymns) and for Holy-days and Seasons (30 hymns).

It need hardly be said, except to make the case as clear as explanation can make it, that the hymns from the Breviary which are contained in the English *Primer* for the Day or Season are, as a rule, threefold in number, *viz.*, for Matins, for Lauds and for Vespers. Always an unity of thought and feeling, and generally a similarity of treatment obtains between these three hymns. Sometimes they are by the same author. Sometimes they are merely one long hymn divided for devotional purposes, or for convenience of singing, into three parts, each with its *gloria* as a last verse. The unity which is known, historically and theologically, to inhere in many of the Latin originals of the hymns for any given day or hour, for any given fast or festival, criticism declares to inhere also in the English translations under review. It is simply impossible to read without prejudice some, to read many of the *Primer* versions for the hours, feasts, or seasons of the Church, and to deny that, in all human probability, they owe their origin in the vernacular to one mind—I venture to say, to

one master-mind. Take, for instance, the three hymns by Venantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers in the 6th-7th century, viz., *Vexilla regis* and the two parts of the (Passion-tide) *Pange lingua*: or take the three Ambrosian hymns, of the 4th-5th century, for the canonical Hours of Friday and Saturday. Whosoever was the translator of any one of these three hymns for the day or season respectively, was presumably the translator of the other two, and of all the three. Of course, this cannot be proved to demonstration. But every critical instinct declares in favour of this conclusion. Bearing this in mind, there is one more element in the argument before the end be reached. It is this: there are two books of devotion, originally printed between thirty-one and forty-four years after the *Primer*, which intimately affect the question of authorship of its hymns. These are the "Garden of the Soul" (1737) and a "Manual of Prayers" (1750). Both were, I believe, compiled and edited by good Bishop Challoner: and both contain versions of some of the Vespers hymns of the Church together with certain miscellaneous hymns. Now, popular Catholic tradition assigns the authorship of all the hymns in the *Garden* and of many of the hymns in the "Manual" to Dryden. As, however, the number of hymns in the "Garden of the Soul" are fewer than those in the "Manual of Prayer," and as the latter contains all the hymns of the former—though not always the same versions, and as Dryden might have and probably did sometimes translate in duplicate—the *Garden* may be dismissed from further thought, and attention may be concentrated on the "Manual." This book of "Christian devotion" contains eight-and-twenty hymn-translations: and every one of these twenty-eight hymns is printed in the *Primer* of 1706. Seven of them are the Vespers hymns for each of the days of the week: and these Vespers hymns, as we have seen, are part and parcel of the Matins and Lauds hymns for the same seven days of the week respectively. These facts point to a common authorship for twenty-one hymns in the *Primer*. Again, ten of the versions are Vespers hymns for Holy-days and Seasons of the Church which, on the same ground and in like manner, are representatives of other twenty hymns, more or less, for Matins and Lauds respectively. And these facts suggest the authorship of about thirty fresh hymns beyond the thirty-one just named. Two or three other hymns, again, are representatives of more—but, it is useless to dwell upon these: and the residue includes hymns distinctly ascribed to or owned by Dryden, amongst others, *Te Deum*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, *Veni Creator* and (the Corpus Christi) *Pange lingua*. These calculations cover nearly the entire range of the hymns published in the *Primer* of 1706. And for myself, and I hope that I may

answer for the reader, no doubt is entertained, whether critical or moral, that these six score hymns are practically, one and all, from the hand of "glorious John" Dryden.

V.

This inquiry would be incomplete if no effort were made to give the reader an idea of the subjective proofs which have led to the conclusions arrived at in this paper. It is difficult, in the nature of things, to convey such an impression shortly. It is more difficult to impart assurance to another, from a few cases which alone can be named, when such assurance has arisen to one's self from the consideration of many cases. But I will make the effort. And to begin, as the question is one which affects translation, I will quote (somewhat condensed) Sir Walter Scott's estimate of Dryden's powers as a translator. Dryden's own judgment on the object and aim, as well as on the modes and forms of translating, with specimens, are contained (it is needless to say) in the preface to his translations from Ovid's *Epistles*. He there describes and illustrates the three kinds of translations to which he reduces all translation—metaphrase, paraphrase and imitation. And one great canon he lays down which is not always observed, but the force of which is evident in his own versions, is this, viz., that "no man is capable of translating poetry who is not a master," not of his author's language, but of his own. Before his distinguished success showed, says Scott,

"that the object of the translator should be to transfuse the spirit, not to copy servilely the very words of his original, it had been required that line should be rendered for line and almost word for word. It was reserved for Dryden manfully to claim and vindicate the freedom of a just translation, more limited than paraphrase, but free from the metaphrastic severity exacted from his predecessors. With these free principles Dryden brought to the task a competent knowledge of the language of the originals with an unbounded knowledge of his own. He paused not to weigh and sift those difficult and obscure passages at which the most learned will doubt and hesitate for the correct meaning. He seldom waited to analyse the sentence he was about to render, far less scrupulously to weigh the precise purport and value of every word it contained. If he caught the general spirit and meaning of the author and could express it in equal force in English verse, he cared not if minute elegancies were lost, or the beauties of accurate proportion destroyed, or a dubious interpretation adopted. He used abundantly the license he has claimed for a translator, to be deficient rather in the language out of which he renders, than that into which he translates. With the same spirit of haste, Dryden is often contented to present to the English reader some modern image, which he may at once fully comprehend,

instead of rendering precisely a classic expression which might require explanation or paraphrase."

Had these remarks of Scott been made after a study of the *Primer* hymns of 1706, they could hardly have been more apposite and just. Of course, exceptions can be found in the hymns to all these criticisms, specially in the matter of Catholic doctrine: for the author of "The Hind and the Panther" has proved himself to be a master in the art of versifying definitions of faith and capable of playing in metre with technical theological terms of facts, dogmas and mysteries. These general criticisms, it may be owned, can only receive from the reader a general consent, until such time as he can for himself read and study the hymns in question, or some of them. Meanwhile, I propose to examine a few of the criticisms of Mr. G. Saintsbury on Dryden's translations from classical authors which I can definitely apply to his hymnody. And the first is negative in character. There never was so great a writer, says Mr. Saintsbury (in his monograph, "Dryden," p. 135),

"who was so thoroughly occasional in the character of his greatness. The one thing which, to all appearance, he could not do, was to originate a theme."

This mental trait is examined, illustrated, defended at some length. It seems, adds the critic,

"always to have been, if not necessary, at any rate satisfactory to him, to follow some lines which had already been laid down, to accept a departure from some previous work, to match himself closely with some existing performance."

That this peculiarity is apparent also in his contributions to hymnology is clear from the fact that whilst it is possible, if not probable, that Dryden translated one hundred and twenty hymns, it is not pretended that he wrote a single hymn that was original. Next: Dryden, continues Mr. Saintsbury, "had a habit of catching up phrases and inserting them, much improved, it is true, in his own work." Thus, in the Easter (Low Sunday) hymn, *Ad regias Agni dapes*, and in reference to the overthrow of the hosts of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, the version previously published to that of the *Primer* of 1706 (in 1685) contains this couplet:

The yielding sea divides his waves;
The foes there meet their liquid graves.

But, Dryden (if it be he), whilst practically accepting the first line (with the change of "its" for "his") by a touch of genius transforms the somewhat jingling and commonplace second line, which conveys little to the imagination, into a vivid, if paradoxical, picture of the scene in the words,

Egyptians float in liquid graves.

And this is one of many instances which might be quoted. Again: "Dryden not unfrequently inserts whole lines and passages of his own"—is a remark of Mr. Saintsbury. This has been already illustrated from the *Primer* in the case of the historical line, "My God, my father and my friend," which occurs (in substance) twice, and both times with no authority from the original text. And once more: Dryden's employment in poetry of the pronouns *you* and *your* has been also referred to, and is thus annotated by Mr. Saintsbury ("Dryden," p. 31):

"The extraordinary art with which the recurrence of *you* and *your*—in the circumstances naturally recited with a little stress of the voice—are varied in position so as to give a corresponding variety to the cadence of the verse, is perhaps the chief thing to be noted here."

It has been indicated that the middle portion of the hymn for St. John Baptist, which may be read below, contains a marked repetition of this peculiarity in poetical language. Another instance also can be quoted. In the Ambrosian Vespers hymn for Christmas, *Jesu, Redemptor omnium*, within the range of four verses *you* and *your* are repeated, and are needlessly repeated, not fewer than five times, in cases where the preceding version of the *Primer* either omitted the pronoun, or made use of *thou*, *thy*, *thine*. On this topic and his treatment of it, however, Mr. Saintsbury discreetly says, "I am aware that this style of criticism has gone out of fashion." I will take the hint, follow his example, and say no more on this part of the subject.

VI.

It only remains to justify the position here taken and to illustrate the estimate here formed, by making a few quotations from the *Primer* of 1706. One threefold hymn only will be printed in full: and on this one hymn I am prepared to take my stand. By the connection of two of its portions with the third, which is an acknowledged hymn of "glorious John"—if not on its intrinsic merits, though these are not small—I am content to have this discovery fairly judged by others more critically able and more familiar with Dryden's poetry than myself. For I am bold to affirm that the versions in question, presumably Dryden's contribution to English Catholic hymnody, are a discovery—and one which, I have much pleasure in adding, was made previously in order of time, but quite independently of and unknown to myself by another, a widely-read student of English hymns. This hymn, in its entirety, I shall print in the last place. It would have been of interest to have quoted in parallel columns

the earlier versions of some of the hymns, by way of comparison, and in order to estimate the improvements made by the later translator. But, the exigences of space are imperious. I must hasten to the end, and can only add a very few instances and examples of what has been written above from one division of the hymns, viz., from those for the Days and Seasons of the Church. Here then, are words, expressions, phrases, lines, or verses which are certainly Drydenesque in tone, if they be not, as I believe them to be, actually from the pen of Dryden. For instance: "lazy night," "lazy sleep" (twice), "drowsy sleep," "drowsy beds," "neglected beds," "lucid realms," "liquid realms," "liquid graves," "liquid skies," "officious stars," "vocal tears," "servile brutes," "audacious steel," "bolder spear," "hungry minds," and, to mention no more, "contagious ills." These words and expressions, it may be observed, occur in different hymns, for different occasions. Next, I submit, these expressions are characteristic of Dryden: "may all, at least, compound the arrears," "the waters purl and wash their bed," "equal unbeginning light," "loose, vicious and intruding dreams," "mighty formidable king," "succeeding hours beget the day," "hug its chains," "hug the cross," "surcharged with sin," "God of battles," "six lustras past," "Aurora climbs," "Aurora does her beams display," and "a blaze of uncreated light." Then, take these lines, and let the reader determine if they be by some ordinary translator of hymns, whilst remembering, in some cases, Dryden's taste and power for playing upon words: "our nature wore for nature's aid," "with flesh to lend our flesh his aid," "by light, to light's own fountain, God," "and laves his heavenly fleece in Jordan's waves," "the gleamy white shows Christ approaching with the light," and "loaded with spoils, each axle reels." And if we turn, for a moment, to a few of the verses which are self-marked as the outcome of a master-hand, the following may be quoted. We are now accustomed to sugared versions, by Caswall and others, of the homied hymn of St. Bernard. But, it was not always so; and our great-great-grand-fathers must have been struck with one of the earliest translations:

Jesus, the only thought of thee
 With sweetness fills my breast;
 But sweeter still it is to see
 And on thy beauty feast.
 No theme so soft, no sound so gay,
 Can art of music frame;
 No words, nor even thought, can say
 Thy most mellifluous name.

Dies Iræ is no unmeet contrast to *Jesu, dulcis memoria*: and this is no bad specimen of the former sequence:

From that insatiable abyss,
Where flames devour and serpents hiss,
Promote me to thy seat of bliss.

The opening lines of the Wednesday Vespers hymn is also a good specimen from the *Primer* :

O Source of light, whose glorious ray
Improves the fiery noon of day,
And paints the lucid realms more bright
With beauteous gleams of burnished light.

The union of power and sweetness, of sonorous dignity and touching tenderness is well shown in the two next quotations from the (Passion-tide) *Pange lingua* :

Here God and Man an infant lies,
The narrow crib augments his cries :
Those hands by which the lightning's hurled,
And arms that grasp the bulky world,
In swathing bands are wrapt and bound
With poverty encompassed round.

* * * *

O towering tree, whose branching head
Like heaven is both sublime and spread :
No citron groves, no myrtle bowers,
Can boast such blossoms, fruits or flowers :
Since Christ's redeeming arms displayed
Create the sweetness of thy shade.

One stanza from *Stabat Mater* opens another side of the hymns :

Shall man, the cause of all his pain,
And all her grief—shall sinful man
Alone insensible remain ?

And, as a last quotation, the facility with which Dryden weaves into verse words and phrases seemingly the most unpropitious for poetry is well illustrated in these lines from the "hymn for the dedication of a church" :

Thus hardest marbles, toughest oaks,
Polished and shaped by dint of strokes,
The skilful artist's able hand
Makes fit to take their place and stand,
On highest pinnacles to shine
O'er all the edifice divine.

One remark alone needs to be made in regard to these extracts. I quote them for their English only, and do not estimate them critically as translations from the Latin. On the grounds of want of space, anything approaching such an examination of these hymns is here impossible.

Lastly, I propose to offer for the critical judgment of Dryden-

experts the two unprinted portions of the "hymn for the Nativity of St. John Baptist"—unprinted, that is to say, and so far as I can learn, for more than a century past, and unknown certainly to Dryden's editor in 1808 as well as to a majority of the present generation of hymnological students. I shall first print the four stanzas "for St. John's eve," discovered by Sir Walter Scott and published by him, as for the first time, and then, the two remaining parts. This course will enable the reader to compare (without turning to Scott's edition of his works) the portion allowed to be from the pen of Dryden, with the part here claimed for the poet.

ON THE FEAST OF THE NATIVITY OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, JUNE 24.

THE HYMN AT EVEN-SONG.

Ut queant laxis.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Osylvan prophet, whose eternal fame
Resounds from Jewry's hills and
Jordan's stream,
The music of our numbers raise
And tune our voice to sing thy
praise.</p> | <p>3. He heard the news, and dubious with
surprise
His faltering speech in fettered ac-
cents dies :
But providence with happy
choice
In thee restored thy father's
voice.</p> |
| <p>2. Heaven's messenger from high Olym-
pus came
To bear the tidings of thy life and
name,
And told thy sire each prodigy
That heaven designed to work
in thee.</p> | <p>4. From the recess of nature's inmost
room
Thou knewst thy Lord unborn from
womb to womb ;
Whilst each glad parent told
and blest
The secrets of each other's
breast.</p> |

THE HYMN AT MATINS.

Antra deserti.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>5. From noisy crowds your early years
recess
Seeks heaven's protection in the
wilderness ;
And makes your innocence to
shine
Unsullied with the least of
sin.</p> | <p>7. All other prophets did foretell afar
The glorious rising of a future star ;
But, greater than a prophet,
you
Foretold the star, and showed
him too.</p> |
| <p>6. Your courtly dress was camel's rugged
hide,
With twisted thongs of stubborn
leather tied :
You drank the tasteless stream,
and fed
On honey, whence the locusts
bred.</p> | <p>8. Thus God, the greatest-born of
human kind,
The Baptist chose ; and John alone
designed
Him to baptize in Jordan's
flood,
Who all the world baptized
in blood.</p> |

THE HYMN AT LAUDS.

O nimis felix.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>9. Hail prince of prophets, prince of
martyrs hail,
Whom Jewry nursed in her remotest
vale;
Exposed without a guard or
fence,
But that of milk-white inno-
cence.</p> | <p>11. Then powerful patron, teach us to
repent,
Make all the rocks of hardened
hearts relent:
Our rough and crooked ways
redress,
And cultivate our wilderness.</p> |
| <p>10. Three different states unequal har-
vest yield,
And each with blest increase adorn
the field:
Thy merits all those states
imply
Increased a hundredfold in
thee.</p> | <p>12. That our Redeemer, when he comes,
may find
No sins, like weeds, that over-run
the mind:
But like some crystal fountain
clear
May know his own resem-
blance there.</p> |

The *glorias* of the three several portions of the hymn may be conveniently printed apart. The first serves for Vespers and Matins. The last forms the conclusion of the hymn for Lauds. The former, it may be noted, was not printed by Scott.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>A. Glory to God the Father, and the
Son,
And Holy Ghost with both in nature
one;
Whose equal power unites the
three
In one eternal Trinity.</p> | <p>B. Heaven's brightest citizens sing
praise to thee,
One God in nature and in Persons
three:
On us let not thy love be lost,
But spare our souls for what
they cost.</p> |
|--|--|

Two points only call for remark on these versions as they appear in the vernacular, in addition to the verbal criticisms—both on the adjective “milk-white,” v. 9, and on the pronouns “you” and “your,” vv. 5, 6—and the peculiarity of metre which have been already made. 1. Three phrases at least are distinctly Drydenesque, and are common to other hymns in the *Primer* of 1706, e.g. “numbers,” v. 1. [cf. “David’s faithful number told”], “noisy crowds,” v. 5 [the adjective is actually altered in a reprint of the hymn in the “Manual,” and is made into a substantive, “noisy strife” = “noise and strife”]; and the somewhat awkward and inharmonious term “powerful” which the author here applies to “patron,” v. 11, and elsewhere to “grace” and “Word.” 2. The date also presents a difficulty, as well as marks a coincidence: Scott assigns the “hymn for St. John’s eve” (as the eye of a Dryden-critic at once detected, though a less keen sight failed to observe the fact) to June the 29th. The true date, of course, is June 24th. But, in the *Primer* of 1706, the date “June 29th” follows immediately at the end of the last stanza of the above hymn, and refers to the hymn

which is printed next in order, viz., "on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul." This mistake in transcription points several ways, though it is needless in this place to indicate which of them is the most probably true.

VII.

Since the above pages were written, two more volumes of the edition now in course of issue of "John Dryden's Works" have been published, and eight goodly volumes of the reprint have been sent for criticism, "with the publisher's compliments," to the DUBLIN REVIEW. Nothing which has been here previously written of the value and importance of the enterprising publisher's new edition requires to be modified, after a closer inspection of his work and after a careful perusal of the editor's preface, with an examination of the results of his labour of love. Indeed, the little which was incidentally said in commendation of the publication requires only to be intensified. The Edinburgh edition put forth by Mr. Paterson, under the advantageous auspices of George Saintsbury, "revised and corrected" from the edition of 1821, is the third within the period of about three-quarters of a century. This fact, though it be not intimated on the title-page, is worthy of notice: but the present edition is likely to remain for at least another three-quarters of a century, and probably for a longer time, the standard edition of the prose, poetical and dramatic works of the great English writer, and we ought to have satisfaction in adding, of the Catholic Laureate of the seventeenth century.

The third edition of Dryden's works, in its outward form, almost rises to the level of an *édition de luxe*, in everything but the cost of it. It will consist of at least eighteen volumes. In the first and chiefest element of moment, in a work to be not only consulted but read, is the print. The book is printed in a type which is eminently readable, large in size, clear in cutting and substantial in bulk—a sort of magnified Elzevir type, with differences. The page employed is a full-sized library octavo, with a comparatively small proportion of matter and a comparatively large proportion of margin, and is printed on a good quality of paper, lined or water-marked, if I am not mistaken, by machinery, in imitation of hand-made paper. The first volume is illustrated by a reproduction, by some photographic process, of a good portrait of the author after Sir Godfrey Kneller: and the work is suitably and plainly bound in a dark and *degradé* olive-tinted cloth. These details I have ventured upon in order to give a fair idea of the "get-up" of this fine edition of one of our greater literary worthies, in an age when many of the works of our older poets are cabined and confined within the boards of

a single volume, and are printed in a type and on paper which make reading almost impossible for eyes no longer young, and difficult if not actually dangerous for eyes that are not already aged.

The inner man, however, is of more importance than the costume in which an author is presented to the reader, and however much or little the latter may be affected by the accidental circumstances of the outer appearance of the volume. Unluckily, in the present case, the contents of the three editions are substantially the same. But, a new edition at the close of a century will naturally differ, to a certain extent, from an edition published at the beginning, even though little new matter has been added to works already made public. These differences had better be placed before the reader in the editor's own modest and suggestive words. Mr. Saintsbury's preface contains a clear summary of the task which he has set himself—and which thus far he has successfully completed—in reproducing "revised and corrected" the edition of Dryden's works originally issued under the supervision of Sir Walter Scott. The following are its opening sentences :—

"The best-edited book in the English language is, according to Southey, Wilkin's edition of Sir Thomas Browne. If Sir Walter Scott's 'Dryden' cannot challenge this highest position, it certainly deserves the credit of being one of the best-edited books on a great scale in English, save in one particular—the revision of the text. In reading it long ago, with no other object than to make acquaintance with Dryden; again, more recently and more minutely, for the purpose of a course of lectures which I was asked to deliver at the Royal Institution; and again, more recently and more minutely still, for the purposes of a monograph on the same subject in Mr. Morley's series of *English Men of Letters*, I have had tolerably ample opportunity of recognising its merits. It was therefore with pleasure that I found, on being consulted by the publisher of these volumes as to a re-issue of it, that Mr. Paterson was as averse as I was myself to any attempt to efface or to mutilate Scott's work. Neither the number, the order, nor the contents of Scott's eighteen volumes will be altered in any way. The task which I propose to myself is a sufficiently modest one, that of re-editing Scott's 'Dryden,' as—putting differences of ability out of question—he might have re-edited it himself had he been alive to-day; that is to say, to set right errors into which he fell either by inadvertence or deficiency of information, to correct the text in accordance with modern requirements, and to add the results of the students of Dryden during the last three-quarters of a century in matter of text as well as of comment."

After some statements on certain new matter, apparently of no great moment, which he has secured for the present edition, and on certain matter, of much more importance, which he has

been powerless to obtain—to one sentence of which reference must be made below—Mr. Saintsbury thus proceeds :

“The principles upon which I have proceeded in re-editing the text require somewhat fuller explanation. Dryden never superintended any complete edition of his works, but on the other hand there is evidence in his letters that he bestowed considerable pains on them when they first passed through the press. The first editions have therefore in every case been followed, though they have been corrected in case of need by the later ones. But the adoption of this standard leaves unsettled the problem of orthography, punctuation, &c. I have adopted a solution which will not, I fear, be wholly agreeable to some of my friends. Capital letters and apostrophes, and the like, will be looked for in vain.”

The editor defends his plan of modernizing Dryden's spelling and stopping, on the ground that the contrary plan would have proved “a nuisance and a stumbling-block to the ordinary reader.” Where, he continues,

“a writer has written in a distinctly archaic form of language, as in the case of all English writers before the Renaissance, adherence to the original orthography is necessary and right. Even in the so-called Elizabethan age, where a certain archaism of phrase survives, the appreciation of temporal and local colour may be helped by such an adherence. But Dryden is in every sense a modern. His list of obsolete words is insignificant, of archaic phrases more insignificant still, of obsolete construction almost a blank. If any journalist or reviewer were to write his to-morrow's leader, or his next week's article in a style absolutely modelled on Dryden, no one would notice anything strange in it, except perhaps that the English was a good deal better than usual. There can therefore be no possible reason for erecting an artificial barrier between him and his readers of to-day, especially as that barrier would be not only artificial but entirely arbitrary.”

One sentence only from Mr. Saintsbury's preface requires further notice in this place. It contains the following denial: “No literary work of Dryden's of any great importance has been discovered since Scott's edition appeared.” Mr. Saintsbury has promised his readers, in a term which is expressive if singular, and defensible though odd-sounding, a “post-face” to his labours. In this post-face I confidently entertain the hope that the denial above quoted may be exchanged for an assertion. If the arguments which have been advanced in the present article and elsewhere be sound, a literary work of some moment has been discovered since Sir Walter's edition appeared; and it may be added, without presuming to estimate the capacity of the witnesses, has been discovered by two independent hymnological students. It is believed that in the forthcoming “Dictionary of

Hymns," a similar plea to the present will be submitted for public criticism by another hand, or possibly by more than one hand. If this be so, for I only rely upon hearsay, and if the arguments from different premises and by different routes end in a common conclusion, then, the independent evidence of at least two literary witnesses ought not, without good cause, to be ignored. In such a case, and without prejudging the opinion of more competent critics and of students more conversant with Dryden's works than I can honestly claim to be—and I speak only for myself—then, I venture to appeal, on behalf of the hymn-translations above described, for a place for them in the new edition of this great English classic. The exact place they ought to occupy I do not take upon me to decide: but I plead that some place may be found for the six-score hymns which are, or the majority of which are, certainly Drydenesque if they be not actually from the pen of Dryden. Whether as genuine, or as spurious, or as of uncertain origin, they deserve, I submit, to be reprinted from the *Primer* of 1706, and to be handed down to posterity in an edition that will prove not to be ephemeral. It is within the bounds of possibility that, with a view of still more widely testing the truth of the surmise above elaborated, I may be enabled to reprint, in a small volume, for further criticism, the hymns in question. In the meanwhile, with every wish for the commercial success of the present handsome edition of the works of "glorious John," I desire to make a final proposal, viz., that in the place of eighteen volumes the works of the Laureate may be extended to nineteen volumes, and that the last volume may be devoted, firstly, to a reprint of the admirable monograph contributed by the editor to Mr. John Morley's series of "English Men of Letters," which clearly ought not to be permanently severed from the works which it ably illustrates; and secondly, to the publication for the first time within the memory of this generation, of the translations ascribed to Dryden as a hymnodist.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

ART. II.—THE BATTLE OF THEISM.

Die Grossen Welträthsel (The Great Enigmas of the World).
 Von TILMANN PESCH, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau : Herder.
 1888.

THE volumes I am here introducing, probably for the first time, to English readers are as interesting as they are large, and that is saying a great deal. They extend to fourteen hundred pages, and, *mirabile dictu*, are furnished with indices and other means of compassing their vast bulk which, as one seldom gets them in learned Germany, one does not anticipate. Yet I will not do F. Tilmann Pesch the injustice of saying that I have not read him because the indices spared me that trouble. On the contrary, I bear witness that he deserves to be read and read again. His subject is fascinating; he approaches it on what seems to me the right side, that of physical science; and to erudition which in its province may be styled universal, he adds the secret of handling it easily and to the purpose. Nothing less than the relations of "modern science" to the philosophy of the schools is the theme which he pursues with the ardour of a scholastic, and a loyalty to St. Thomas Aquinas that never falters even in the disputed regions of *Materia Prima*. Sometimes the genius of the system he is attacking compels him to be humorous; and he is then hearty, natural, amusing, and a hard-hitter. But his strength lies in the discussion of physical problems, to which he brings immense knowledge, and a quick eye for the revolutions, of late so startling, in scientific opinion. His path is traced mainly by the fortunes of Darwinism in Germany and its influence on religion; and his purpose, I may say, is to encounter by scientific considerations the peril arising thence to Theism. It is under the guidance of this well-informed work that I propose to indicate the principles of that great *Culturkampf* of which the May Laws were but a feeble shadow. We, too, in England, are engaged in the like conflict of thought and have to encounter the same arguments; nor can we do better than follow the line which our German Catholic brethren are taking. And therefore I call my paper the Battle of Theism.

Five-and-twenty years ago the "Origin of Species" appeared, and with it began a fresh stage of popular metaphysics, inasmuch that, hereafter, A.D. 1859 may be set down by admiring historians as the era of Darwin. Perhaps, as Wigand sarcastically observes, Darwin has proved none of the theories associated with his name, but has only "wrapped them up in facts," which is not quite the

same thing as proving them. Certain, however, it is that his writings have been the token and, in part, the cause of a great revolution in men's ways of thinking. Like the yeast plant, they have brought on a rapid fermentation all round them; their fame has sprung up in a moment, yet it may equal the fame of Kant's "*Critique*," or of Newton's "*Principia*;" whilst in minds to which the Book of Genesis has grown to be incredible, Darwin's, though uninspired, is the only Bible. Not that scientific men have denied themselves the pleasure of modifying his statements; for are not they too original observers? As Wigand again remarks, natural selection, like "*a King of Rats*," is one theory bringing with it ten thousand others. But his professional brethren have so far done homage to the great man as scrupulously to retain his phrases, and to allow that certain of his principles must be recognized in all future theories of evolution. That doctrine itself is preached from pulpit and platform; and though here and there a ruler of science may be seen shaking his head mournfully, to the common eye such a one is the Legitimist of biology, and his protest attributed to feeling, instinctive Conservatism, or the fossil condition of the grey matter of his brain. He may be speaking as he thinks, but not according to knowledge. The name of Darwin suggests that of Newton, and the one is said by his theory of selection to have done for the science of life what the other by his formula of gravitation did for astronomy. Charles Darwin is an acknowledged master of European thought.

But in no country has he exerted a wider influence, or helped towards a more striking revolution, than in Germany. Of him as of Prince Bismarck it may be affirmed that he has been victorious over the past, and creative on a great scale of all that promises to live and flourish in the future. How serious a change he has wrought we may estimate by considering the distance to which certain constellations have receded which forty years ago were ruling over German metaphysics. The great system of Hegel is rapidly sinking below the horizon; Schelling and Fichte are already set. Kant, indeed, still rays out dubious light; he seems the Charles's Wain of his native sky, never destined to go down; and Goethe, a thinker but no metaphysician, reigns on high. But what a testimony to Darwinism is the well-known fact that Kant and Goethe are in large measure prized because they seem to have anticipated either the principles or the chief bearings of it? If there be writers who, like Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann, without carrying on the main line of German thought, are yet interesting, powerful, and characteristic, they too have expounded philosophy as a system of development akin to Darwin's, though of apparently wider scope; and Von Hart-

mann accepts the conjectures of the "Origin of Species" and the "Descent of Man," as throwing light on his grotesque description of the travels of the Unconscious in search of felicity. As for Hegel, whom I noticed a moment ago as a setting star, it is surely most remarkable that whilst no philosopher has insisted more on the idea, the laws, and the stages of evolution, his speculations now chiefly serve to illustrate with more or less point what Darwin has written.

This alone would arrest attention, as indicating the charm that English thought may have for Germans. We have long credited them with philosophizing on behalf of other European races, too busy, prosperous, or indolent to think for themselves. Yet that enlightened country is now taking as the very revelation of the spirit of the age, a theory that Englishmen like Darwin and Wallace have by the study of infinite facts made their own. But this is not all. If one thing more than another distinguished German speculation in the days of Hegel, it was the supreme disregard it showed for *facts*. That a theory should not once come in sight of the facts, or should run counter to them if it did, was nothing in the eyes of a Teuton. He felt proud that he need not sojourn in the desert to draw a camel; for camels, too, like all other forms of sensation, dwelt in that large consciousness of his, and could be evolved thence without further trouble than the puffing out of an extra cloud of tobacco-smoke. It was the mission of every student at Göttingen to construct the universe *a priori*; and those whose genius forbade them to write ballads or compose for the violin, turned their thoughts with Fichte to the creation of worlds and of deities. "To-morrow, meine Herren, we will make God," said the Stoic author of the "Doctrine of Science." Why not indeed? To a German, the universe and God Himself were but a phantom of the Brocken projected on the boundless mist of his own vague thoughts. Nor, when thinking cost so little, could a man dream of borrowing from his neighbour; to create one's own system was cheaper and helped one to a competence in agreement with the saying which Schopenhauer too bitterly calls the device of the chair of metaphysics, "*Primum vivere, deinde philosophari*." In this way only, as a means of furnishing one with top-boots and sauerkraut, did Idealism come in contact with Realism. And the world went merrily on, and Hegel's *Phenomenologie* and Hoffmann's *Tales of Wonder* had about an equal resemblance to anything existing in the heavens above or the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth. And it was as natural for a fresh lecturer or Privat-docent to differ from all his predecessors and announce that he had a scheme of Pantheism, or Panlogism, or Pan-anythingism in his pocket as for him to smile incredulously on hearing, if so be,

that any of his disciples held by the Nicene Creed. And Germany was as ever the kingdom of cloudland. But upon Hegel's decease, much, though not all of this, came to an end. After floating hither and thither like a bird of Paradise in the regions of the air for nearly a century, without once touching the ground, German thought has grown ashamed of its magnificent but idle wings; and alighting on earth is now content, like the soberest of barn-door fowl, to pick up what grains of corn may lie within reach. Philosophy has been abandoned, and experimental science reigns in its stead. The Germans are proud that gunpowder and printing were invented among them; late years have made it known to Europe that they are to be dreaded equally with the breechloader as with the microscope. They are capable indeed of doing great mischief with both. For if they have struck down atheist France with the one, they have done their best to make an end of Theism with the other, offering quite a novel application of Dante's well-worn verse—

A Dio spiacenti ed a' nemici sui.

Of course I do not say that Darwin's speculations alone have to answer for so complete a revolution; their success was a proof that Germans had been looking for something more fruitful than Idealism and its empty phrases; and therefore I have spoken of it as the token even more than the cause of that change. Nor was there a lack of foreboding prophecies. To take only one: Schopenhauer's philosophy, which at the beginning of the century could not gain the ear of a public given over to *Windbeutelei*, as he contemptuously styled the solemn-seeming contradictory farrago of Schelling and Hegel, was studied with admiration and interest years before the "Origin of Species." But no one that has read Schopenhauer will deny that, in spite of extravagance and perversity, he is much more in contact with the facts of life than any of his contemporaries. He sets himself expressly to collect and collate facts; he appeals to them over and over again in confirmation of his theory; and he declares with entire truth that in consequence of his keeping an eye on facts, it is possible to begin studying him anywhere and impossible to reduce his books to an abstract formula. This is even more the case in his later essays, the "Parerga und Paralipomena," than in his "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung;" and it is this which makes him so interesting compared with Hegel or Fichte. As in many things else, so in this, Schopenhauer anticipated the tendencies of German thought by some fifty years; and it is because in his pages they seem to behold their countenances as in a glass that Germans of to-day are so much influenced by him. But on this I cannot dwell, and must content myself with indi-

ating the growth of Schopenhauer's popularity as a sign that the ways of German Idealism were being deserted for newer paths. The day was at hand when Idealism could not raise its head in Germany without appealing to facts as the necessary condition or confirmation of its truth ; when it would be required to prove itself a revelation by works. The spectre of the Brocken was to be no ghost, but the reflection of a solid and unmistakable reality ; and we may expect the line of German savans to go on stretching out, like the vision of kings in Macbeth. To the names of Fraunhofer in optics, of Schwann and Stricker in histology, of Wundt, Virchow, and Johannes Müller in general physiology, of Helmholtz in acoustics and the allied sciences, of Kölliker and Nägeli in botany—I take almost at haphazard a handful of instances from the crowd—there will be added as many in proportion as the degree of technical education in German schools excels that at present attainable in France or England. For good or for evil, and I do not myself know why it should not be greatly for good, physical science must be nowadays the indispensable preliminary to theories of life. That famous saying, “Nihil in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu,” will be applied to the very making of religion as of metaphysics ; and thinkers will be asked how their speculations correspond with ascertained physical facts before evolving them in detail. This, at least, will be laid down as the only safe method, and if neglected or misapplied, will still remain an axiom. And thus too, we may say, “Primum vivere, deinde philosophari,”—life before theory.

With this method, for my part, I have no quarrel. Facts are as unassailable in their way as first principles ; nor can the exigencies of reality be set aside unless we would give the men of physical science leave to disown the necessities of thought. But with the change of method or *tactics* in philosophical discussion there has sprung up a serious danger, and that all over the civilized world. Sir David Brewster, as Mr. Spencer has been reminding us, advocated a paid “priesthood of science.” Paid or unpaid, the priesthood now exists ; it is an undeniable fact. It has superseded, or is threatening to supersede, all other priesthods, to make an end of the solitary kings of metaphysics and the aristocracies of religion. And the multitude which, by definition as I may say, can neither furnish itself with the means of holy living, nor analyze its fundamental principles of thought, nor experiment with facts, is now feeling, not vaguely but with a fast-growing consciousness, that the last word rests neither with priests nor philosophers, but with the professors of physics, or, as it is loosely termed, with *Science*. The multitude cannot but lean upon authority, nor take its word as less than infallible, nor discern where that infallible authority resides but by yielding in

every age to the influences surrounding it, to the atmosphere or the environment. Individuals of no marked capacity for thought and no great moral force must needs go with the stream; and so a universal rush is made in one direction. And Germany, which broke away from revealed authority at Luther's bidding, and submitted for a long hundred years to the yoke of Pure Thought, has now, like the rest of Europe, begun to believe that whatsoever things "Science" cannot discover are unknowable, and whatsoever things Science cannot verify must be false. To quote Mr. Matthew Arnold, speaking in this matter for others besides his own countrymen, "Whatever is to stand, must rest upon something which is verifiable, not unverifiable." Verifiable, we ask, how? And Mr. Arnold answers, "How? why, as you verify that fire burns, *by experience*." * It is obvious that when men have begun to speak of verifying the principles of metaphysics or the traditions of religion *by experience*, they will turn to the class of teachers whose very *raison d'être* is that they experiment, and only by means of experimenting, draw their conclusions. Thus shall we arrive at Sir David Brewster's "priesthood of science." It was hinted the other day by one of our most distinguished Catholic savans, not that every priest should become a professor of biology, but that it would be well if most priests knew a little of biology. May not the reason have been, in Mr. Mivart's thought, that whether priests are biologists or no, every biologist will soon be one of Sir David Brewster's "priests?" That transformation, assuredly, is taking place. When Von Nägeli, at Munich, declares that "we can but know that of which the senses give us information;" that all our knowledge is therefore restricted to "the finite, the changeable, and the transitory;" and that "to cross the boundary of the finite is ridiculous;" instead of being rebuked for crossing, in this very declaration, the boundary of that "Science" whose exponent he sets up to be, he is admired by many as speaking with the authority which careful experiment and rigorous induction alone can give.† I will not delay here over the sentiment itself, which, with almost pardonable violence, has been denounced as "the bestiality of science." For I must hasten to point out another circumstance which has contributed far more than the study of any facts to make science bestial and unbelieving. It would never have usurped so great authority had Christian teachers in the Fatherland not betrayed their trust.

From the day that Lessing edited the "Wolfenbüttel Fragments," Christianity as an objective religion may be said to

* "Lit. and Dogma," p. 336.

† Tilmann Pesch, vol. i. p. 25.

have existed in Germany on sufferance. It has become, almost in self-defence, less and less dogmatic. To lighten the vessel as it laboured in the trough of the sea, one after another the articles of the Creed have gone overboard. Lying humbly at the feet, now of philosophy and now of religion, religion has besought them that it might live, if not as having a claim on the intellect, yet as soothing the heart. It has been content to survive, a pensioner on the bounty of its proud step-sisters. But could it, though content, survive long? Forty years ago, Schleiermacher, whom some have glorified as the St. John of the nineteenth century, looking sadly forward, wrote in these terms to a friend:—

Considering the present condition of natural science, and how it is growing more and more to be an all-embracing science of the universe, what does your mind forebode of the future,—I do not say of our theology—but of our evangelical Christianity altogether? I fear we must learn to live without many things which a multitude are yet accustomed to look upon as bound inseparably with the essence of the Christian faith. I shall not live to see that time. But you and the men of your age, what think you of doing? Shall you entrench yourselves behind these outworks, and suffer yourselves to be blockaded by science? The furious cannonade of scorn will harm you little; but not so the blockade, the lack unto utter starving, of science.

Facts, he thought, would be too much for Christianity when they were built up into scientific formulæ. Nor can it be doubted that for German Protestant Christianity, on the whole, they have been too much. Schleiermacher himself could not away with a “transcendental God.” He called such a notion “mythology.” To him God was something high and holy, dwelling in the world, not a power going beyond it, as we believe, utterly independent of it, and inhabiting His own eternity whilst upholding all things. But since Schleiermacher’s time the crisis has been hastened, and events have told more and more upon the feeble framework of that Evangelical Union which he helped the King of Prussia to found. It is only the piety and authority of the Emperor that hinders the Church in Prussia from discarding even the Apostles’ Creed, the contents of which a multitude, perhaps a majority, of the clergy have long since degraded to myth and parable. In their anxiety to show themselves on a level with the “men of science” (whom religion once thought honoured were they but hewers of wood and drawers of water for the temple), the so-called “Liberal Protestant” ministers at Berlin and elsewhere have judged they could do no better than exchange their Theism for Pantheism, and preach the All and One—a deity of whom, for reasons of their own, scientific unbelievers are not in the least afraid. Thus Pfleiderer not only rejects Theism,

but does so expressly on religious grounds, alleging that "belief in a personal God, implying individual existence on the part both of God and the creature, is a hindrance to the highest realization of holiness in act; while the reciprocal communion made possible by the divine Immanence is a notion easy to be carried into execution, once the revolting idea of the personality of the Absolute has been abandoned." * Lipsius of Jena is precise in defining his position. The idea of a Personal God to his mind is, without question, a contradiction in thought and an impossibility. It cannot therefore be admitted in a philosophical view of things; but for the human consciousness it is indispensable, man's nature being such that he cannot but personify what he worships. And Herr Biedermann, agreeing that the idea is in itself a contradiction, thinks it may be employed yet awhile as a help to the religious imagination. I do not quote these sayings as in their nature astonishing, or in their presentment novel; but it is surely a remarkable fact that they are the utterances of men setting themselves down "in the catalogue" as ministers of the Gospel of Christ. No wonder that Von Hartmann, scornfully taking stock of these things, has discerned in them not only "the crisis of Christianity in the theology of to-day," but the very "suicide of the Christian Church." † Granting, as I do with all my heart, that of late years another and a less destructive tendency has made itself to some extent felt in the religious circles of the Fatherland, I cannot pretend that, taken altogether, Germany is other than these quotations picture it to us. It is a country where reckless criticising has hewed and hacked the Bible into more pieces than Typhon made of the body of Osiris; where Jesus Christ is forgotten, or turned to a childish legend, or lost in the throng of human teachers; where the Christian religion is emptied of its whole dogmatic and much of its ethical contents, and with a label to tell us that it is sacred but has nothing within it, is set on the shelves of a mausoleum in company with the funeral vases of Greeks, Romans, and Etruscans.

Meanwhile the modern equivalent for religion with Germans, as with a certain circle of Englishmen, is "culture." Goethe has said, with incomparably more grace and power than his latest imitator, "Wer hat Wissenschaft und Kunst, der hat Religion." Science for the intellect, art for the feelings, and in art a symbolism shadowing forth the unity of all things that analytic science cannot express, with these we are told the whole man may

* Tilmann Pesch, vol. ii. p. 20.

† The latter of these brochures was published in 1873, the former in 1880.

be made happy. "What more canst thou desire, O my soul?" cries the poet; and again, "Why wilt thou wander all abroad, see how nigh the good lies unto thee?" For it is "wandering all abroad," according to this framer of delightful songs and dangerous adages, if I yearn after a living God with whom I may hold communion, or a Son of God in the flesh, to announce His Father's will to me. Truly German thought is straitened on every side, and there is a wonderful consensus of authority, including Kant and Goethe, Hegel and Schopenhauer and Strauss, Schleiermacher and Feuerbach and Lange and Lazarus Geiger, in the doctrine that we must make the phenomenal world our God or do without one. How can it seem surprising if a generation to whom such thoughts are familiar turns from even the poets, to say nothing of the clergy, when it would be instructed in the nature of things, and seeks knowledge on the lips of physical science? For it is not pretended that the poets know the laws of things, whereas the teacher of "science" discourses day and night concerning law. To him accordingly the German youth have been flocking these twenty years, and whilst they amuse their leisure with a little art, religious or irreligious as they may fancy it, for the conduct of life they take not even Goethe as a master, but Darwin interpreted to the meanness of their capacity by Professor Häckel of Jena. I grant that the rebuke addressed in Goethe's "Prose Sayings" to the mathematicians is equally deserved on the part of physicists; that they are "strange people, and because of the great things they accomplish have formed themselves into a kind of universal guild, being averse to admit anything that does not fall within their circle, or that refuses to be handled by their instruments." But is it not this very Goethe that has bidden his disciples work and move within the narrow sphere of things knowable (meaning phenomena), and that has mocked with light Voltairean laughter the "prophets" in the midst of whom he sat unconcerned, a child of this world, and not of that "sphere of darkness," the next? How can he seem aught to the cultivated of the nineteenth century but an apostle of the finite and the infinitesimal? There is, then, apparently no escape from the absolute sway of "science;" nor for Germans to whom Christianity is "Ein überwundener Standpunkt," a thing of the past, a milestone long since out of view, is escape conceivable. In divesting themselves of faith in revelation, they have put off Idealism too. But I do not mean that they are not struggling against so harsh a destiny. It would be worth our while to consider what they are attempting, whether to save their feet from slipping into the bog of materialism, or actually to break open a way, different from the old and if possible safer, into those regions of the light of thought where the genius

of their country has loved to fix his dwelling,—I suppose one may quote Schiller's lines again, for they are always new—

In den heitern Regionen,
Wo die reinen Formen wohnen.

But, interesting as these struggles are, they can never be described as hopeful. They do not promise to succeed. The German spirit is banned like Merlin within the viewless walls of an enchanted castle, walls clear as diamond and as impenetrable. Those walls of adamant are the axioms accepted by every German metaphysician from the hands of Kant, and laid down by that mighty magician in the "Critique of Pure Reason." As is well known, they may be resumed in a single word, Phenomenism. If an atheistic doctrine of evolution has grown as fast as Jonah's gourd, the reason is that a congenial soil was prepared for it. Darwin has furnished by induction results which Kant obtained on a method *à priori* by examining the structure of the mind itself. There is the closest logical connection between Phenomenism, Materialism, and popular Darwinism, all of which combine in a theory that leaves no room for God. I have touched upon the impetus given to science among Germans concurrently with the decay of Christian and Theistic beliefs. It follows to exhibit science building up a system of knowledge upon the foundations laid by Kant. For in this way alone shall we reach to the inward meaning of Darwinism and grasp the method of its refutation. First, I say, it rests on a philosophy of negation, and next it issues in practical Materialism, whilst it can be overthrown and Theism established on its ruins only by restoring, inductively and deductively, the doctrine of a purpose in Nature, or of final causes. This is the task that lies before Christian philosophers. Let us take these points in order, illustrating them from the latest utterances of scientific men in Germany.

Phenomenism is a word of two meanings. It signifies that we can know things only as they appear, not as perhaps they are, and it implies that to know them as they appear is our duty. Thus we may describe it in the form of a doctrine of nescience, and equally in the form of a doctrine of science. These are the two sides of the shield of Kantism. Du Bois-Reymond's discourses on "The Limits of Natural Science" and "The Seven Enigmas of the World," bid us contemplate the dark side of the shield whereon we read the single word *Ignorabimus*, "We will be content not to know." Von Nägeli, answering him, turns the shield, and exhibits a contrary devise, "Wir wissen und wir werden wissen,"—"We know, and we shall know." But these disputants are really at one. What are the "Riddles of the World" which Du Bois-Reymond dismisses as insoluble, as

having in the region of human thought no answer? They are all concerned with the origin and meaning of things, whence matter comes, and life and thought, and whether they have a purpose. He holds with Lange, the latest critic of Materialism, that we can certainly never know the inside of things, for we cannot even know their outside, Science being a part of the "subjective illusion" in which we are wrapped. Ignorabimus means that an ape or an ascidian knows as much about God and immortality as man can learn. Nor does Von Nägeli join issue with the sect of ignorance on this point. All he maintains is the validity of science and the assurance of its larger growth. He, too, proclaims with tuck of drum that we know for certain no more than the ape or the ascidian. A Roman poet has bidden us—

Discite, et o miseri, causas cognoscite rerum !
 Quid sumus, et quidnam victuri gignimur, ordo
 Quis datus, aut metui quam mollis flexus, et unde ?
 quem te Deus esse.
 Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re.*

To these injunctions Von Nägeli would return precisely the same answer as Du Bois-Reymond, *non possumus*. The partisans of nescience and those to whom science is a widening light, agree that the "causes of things" are beyond our ken. Herr von Nägeli, binding intellect as a slave to sense, can never get it free again; he concedes it but "a most fragmentary knowledge of the universe," and denies it that vision of the essences of things from which alone morality and religion can arise. What comfort has the soul in being assured by him, that, "when we are able to measure, count, and weigh a phenomenon, we may be said to *know* it?" These "clear ideas" will hardly satisfy our longing for the ideal, for the true human knowledge, without which the spirit pines and life has lost its savour. Let us make the experiment. The soul is troubled; conscience whispers dreadful things of the future and the unknown; grief sits melancholy by our fireside, and makes no movement to be going; there is in the heart a silent cry for light and strength to carry the burden laid on us, and once more to hope; and Professor von Nägeli offers us for consolation the multiplication-table, and the list of combining proportions! "These things," he cries joyfully, "we do know; and in time we shall know more of them." Is this much better than Du Bois-Reymond's Ignorabimus?

But, indeed, it is worse; for scientific men of the faction of knowledge are always constructing the world anew, as they say, on facts. Guided unconsciously by Rosmini's principle, "Assume as little as possible in the making of your philosophy," they pro-

* Persius, Sat. 3.

ceed, after a fashion that would have astonished Rosmini, to assume the least possible by taking phenomena as their own explanation. The unfruitful mystery of "the thing in itself," is not to their taste. "It is certain," they argue, "that we know phenomena. Why should it not be the whole account of them that phenomena they are? Let us assume that, and look upon man as a part of Nature, phenomenal like the rest, and we shall have got rid of metaphysics in the old uncomfortable sense of the word." This was the thought of Bacon, when he wrote, "*Post physicam inventam, metaphysica nulla erit.*" And now Feuerbach has told us that the metaphysics of the future will be chemistry, whilst Häckel rejoices that the day is coming when life will be resolved into a species of crystallization, and not inorganic matter only, but the whole of consciousness will find its analysis and explanation in the atomic theory. "Mechanical Monism," he declares, "will resolve the complex activity of the world-process, from the antecedents of inorganic Nature to the obscure incidents of man's history, into a thorough-going mechanism of atoms, and will reveal the idea of the universe (sought in vain by speculation in a thought, an end, or a plan), will reveal it, I say, in a single formula of mechanics."* This may explain why people, when off their guard, are apt to speak of the modern Kantian as a Materialist, for does he not propound his *Ignorabimus* in terms of matter? Hence, too, he is commonly reckoned an enthusiast for "atoms and the void," concerning which he perorates with such an air of conviction. Lange may scorn them, but the less refined Büchner has announced that physical science demonstrates the existence of atoms, and calls this one of its noblest triumphs. He knows that Phenomenism would acquiesce in the discovery—nay, would buy it at a great price. What though Otto Liebmann has remarked on the conception of atoms as "relative and limitary," and Schulze mocked, as a dreamer of dreams, the experimentalist that professes to have seen them with a microscope, and to be able to sketch their position on a black-board! If they are necessary to atheistic science, it is plain that they exist. To call them, as again Schulze does, "an imaginary supposition of the way in which things are really related," is to be false to the interests of "science." Still more so when Du Bois-Reymond concludes that, "on close examination, a metaphysical atom will turn out to be nonsense." It may be true, as Virchow says, that "physical phenomena lead us back to propositions which, in large measure, are so hypothetical, that it may be questioned whether in the event they will stand." And he may instance this very doctrine

* Tilmann Pesch, vol. ii. p. 112.

of atoms, "which no one has yet proved to be a satisfactory conclusion to our views of Nature." In like manner, Kekulé, a high authority, may tell us it is only speculating to assign definite atomic weights to the elements. All over Europe, scientific men may begin to suspect that there are problems in chemistry which even as a "working conception" the theory of atoms will not solve. The "void" of Lucretius again, a necessary complement of the atomic theory, may be neither demonstrated nor compatible with an all-pervading medium such as ether. And this of the ether, too, may be no longer firmly held; for, as discoveries multiply, the ground moves uneasily beneath the feet of science.* Yet Büchner, Vogt, and the rest of them will not dream of expunging the first article of their creed, "I believe in atoms." The impression will still be given that modern science has reinstated Lucretius, and that Lucretius and Darwin elucidate between them the entire sphere of experience in which Kant has imprisoned us. It may be, as it is, the real teaching of science that it employs atoms as it would counters, that the void is a "convenient fiction," and that it has no knowledge of Lucretius, the metaphysician. But these sticklers for fact are not to be argued down. If not square atoms, then spiral smoke-rings, and if not a vacuum, then a material ether must serve their turn and be the whole account of things. For, when Materialism fails, there is in the long-run no alternative but to admit final causes. Materialism is the great intrenched camp wherein atheism defends itself, the earthworks behind which it fights. Phenomenists say, "We must deny a purpose in Nature, else we shall be compelled to admit God; and, if we deny purpose, we cannot resist the conclusion that things are the outcome of Matter and Chance; for Mind and Chance are incompatible." Such is their line of defence; so it is that they become, as a rule, enthusiasts for matter; and now at last we may perceive the inward meaning of Darwinism.

For the theory of natural selection, though patient of a Theistic and Christian rendering, was in the mind of its author and his chief disciples intended to drive final causes out of the field. This is why the battle of Theism rages round Darwin. The argument from design of which Bacon says in another connection, that it throws over things an air of the ideal, has ever been most effective in controversy as in popular teaching; it seemed, and well it might, to make the existence of a living God as real and visible as the exquisite construction of a nerve or the beauty of a flower. What a crushing reverse, then, for religion, could it be shown that neither design

* On this interesting subject, consult Professor Mivart's suggestive and curious paper, "Mechanical Philosophy," in the *British Quarterly Review* for April, 1884.

nor intelligence was necessary, that "aimless chance" in the struggle of ten thousand forces might bring about all we ascribe to the purpose of the Creator! This, in theory, every one must have believed that did not believe in God; but, until Darwin, the vast amount of detailed circumstantial evidence requisite to counterbalance the Christian's appeal to facts was not forthcoming. Darwin's method precipitated the intelligent elements of the world, and left a *caput mortuum* which might be due to Eternal Energy, but was no product of Mind. He has thrown the whole weight of inductive science on the side of unbelief; and in this respect at least is the most powerful advocate of anti-theism the world has ever seen. Schleiermacher prophesied a blockade of Religion by "Science," but Darwin has turned it into a furious cannonade. No wonder infidels rejoice over him. They are not quite satisfied indeed. Herr Broun reminds him that loyal evolutionists object, not to multiplied acts of creation, but to any. Darwin, he said, would have committed a fatal error in allowing (what it does not appear that he ever seriously did allow) a creative act even as regards the lowest *algæ*. In as decided a tone Theodor von Bischoff declares that the idea of creation would be a most dangerous and objectionable barrier to scientific inquiry. Oscar Caspari has said that "the Darwinian theory is inconsistent with any view that upholds the existence of a transcendental Creator of the world who, like a *Deus ex machina*, should guide and govern all things." And, as I have had occasion to remark in the pages of this REVIEW, Strauss held precisely the same attitude towards Darwinism in his "Old and New Faith."* It may be true, as I have said, that there is an interpretation of the principle of natural selection which will leave Christianity unscathed and theology a science; but obviously it is not that version of it, but one diametrically opposed to Theism, to which Darwin owes his triumph. To quote Wigand for the last time, "Scientific theories discussed on their merits and rigidly tested, make but slow progress; Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton, waited long to be recognized by the world at large." Not so Darwin. The reason of the difference must be sought in the practical bearing of his theories. They made short work with religion. They announced that man is of one substance and origin with the brutes, that morality is ingrained custom, conscience a sense of expediency, human relations the outcome of instinct. They did away with the necessity of a God. Surely there are men in whose ears this would sound as a pleasing tale; and many more that might resist its influence, yet be troubled,

* *Vide* DUBLIN REVIEW, July, 1875, "Modern Society and the Sacred Heart."

fascinated, perhaps for a time subdued; while passion and self-will would discover in the "Origin of Species" a justification of liberties that Theism has ever held in check.

This, I take it, is the root of the matter. With much force and clearness it has been stated by the heir to an illustrious name, J. H. Fichte. He writes in his "Questions and Criticisms":—

To denote the peculiar genius of the current philosophy, the old formulas will no longer serve, the opposition between Pantheism and Deism, Dualism and Monism, or, when the origin of ideas is in question, Sensism and Intellectualism, Idealism and Realism; or, lastly, the quarrel of Dynamism and Atomism. All these special antagonisms are to-day gone by: they are swallowed up by the opposition between the mechanical and teleological views of things; or, in more brief and pregnant phrase, between Theism and Atheism. The great Culturkampf carried by the age we live in into all the branches of scientific education, centres in that highest and last alternative, whether, viz., in the moral as in the physical world blind necessity rules as an irresistible law of Nature, or whether, on the contrary, the visible universe, the inner world of conscious spirit, and their collective activities, are to be explained and comprehended in the last resort on the idea, however we conceive of it, of an absolutely intelligent principle.

Yes, that is the meaning of Darwinism. Science is busy with its fresh cosmogonies, and men and women are asking whether experience, civilization, and mature knowledge demonstrate that there is no God. The "priesthood of science" bids them shun anthropomorphism, final causes, the notion of free-will, or of a break in the continuity of Nature. Darwin himself tells them that science is agnostic. But an unknowable God is a contradiction; if He cannot reveal Himself, it is a proof that He does not exist. The course of things is showing that when men can no longer believe in God, they will by natural momentum subside into dogmatic disbelief, not graced with the sad poetry of a George Eliot, or a Senancour, or an Arthur Clough, but rude and fierce and impure, like the horrible cynicism that befouls so much of the life of France. And infidelity will have its janissaries, and the good of humanity will be murdered by them. Let us not be deceived. "The true idea of God," says F. Tilmann Pesch, "is clean vanished from the domain of modern science." And he quotes the memorable words of Schopenhauer, which I the more gladly set down here because they are an admirable combination of sense and insight, and show many things in their true perspective:—

It was Kant [says Schopenhauer] that made bold to demonstrate that the hitherto approved dogmas, the existence of God and of a

spiritual individual soul, were indemonstrable. From him speculative theology and the rational psychology bound up with it received a mortal stroke. Since then they have disappeared from German philosophy; nor should we be misled by the circumstance that here and there the word has been kept after the thing was given up.

In another work he adds :—

The admission of a cause distinct from the universe, is by no manner of means Theism, if it stands alone; for Theism demands not simply a cause distinct from the universe, but an intelligent, a knowing and willing, and thus a personal, nay, an individual cause; this alone it is that the word God denotes.

It cannot be pretended that there is here room for misunderstanding; and to such as are doubtful of Theism so defined Religion may truly say, "He that is not with me is against me."

But there is no need to be scrupulous. Modern science by the mouth of many of its eloquent defenders has declared very plainly that it is, and means to be, the enemy of God. Listen to F. von Hellwald in his "History of Culture," and from him conclude to the feelings and purpose of a host of others, to whom the falsehood of Theism is a great first truth.

The history of religious ideas [he begins] is nothing else than the history of human error, generally. But error is inextricably bound up with the spirit of man. The process of thought in the brain does not change, be the thinking right or wrong. Now this necessary error is *the ideal*. Man has a native tendency to frame ideals. It would be blocking the way to every deeper insight into things, did we hesitate to consider the first stirrings of religion in man as the first emergence of the Ideal. But this is, on the one hand, to grant that all religions are products of the spirit of man, nay, that they are pre-scientific products of the imagination, for every religion is older than men's reflections upon it; and, on the other, to make an end of the opinion of such as dream that a fully enlightened and irreligious future is possible.*

But it must be understood, as he proceeds to tell us, that "science is superior to religion;" that "since the root of science is scepticism, it is clean contrary to the spirit of faith;" and, finally, that it is the task of science "to ruin all ideals, to show their hollowness and nothingness; to prove that faith in God and religion are a cheat; that morality, justice, love, freedom, and the rights of man are lies; but at the same time to maintain the necessity of all these errors." Such is the *eirenicon* held out

* Tilmann Pesch, vol. ii. p. 501.

to Christianity, and to Theism under whatever form, by the leaders of scientific thought in these times. But religion cannot take advantage of such terms of peace. Herr von Hellwald has overlooked one point in his theory which vitiates the whole. He lays it down that delusions are necessary; but he does not consider that the converse is equally true, and that it is necessary they should be delusions, if they are to produce any effect. Now when we know that the mask is not a face, we shall never be able to deceive ourselves into thinking it one. Religion discovered to be a cheat will deceive no longer; and who, I wonder, is likely to pray to a God whose existence he has just been denying, and whose very idea he has learnt to call a useful fiction? No, if belief in God were really incompatible with science, it would not survive the demonstration that it was so. And in proportion as men have taken this view of the case they have ceased to worship God, looking on their former state of mind as a delusion, and with scorn or pity turning away from the discredited ideals of the past. It is impossible to respect Theism when we have learned to speak of God as an "illogical conception, developing, as times goes on, into a mass of contradictions." If the conception of a living Creator be "illogical and anti-logical," there is an end of the matter. It is not exactly a justification of the Ideal to assure us that it is necessary nonsense. But to this have men come with their Phenomenism, Darwinism, and Monism, their denial of the reality of things, rejection of final causes, devout worship of imaginary atoms and an unproved vacuum, with their struggle for existence and fierce dislike to an overruling Providence that might bring order out of chaos, and make religion—personal, unselfish, and lowly-minded—a duty even for the high priests of knowledge. The new gospel for learned and unlearned, as Professor Benedikt solemnly declares, will transform society and revolutionize its morals and religion in the light of the supremacy of matter. And matter is that which neither knows nor wills, which is everlasting but unconscious, necessary but nowise rational, the mother of all things and their grave, but neither just nor unjust, neither good nor evil; deaf and blind, and not to be moved by any prayer, Anangke but not even Nemesis; a passionless Fury, destroying and devouring without malice; not righteousness, nor mercy, nor love; not moving onward to a divine event of glory and retribution, as Christians say, but turning in an endless circle and to be comprehended or explained by no intelligence. The new god of Darwinism is essential Unreason; the last word of Science (falsely so-called) is a denial of its own name and its assumed work.

But now from all this, one thing, as we may hope, is clear, and

will be made clearer as time goes on; the task, as I said, to which Christian philosophy must address itself. If Darwinism, in its obvious and intended form, is the very apotheosis of Unreason it will be overthrown by nothing else than Reason—I mean, so far as the intellect is concerned. For to convert the heart is another matter, and, as St. Augustine tells us, “*Cathedram in cœlo habet qui docet corda.*” I am speaking merely of the human means at a Christian’s disposal; and of these by far the most powerful and promising is a constant appeal to Reason against Unreason. We must write in such characters that even those that run may read, how it is not the Theist but the Antitheist that shrinks from an appeal to intellect; we must prove, for it can be proved, that atheistic Darwinism is the outcome of an utterly fallacious employment of the understanding, and is not reasonable, but in the highest degree unreasonable, and an obstinate shutting of the eyes to an all-pervading light. It is our duty to proclaim that we are not afraid of any argument, or any assemblage of facts; but that we insist on giving its weight to every part of the evidence. We can afford to be bold. Passing over other grounds of demonstration, we may rest our Theism on the very foundation of physical science, which is that the world is intelligible, is neither a chaos nor a Bedlam, but an objective order allowing, and indeed inviting, us to explore it endlessly, and with the promise that it will be ever more and more intelligible, not more and more chaotic. A metaphysician of high authority in Rome, F. Palmieri, has remarked with as much truth as point in his “*Institutes of Philosophy*,” that one of the greatest calamities of the last three centuries has been the neglect of the study of physical science by orthodox Christians. We are now in no small measure reaping the reward of our disdain, if I may so term it, of “the things that are made,” to which St. Paul directed his gaze and that of his disciples when he would demonstrate the invisible things of God. Science is widely quoted as though it were in opposition to Christianity; nor are Christians themselves always at their ease when handling this theme. They would have more confidence were piety like Kepler’s associated with these studies in the popular imagination, rather than the careless or contemptuous atheism of a Laplace boasting that he had swept the heavens with his telescope and found no God. Had Darwin been of a Christian temper, and not, as Carlyle said, “the third of a generation of atheists,” that famous “*Origin of Species*” might have been a demonstration on the grandest scale of creative wisdom. It is not, I say, what scientific men know that hurts us; it is what they do not know. They are lamentably instructed in the doctrines they attack, and in the reasoning by which Christians defend them.

Nature has given into their hands a burning torch, and they must needs put out the eye of the soul with it! Schopenhauer dwelt with malicious pleasure on the ignorance of scientific men outside their own province; during the last twenty-five years he might have reaped a rich harvest of examples in the field of Darwinism. What imbecilities of "anthropomorphism" have not been charged upon Christians, made acquainted now for the first time by Mr. Herbert Spencer or Professor Hæckel with the monsters of opinion they had been nourishing in their bosoms? Great is the power of ignorance! But there had been less confusion and more light had the combination of believer and experimentalist not grown unhappily rare. If the Gospel is to be preached again to our civilized heathens, it will be well to take the Christian study of science as its forerunner, proclaiming by all the facts of Matter and Life and Mind, that "the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." St. Thomas Aquinas lays great stress on the preliminaries of the faith, which consist in an appeal to Reason, and to arguments the value of which Reason is fully competent to judge. I do not say a hasty thing when I affirm that to-day the weightiest *preambula fidei* are the truths of science expounded by Christian professors. Our apologists have never wished to leave the spirit of the age out of their consideration, though one may be permitted to doubt whether they have always understood what that spirit was. And now the old controversies are dead beyond the hope of resurrection, and heresy has nothing to say for itself. We may realize how great is the change if we take up works that in other times were a triumphant vindication of religion against its chief enemies; for example, Bellarmine, or Bossuet's "Variations;" or the "End of Controversy." In themselves these are solid as ever; they have not been refuted, for refutation, from the nature of the case, was impossible. Yet they speak to the world at large in an obsolete dialect, and of things with which it will not concern itself. If an unbeliever turns to Christianity, he, as a matter of course, betakes himself to the Catholic Church. Nor does he sit down with Bellarmine to prove the articles of the creed of Pius IV., or with Bossuet to show from history that Protestants have never known what exactly to believe. All these things are plain to him as soon as he can grant that a God there is who guides mankind to their destiny. On the other hand, when Christians fall away it is not into the Deism of a hundred years ago; Deism will not satisfy them, and they pass onward into the darkness of Du Bois-Reymond's *Ignorabimus*, or the lower *Bolze* where Hæckel cries aloud that there is no God but matter, and Von Hartmann laughs him to scorn saying there is no God but evil. What would the venerable apologists whose

names are dear to us have done in such company? I think they would have quietly laid aside their ancient writings and striven to make out what grounds were left in common to them and their antagonists. The common ground is Science, and whoso appeals to that may be sure of his footing.

But when the superstition that opposes Science to Religion has been put to flight by the spectacle of a multitude of good Christians engaged in science, and when our apologists invite a scientific audience around them, it will still be requisite to choose a method of exposition and to direct the arguments upon those points which command the rest. Now herein F. Tilmann Pesch gives us excellent schooling. Vast as the territory may be over which he travels, it is all mapped out, and he never loses his way. From all points of the compass he returns again and again to the centre; and that centre is the doctrine of final causes, of intelligence in Nature as demonstrated by facts. This may be called the fundamental dogma in theology with which science is in contact. It covers, as we have seen, the whole of Darwinism; it suggests the answer to whatever imperils religion in that network of theories. Until the doctrine of final causes has been made out from the premisses supplied by scientific observation, nothing is won that may not be lost again. For as we should learn from Schopenhauer, it is no gain to prove efficient causality against Hume if we do not prove final causality against Darwin. A cause of things devoid of intellect is not God but some monster of the Materialists, or at best the "Unconscious" whom Von Hartmann has made his god. Nor again will it serve to overthrow Phenomenism, if the realities established by us do not proclaim that the *Real* from which they come is Conscious Spirit. Nor though we should refute Monism with its confusion of all things in one, shall we have advanced our cause unless the Dualism we set up in its stead is that of creatures depending on a Creator they can know and love, and that can love them. Let the mind, however, have once been persuaded that the root and ground of things is indeed spiritual; that it is intellect alone which can account for the universe, and that intellect *can* account for it, then the great difficulty will have been laid low and the decisive step taken. All the grace and comfort of the most beautiful Christian teaching lies hid in the demonstration that reason and not blind necessity is at the heart of the world. Nor can any doctrine be more inspiring, more buoyant than this. It implies doubtless, that Nature is a parable; what it for ever makes an end of is the fancy that Nature is a riddle which cannot be read.

Christian philosophy, then, should set out with the admission that Science is no delusion, but is valid and true; and in undertaking to solve the problems of Being and Becoming it should

ignore no element and suppress none. But such, as I need hardly say, is the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, which needs only to be drawn from his various works and exhibited in modern speech, to meet the most pressing difficulties of the day.

Nor can I forbear adding, in conclusion, that a striking confirmation of the truth of St. Thomas's principles may be found in the union they present of depth and solidity, as always rising from fact into the region of the Ideal. Like the art of Greece, Catholic philosophy is sublime, clear, simple, and majestic; it is progressive and fruitful, precise in distinctions, sane and poetic. Contrast modern philosophy with this. Who that knows it will deny that, in spite of its protesting that law is its light, modern thought is the opposite both of law and light, and dwells on what I may term the insane aspects of existence, dwells on pain and evil and death, not to show the good in them, but to confound health and life and holiness? I do not speak without book. Consider Kant's Phenomenism, Hegel's Idealism, Schopenhauer's Pessimism. Consider, again, the disorder, mental and moral, incident to Mr. Spencer's subordination of mind to matter and of character to the environment; or to Mr. Huxley's demonstration that man is no more than a brute; or Mr. Tyndall's dissipation of immortality into the infinite azure. And when all this has been pondered, say how long society could last were these the principles it believed in.

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

ART. III.—CHRISTIANITY IN LANCASHIRE IN ROMAN AND CELTIC TIMES.

1. *Watkins' Roman Lancashire*. Liverpool. 1883.
2. *The Making of England*. By J. R. GREEN, M.A., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1881.
3. *Lives of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern*. Edited by A. P. FORBES, Bishop of Brechin.

THE early history of what now forms the important county of Lancaster, is involved in great obscurity. The most ancient remains of man to be found in the district are the Calder Stones, near Wavertree, Liverpool. They consist of five upright unhewn stones, the remains of a circle, carved with cup and ring sculpturing, of a type prevalent throughout Britain at a period long anterior to the invasion of the Romans. Sir James Y. Simpson ascribes these remains to the early Stone period before the introduction of metallic tools; and he maintains that they point to a race different

from, and probably anterior to, the appearance of the Celtic race in these islands. The word "Galdar," in Anglo-Saxon means "Wizard," a term not unlikely to have been applied by our rude Saxon forefathers to these mysterious stones, of whose import they were ignorant.* A wide interval separates these early sculptures from historical times, when the ambition and valour of the Romans made Britain known to the rest of the world. But nearly a thousand years after the Roman conquest, the materials for composing the history of this county are few and scanty; and this is true alike of both the secular and ecclesiastical order.

The district now divided into the counties of York, Lancaster, Westmoreland, Cumberland and Durham, was, at the time when we first become acquainted with it, inhabited by a tribe called the Brigantes, a fierce and warlike tribe, one of the most numerous in Britain. The onward progress of the Roman army brought it into contact with this powerful tribe, in the year 50, under the governor Ostorius; but it is not till the year 78 that we find a direct allusion to Lancashire proper, then inhabited by a subdivision of the tribe named "Setantii," from words signifying "dwellers by the waters," a name curiously expressive of the moist character of the county. In that year, the famous general and statesman Agricola, after a successful campaign in Anglesea, marched northwards towards the borders of Scotland. Tacitus, his son-in-law and biographer, clearly indicates the country through which his route lay, by his description of it as marked by woods and estuaries. His conquest of the district was complete, for he allowed the enemy no rest, following up without delay every success. He placed garrisons and fortresses in suitable positions, choosing with such judgment, that he effectually secured the maintenance of tranquillity. He then tried the effects of good usage and the allurements of peace, and thus established the Roman authority on a firm basis.

Where the earliest Roman forts were fixed in Lancashire it is difficult to determine, but the best writers place amongst them Mancunium (Manchester), Bremetonacæ or Bremetonacum (Ribchester), and Galacum (Overborough). These were connected by roads, many of which can be traced to this day. Thus Mancunium was, on the south, linked with Deva (Chester), a great military station for centuries. One road led northwards to Bremetonacæ, on through Galacum to Carlisle; another through Coccium (Wigan) to Walton-le-Dale, and on to Lancaster; while a third route proceeded westwards from Bremetonacæ into the Fylde to Kirkham; and a fourth from Bremetonacæ through

* Sir J. Picton's "Liverpool," vol. i. p. 3.

Goosnargh and Claughton to Galgate and Lancaster. The winter of 78 was spent by Agricola in civilizing the conquered tribes, instructing them in the art of building houses, temples, and places of public resort. The sons of chiefs were taught the liberal sciences, and learnt the Roman language.

We hear little more of Lancashire, properly so called, during the remainder of the Roman occupation. In his list of the towns of the Brigantes, Ptolemy, the Alexandrian geographer, who wrote about the year 140, mentions only two which we can claim as being situated in Lancashire—viz., Rigodunum and Calatum. Of these Rigodunum has not been identified, but seems to have been on the Ribble, and Calatum is probably the same as Galacum or Overborough in North Lancashire. However, this distinguished geographer gives more space to the estuaries on the western coast, and names that of Morecambe, the Haven of the Setantii, and the estuaries of Belisama and Seteia. Mr. Watkin in his "Roman Lancashire" considers these to be, respectively, Morecambe Bay, the Ribble, the Mersey, and the Dee.

While York became an important city, a great military centre, the seat of government, and often the residence of the emperor, no town in Lancashire attained any greater importance than that of a second-rate military post. Chester owed the distinction of being a legionary station, to its advantageous strategical situation near the restless tribes of the unconquered British; while Carlisle in the far north became important as the westernmost station which guarded the Roman wall of Hadrian, between the Tyne and the Solway.

To these scanty notices of localities in Lancashire given by Ptolemy, we may add somewhat more detailed information from the Antonine Itinerary. This is a sort of working road-book, containing a list of the chief military roads of the Roman Empire, with the names of the stations upon them, and an approximate measurement of the distances between each station. It appears to have been drawn up in the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, about A.D. 140. Two of the Iters make mention of places in Lancashire, the tenth and the second. The tenth Iter gives the route from Glanoventa or Whiteley Castle, in Cumberland, through Lancashire and Cheshire to Chesterton in Staffordshire, a distance of about 156 miles. Mancunium is the only town named in the Iter whose site is known with certainty, and the clue to the other places has to be obtained from it. From Mancunium to Coccium, the distance given is seventeen miles, almost the exact distance between Manchester and Wigan. The next place is Bremetonacæ or Ribchester, about twenty miles, by the Roman road through Walton-le-Dale; followed by Calacum or Overborough, twenty-seven miles, and Alone or Borrowbridge,

in Lonsdale, seventeen miles. These are the only Lancashire localities mentioned, and we need not follow the road further to the north or the south.

The second Iter gives a station named Mamutium, between York and Chester, and places it at eighteen miles from Condate (or Kinderton in Cheshire), in this agreeing with the tenth Iter; so that it is evidently the same as the Mancunium already mentioned.

With these slender notices from contemporary documents of Lancashire during the first four centuries of the Christian era, we are forced to be content; and it is not until the fourth decade of the fifth century, about 432, after the death of Honorius the Emperor, that another official compilation, the "*Notitia Imperii*," affords us a passing glimpse of Lancashire.

This work gives us a list of the Roman Provinces, with the titles of the Governors, and of the chief civil and military dignitaries, a list of the forces under each, and the names of the places where they were in garrison. Among other items regarding the North of England, it names a troop of Sarmatian horse at Bremetonacæ. No other place in Lancashire is mentioned. In this list even that of Manchester does not occur, nor do we meet with it again until the *Chronography of Ravenna*, compiled probably in the sixth or seventh century, where it may appear under the form of Mantio.*

It is scarcely possible to conceive a more meagre account from Roman authors, of a county which now fills so important a place in nineteenth-century history. For four hundred years the Romans occupied Britain, and during that long period of time history records no event as occurring in Lancashire, mentions no place memorable for renowned deed, no person whose name is worthy of being held in remembrance. True Tacitus, the most distinguished historian of his time, relates its conquest by the renowned Agricola, but he describes no feat of arms, no brilliant achievements on the part of either conqueror or conquered. His narrative only suggests the irresistible might of Roman arms, and the sullen but complete submission of the inhabitants. The discoveries of antiquarians do indeed add something to our knowledge, and from the tracks of roads constructed with all the solidity of Roman workmanship, from the ruins of forts or temples, or baths; from coins of numerous Emperors, and the altars dedicated to deities held in honour by the Romans, we can gather something more of the condition of Lancashire in Roman times. Further notices are confined to the plodding industry of a geographer, or to the mechanical precision of an official, drawing

* Watkins, p. 124.

up a statement of the direction of a road, or the locality of a battalion of foot or a troop of horse.

It will be noticed that in the list of places named above that of Liverpool does not occur. In Roman times it was nothing more than a marsh on the banks of the Mersey. Preston did not come into existence till many centuries later, and the same may be said of many large and flourishing towns of the present time. The fortunes of the places known to the Romans have been widely different. Mancunium has developed into the city of Manchester, while Bremetonacum, which was the most important of all the military stations in Lancashire, has dwindled into the poor straggling village of Ribchester. As for Galacum, it has completely disappeared, and a gentleman's mansion and out-buildings now cover the spot where Roman sentries paced and Roman soldiers kept guard.

The religion of Lancashire was that of the rest of Britain. When the Romans first landed in the island, they found a priestly caste of Druids, in the enjoyment of great credit and influence. The Isle of Mona, or Anglesea, was one of their strongholds, and their stirring appeals to their countrymen to resist the advances of the Romans so irritated that haughty people that Suetonius, and later on Agricola, pursued them thither and put great numbers of them to the sword. The near neighbourhood of Lancashire to Anglesea prepares us to expect that the worship of the Druids would be found also in it, and accordingly we find many places which by their names tell of this ancient superstition. The Druids worshipped in groves, and held in especial honour the oak and the mistletoe; and as great portions of Lancashire at this period were covered with forests of oak, in these the Druids found suitable spots for their religious observances. Goosnargh and Grimsargh, Kellamergh and Angle-sark, still retain in their final syllable the sign of their having been so used, as "argh" in a Scandinavian dialect means a sacred grove or temple. The Romans of course introduced into their newly conquered possession the religion of ancient Rome, so that Jupiter, Mars and Apollo, Minerva and Isis, had their altars and temples. Numerous altars to Fortune, to the manes of the dead, and sometimes to local deities, have been found at Manchester, Ribchester, or Lancaster. An altar found at Lancaster to the most holy god, Jalonus, is supposed to indicate the worship paid to the deity presiding over the Lune; one to Mars Cocidius, also found at Lancaster, and now preserved in the Assize Court in the castle; and another from Ribchester to Apollo Maponus, are likewise supposed to be in honour of British deities. Stonyhurst still possesses an altar from Ribchester dedicated to the Mother Goddesses, and a statue of Jupiter found at Manchester, and a

signet-ring bearing an intaglio of Mercury in a blood-stone, from Ribchester, are evidences of the homage paid to these false deities. During these centuries of Roman domination there are no evidences of the Christian religion having prevailed in Lancashire, and yet there can be no doubt that it was preached here as well as in other parts of Britain. Before the end of the second century the conversion of a British prince, Lucius, facilitated the spread of the Gospel in this country; episcopal Sees were founded in the most important cities, as London and York, and naturally the latter would have jurisdiction in Lancashire. Eborius of York is mentioned as sitting at the Council of Arles in 314, as one of a deputation of British bishops. Constantine was born at York, but his conversion to Christianity would have little influence on religion in Lancashire, for it did not take place for some years after he left Britain—viz., in the year 311; and the same may be said of the holy Empress Helen, his mother, who became a Christian at the same time. The campaigns of the Emperor Theodosius, half a century later, would do little more than free the country from the devastations of the Picts and Scots, whom he drove back for a time beyond the Forth and the Clyde. During the fourth century the ravages of these northern tribes were frequent throughout the north of England. Fire and sword spread havoc amongst the towns and country alike, and the temples and law courts of the Romans became heaps of charred ruins. At Ribchester, in 1813, Dr. Whitaker found a stratum of charcoal close by the ruins of a temple, immediately under the vegetable mould, evidently the remains of a timber roof which had been burned.*

There is abundant evidence that Lancashire had attained a considerable degree of civilization, and even refinement, during the Roman period. The settled rule of the Romans, their taste for splendour and personal adornment, produced their natural results wherever they occupied the land; and to this day the researches of antiquarians in this county are often crowned by the discovery of articles of dress, of baths and porticoes, and other indications of a highly polished society. But so far, not a solitary monument of Christian art has been discovered in Lancashire; though of course it is possible that a Christian tomb or inscription may almost at any time reward the patient toil of the explorer. To this period succeeds a long interval of complete darkness. But though the civilization of Rome entirely disappeared, Christianity must have still prevailed to a certain extent; and when the clouds again break, and we light on a passing mention of Lancashire, we find a

* Watkins' "*Roman Lancashire*," p. 147.

Christian bishop speaking to a Christian people. However feeble the light, it seems never to have been completely extinguished. We read of Lancashire during the fifth and sixth centuries only incidentally, as the ground traversed on the way from Wales to the south of Scotland; but what was true of these districts must also be true to a certain extent of the intervening tract which was subject to the same temporal and spiritual rulers. The division of the country into counties was of after-growth, and even the distinction between England and Scotland, as it now exists, was not to arise for many centuries. St. Ninian, who was born on the south bank of the Solway Firth, about 360, and who flourished as Bishop of Whithorne in the fifth century, was as much at home on the north as on the south side of the border. In his youth there were both churches and schools, frequented by Christians, in what is now the county of Cumberland, and we cannot greatly err in assuming that it would be much the same on the banks of the Mersey or Ribble. However, be that as it may, the rule of the Romans was succeeded by a complete break-up of any central authority. Power fell naturally into the hands of local chiefs, and was exercised by them in their immediate neighbourhoods, until the courage or good fortune of an individual enabled him to reduce the other chiefs to subjection. The rest of our island, from Land's End to the Clyde, remained British or Celtic long after the eastern coasts and the midland districts had yielded to the Saxons, and, as a consequence of this, Christianity continued to be the religion of the land. Indeed, as I hope to show in a future number, the Saxons of Northumbria had themselves become Christians before they established their sway over Lancashire.

The history of St. Patrick's youth supplies us with a striking instance of the lawlessness and of the utter insecurity of property and personal liberty which followed on the break-up of the Roman power in North-western Britain. The wall of Antonine, between the Firths of the Forth and the Clyde, marked out the limits within which the Romans, in the heyday of their power, confined themselves. They might pursue the retreating enemy further towards the north, but they were content to hold as a subject territory the district south of this line. Like other Roman works, it was solid and substantial. This great work, as it presents itself to the inspection of those who have examined it minutely, consists of a huge rampart of intermingled stone and earth, strengthened by sods of turf, and must originally have measured twenty feet in height and twenty-four feet in breadth at the base. It was surmounted by a parapet, having a level platform behind it, for the protection of its defenders. In front there extended along the whole course an immense fosse, averaging about forty

feet wide and twenty feet deep. To the southward of the whole was a military way, presenting the usual appearance of a Roman causewayed road.* Beginning from Chapel Hill, near West Kilpatrick, on the Clyde, it runs a distance of twenty-seven miles to Bridgeness, near Carriden, on the Firth of Forth, having at intervals of two miles small square forts, or stations, which, judging from those that remain, amounted in all to nineteen in number, and between them were smaller watch-towers.† Four forts, which may still be easily traced, linked the extremity of the wall with the great fortress of Aldclyde, of which Kilpatrick was an outpost. At Kilpatrick, a church in honour of the saint now stands on the site of a very ancient church, which itself had supplanted one still more ancient; and a holy well, once dedicated to St. Patrick, situated a little to the south of the graveyard, still pours forth its cooling waters. Aldclyde itself, or the "Rock of the Clyde," is a precipitous rock of basalt, which rises sheer up from the circumjacent low, flat, marshy tract to a height of about 300 feet. It is on the north bank, and stands completely isolated from any other elevated ground. Towards the summit it forms a double peak, and is cleft by a narrow but deep chasm. The plain was known to the Britons as "Magh-Tabern," to the Romans as "Campus Tabernaculorum," from the number of huts erected by the Roman armies encamped there. In 369 the Emperor Theodosius sent his troops to the banks of the Clyde, so that, by occupying the forts, the northern marauders might be kept in check. Again, in the year 396, when the Britons applied to the Roman commander Stilicho for aid, a legion was sent to Britain, which for a time drove back the invading tribes, and garrisoned the wall between the Forth and the Clyde.†

The father of St. Patrick occupied a distinguished position in the government of the municipality, holding the post of Decurio, or Provincial Senator. He was a Christian and he had been ordained Deacon. His wife, Conches or Concessa, was a sister or niece of the great St. Martin of Tours. Up to the age of fifteen the boy dwelt in peace under his father's roof near the village of Bannaven Tabernia, now Kilpatrick, and we may presume would enjoy the advantages of a classical and religious education at the neighbouring town of Aldclyde. But about the year 388 the storm, which had been long threatening, burst on the little villa on the banks of the Clyde, and St. Patrick with a great multitude of hapless companions was carried off by the savage pirates, and he himself was sold as a slave to a landed proprietor in Antrim, on the north-east coast of Ireland. The

* Skene, "Celtic Scotland," vol. i. p. 77.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 105.

saint's after career does not here concern us, but the incident of his captivity is characteristic of the times, and gives us a lively idea of the horrors which befell the unfortunate Roman Provincials, as the power of the Central Government declined, and the northern hordes became emboldened by impunity. I have another reason for dwelling in some detail on the youth of St. Patrick, for he is one, and the greatest, of the three saints whose virtues and supernatural gifts shed a lustre on the obscure little kingdom of Strathclyde.

St. Patrick, St. Ninian, and St. Kentigern all belong to the same Celtic race which in the sixth century was gathered together into one kingdom under the firm hand of Rydderch Hael, ruling from the impregnable rock of Aldclyde, or Dumbarton. Perhaps it was this feeling of identical nationality which prompted our Lancashire forefathers to dedicate to St. Patrick the very ancient church of Heysham, which will be mentioned later on in this article.

York seems to have fallen before the Saxon invaders about the year 500, and so, if not earlier, it would cease then to be the seat of a bishopric. It became a mere heap of ruins, but marks of its greatness survived in the lofty walls and towers which awed Alcuin two centuries later. Ælla in 559 became King of Deira or Yorkshire, while Ida, a little further to the north, placed the seat of his government at Bamborough, and extended his sway to the Forth. Meanwhile, on the western coast, the raids of the Picts were equally disastrous in Cumberland and Lancashire, and the charred ruins found at Maryport and Ribchester are witnesses of the fruitless struggle maintained by the ancient Provincials. But there was this important difference between the incursions of the Saxons and the Picts: the Picts, after ravaging and destroying, returned with their booty to their native hills, while the Saxons settled on the lands which their valour had won. Thus it happened that the Britons retained on the western coasts their national and political existence for many centuries to come. The impenetrable fastnesses of Elmet enabled the Britons to keep their invader at bay for more than a century. This district which, roughly speaking, corresponds with the West Riding of Yorkshire, was bounded on the west by the range of hills separating Lancashire from Yorkshire, and served as a screen to protect our county from the advances of the Saxons, and it was not until nearly 250 years had elapsed from the landing of the Saxons in Kent in 438, that the Britons of the Lake District were finally conquered.

In considering then the state of Lancashire during the sixth century, we must bear in mind that we have to deal with an exclusively Celtic population, and that Christianity always main-

tained some hold upon it. The country would be in an extremely rude state, and the population very sparse: the towns surviving from Roman times would become little more than desolate mounds of ruins, or at best straggling villages. Perhaps not more than 2,000 or 3,000 people would occupy what now counts nearly as many millions of inhabitants. The forests covered large portions of the country; even as late as the Domesday survey there were 250,000 acres of dense woods in the region between the Mersey and Ribble alone. North of the Ribble, moor, forest, and fen would share between them the greater part of the surface. Of course the annals of such a district are a mere blank, not the name even of a town or person occurs for centuries. There was no orderly succession of rulers, but sometimes a chieftain from Wales proper, at another from the banks of the Clyde, exercised an uncertain and ever-varying authority. No chief of native birth is ever mentioned; no ecclesiastid has left any record of his labours, until, in the middle of the sixth century, we come upon the preaching and labours of St. Kentigern. It may be here convenient to call attention to the fact that Lancashire, even to this day, retains more than most English counties the signs of its long subjection to Celtic influences. The names of its rivers and mountains are mostly Celtic, though perhaps in this it does not differ materially from other districts; but more than this, many words used in common life, and familiar to that portion of the population using the provincial dialects, offer convincing proofs of the same close connection with the ancient Celtic inhabitants. Among the rivers we find the Lune, formerly Alauna, the "white water;" the Ribble is the "fast river," the Douglas the "black water," the Calder a "crooked water," and the Brock is thoroughly Celtic in form and meaning. Windermere is simply "beautiful water," and Derwent is "clear water," though, when it appears under the form of Darwen, a dweller on its banks, as it empties itself into the Ribble, may well doubt the fitness of the application. Morecambe is the winding or twisting sea. The same may be said of the Hills. Pendle Hill is a curious instance. It is well known that Pen is Celtic or Welsh for Hill. The Saxon invaders would ask the native inhabitants what was the name of the adjoining hill, and be told that it was Pen, or the Hill, and adopt this as its proper name. By degrees they added their own suffix "hill," and thus arose Penhill or Pendle, and in course of time a second "hill," so that Pendle Hill is really equivalent to Hill-Hill-Hill. The names of villages and towns are of a later date, and it has been said that Wigan is the only town in Lancashire whose name is Celtic, being derived from a word signifying a battle or beating. The word wiggling still signifies in our local dialect a "thrashing." Cloughton-on-Brock is a good specimen

of an old Celtic appellation, modified in the course of time by the later inhabitants. The oldest form of it was Clachan, a hamlet, and in this form it would be given by the natives to the Saxon stranger as the name of the place. Indeed, it still survives in the title of a now disused road called Clekken Lane. To this the newcomers would add their favourite "ton," so that it would become Clachanton; as usual it would be abbreviated in the course of time, and the second syllable, as in the case of Oxenford (Oxford), be omitted; it would then be pronounced Clachtan, and it is as Clactune that it actually appears in Domesday Book, where we first meet with it.

Among other relics of Celtic words still in use among the common people are the words "boggart" and "gradely," while "spree" and "prank" are survivals from Celtic not peculiar to Lancashire. Mr. Thornber (in his "History of Blackpool," p. 17) says, "that he had frequently been told by those who were reputed judges, that the Fylde country manners, customs, and dialect partook far more of the Welsh than of the Saxon, and that this was more perceptible half a century ago than at present." And Palgrave, in his "History of the Anglo-Saxons," says: "From the Ribble, in Lancashire or thereabouts, up to the Clyde, there existed a dense population composed of Britons, who preserved their national language and customs, agreeing in all respects with the Welsh of the present day; so that, even to the tenth century, the ancient Britons still inhabited the greater part of the western coast of the island, however much they had been compelled to yield to the political superiority of the Saxon invaders."

The tradition of the Celtic character of the Lancashire people in the sixth century is further confirmed by the occurrence of the prefix "kil" in such words as "Kilgrimol" and "Killingsough." Kilgrimol is situated near Lytham, and before the Norman Conquest there was built there a church of shingles, replaced afterwards by one of stone. Probably before the advent of the Saxons, this was the site of an ancient British sanctuary, and Grimol may have been the name of some renowned anchorite. Similarly, Killingsough, the name of a farm in Fulwood near Preston, may record the name of another sanctuary of the Britons. But a far more important relic of those old British times in Lancashire is to be found in the venerable ruins of Heysham, near Lancaster. Here on a rock abruptly jutting up from the sea, and commanding an extensive view of all the windings and intricacies of Morecambe Bay, is a rude chapel of simple and massive construction. The mortar is chiefly composed of burnt shells, and has become harder than the rock itself. The building is devoid of all decoration or architectural effect, is rude and very small, being only 24 ft. long by 7½ wide. A single window gives light to the

altar, and the doorway is so narrow that a bulky man would find a difficulty in passing through. Apparently it dates from a very remote period, and probably belongs to the time I am now writing about—the sixth century. The reasons for this conjecture are that, in this century, Lancashire was occupied by a Celtic race, closely akin to the Irish; that frequent intercourse was maintained between Ireland and the south of Scotland and Wales; and that it is highly probable that this little chapel, dedicated to the patron saint of Ireland, was erected on the bold promontory of Heysham to serve as a beacon to the ships navigating this treacherous sea. After the coming of the Saxons, it is not likely that an Irish saint would have been chosen as the patron of a Lancashire chapel. It is remarkable that Bede,* writing in the eighth century, though he speaks at length about Ireland, makes no mention of St. Patrick, and we may well imagine that his ignorance of the saint would be shared by his Saxon fellow-countrymen, while, on the other hand, there is no improbability in the earlier occupiers of the coast being well acquainted both with Ireland and its patron saint. It is thus not at all unlikely that this venerable remnant of Christian architecture may go back to a period before St. Augustine landed in Britain in the last decade of the sixth century.

It is time now to say something of the political and ecclesiastical condition of Lancashire at this period. Certainly the materials are extremely scanty for filling up a sketch, however meagre. Bede scarcely helps us at all; for whilst his notices of the events happening in the east and south of England supply us with a sufficiently precise idea of Anglo-Saxon history, he seems to have known little or nothing of what is now called Lancashire. We must go, therefore, further afield in search of information; and from incidental passages in the books left us by Welsh writers, we can at least glean some particulars of what was going on in Lancashire.

A prince named Maelgwyn at this time reigned in North Wales, and his authority extended northwards over the Celtic races as far as the Clyde; indeed, Bishop Forbes does not hesitate to call him "the Prince of all Cymraeg;" and he appears to have exercised more authority than was usually enjoyed by the princes of his race and language. We have a very unflattering character of him from a writer of his own nation—the famous Gildas. This writer, who gives us the year of his own birth as that of the great battle of Badon Hill, fought between the British and Saxons in 516, is the earliest British writer of whom we have certain knowledge; and from his pages we can gather

* Bede does not mention St. Patrick in his "History," but in his "Martyrology," marks March 17th, as the anniversary of his death.

some notion of the literary attainments of a scholar of the time. His language is vigorous and outspoken; and he displays the familiar acquaintance with Scriptural language and allusions so usual with writers of the Middle Ages. He inveighs bitterly against the vices and corruptions of his fellow-countrymen; both princes and ecclesiastics smart under his lash. On Maelgwyn, whom he calls Maglocune, he is especially severe, addressing him in these strong terms: "Oh, thou dragon of ye island! who hast deprived many kings of their dominions and of their lives, though thou occupiest the last place in my writings, thou art first in mischief. Thou exceedest many in power as also in malice. Thou art more liberal in gifts than others, and also more licentious in sin. Thou art strong in arms, but still stronger in accomplishing the destruction of thine own soul. Maglocune, why art thou (as though inflamed with wine of the grapes of Sodom) revelling in the black pool of thine offences? Why dost thou wilfully heap a mountain of sins upon thy royal shoulders? Why dost thou show thyself to the King of kings, who hast bestowed upon thee both power and physical strength beyond almost every other king in Britain, not equally superior in virtue than the others, but rather the contrary, for thy sins are much worse."

Then the holy monk proceeds to enumerate such as were public and known of the evil deeds of this prince. "Didst thou not, even in thine early youth, oppress the king, thine uncle, and his soldiers, with sword, spear, and fire, having no regard to the words of the prophet, which say, 'the blood-thirsty and deceitful man shall not live out half his days. . . . Woe be to thee who spoilest, and shall not thou thyself be spoiled?'"

Gildas then goes on to describe how Maelgwyn, being torn by remorse, entered the cloister, meditated on the ritual of the Lord and on the rules of the monks, and finally took the vows of religion, with a firm intention of observing them faithfully, giving joy to the Church, and benefiting his own soul. Maelgwyn did not persevere in the religious life; but, giving ear to the devil, the father of all castaways, he threw off the habit of the cloister. His conversion had given joy to heaven and earth, and his return to evil ways was the cause of grief and lamentation. Gildas then contrasts the two phases of the life of this prince. Instead of listening to the praises of God, sweetly chanted by the soldiers of the Lord, or sounded forth by instruments of ecclesiastical melody, he now hearkens with pleasure to his own praise issuing from the mouths of the drunken votaries of Bacchus. If, whilst residing in the cloister, this unfortunate prince put a check on his passions, the moment he left it he cast all restraint aside, and perpetrated every imaginable crime. Violating his religious vow of continence, he seduced the wife of

his own nephew, and finally murdered his own lawful wife and his nephew also, whose widow he afterwards married publicly, to the great scandal of every honest man in Wales.

In reference to this event Gildas writes :—

“ What holy person is there who would not weep and lament at hearing such a history ? What priest whose heart lieth open before God would not, whilst listening to it, exclaim with the prophet, ‘ Who shall give water to my head, and to my eyes a fountain of tears, that day and night I may bewail my people who are destroyed ? ’ ” *

From this description we may infer how wild and lawless were the times. It seemed as if the possession of power, freed from every external check, had rendered the petty princes of Britain utterly regardless of all law, human and divine, so that they seemed powerless to resist their evil passions. And yet their lawlessness did not extinguish their belief in the Christian religion, nor render them insensible to its spirit and holy maxims. This very Maelgwyn is an instance ; and the man, stained with crime as he was, was a generous benefactor to religion. He is stated to have founded the See of Bangor and the religious houses of Penmore and Caergybi. He built also a church at Llanrhos, which he dedicated to St. Hilary. His becoming a monk is a proof that he felt remorse for his sins, though his return to the world, and his falling into even greater excesses, tells us only too clearly of the instability of his repentance.

Such was the turbulent character of the king who in the middle of the sixth century was lord paramount over the British people, still holding the whole western coast of our island. Of a very different stamp was Rydderch Hael, the prince of Aldclyde, who owned him as his lord and who under him won the great battle of Ardderyd, near Carlisle, in the year 573. It is not easy to give any very intelligible account of this event or of the state of things of which it was the outcome. But this much may be stated without fear of error, that Gwendoleu, a powerful chief, had rebelled against Maelgwyn, that he espoused the cause of the ancient paganism of the country, and that Maelgwyn summoned to his aid his feudatories or allies, Rhydderch, already established at Aldclyde, and Aidan, whom St. Columba had consecrated King of Dalriada. The allied forces met the enemy at the caer (or camp) of Gwendoleu. The spot is still marked by the remains of an ancient earthwork, about nine miles from Carlisle, dominating the river Esk in close vicinity to Solway Moss, and within sight of the great “ Strength ” of Birrenwerk. The Welsh Triads, written in the twelfth century,

* See “ *Cambria Sacra*,” p. 576.

are of very doubtful historical authority, and yet in their wild and mythical description of this battle there may be some grains of truth. At all events, they are witnesses to the popular tradition that Gwendoleu with his sacred fires and birds which devoured men, fought for the maintenance of ancient superstition.

Rhydderch was of Irish extraction on his mother's side, and had been baptized and instructed in Ireland. The surname Hael denotes "liberal," and he was celebrated as one "of the three liberal princes of Britain." Joceline of Furness thus describes him :—

"Glory and riches were in his house, generosity in his heart, politeness in his mouth, munificence in his hand; for that the Lord had blessed the works of his hands, so that not only to the regions in his own neighbourhood, but even across the sea to Ireland, the fame of his liberality extended." *

By this victory, Rhydderch's ascendancy became firmly established, and though he continued to reside at Aldelyde, now Dumbarton, he seems to have succeeded to much of the power of Maelgwyn, of whom we hear little more, and his authority reached to the borders of Wales, and hence Lancashire became subject to his rule.

This brings us to a most interesting passage in our ecclesiastical history, the matter which more immediately concerns us, and St. Kentigern, surnamed Mungo or the Beloved, appears upon the scene. This surname was not given to him in vain, and I trust to inspire my readers with some of the same interest and devotion which his career has enkindled in my own breast. He was of the same British stock as the inhabitants of Wales and the rest of the western coast, but he was born at Culross on the northern shore of the Firth of Forth early in the sixth century, somewhere about 518. Here from his early infancy he was placed in a monastery, where he was carefully and piously brought up, and became so great a favourite as to receive the name of Mungo, by which he is still well known in Scotland. Even at this early time we find the old Celtic monasteries supplying the place of schools and orphanages in this otherwise wild period. While a complete disregard of the obligations both of religion and citizenship too often was the rule in the world, the peaceful inmates of the cloister practised obedience and humility, and cultivated diligently both letters and all the arts of peace. When grown up to manhood he retired to a cell hard by a cemetery, which had been consecrated by St. Ninian, Bishop of Whitherne, nearly 200 years before, on the site of the now great city of Glasgow. Disciples, attracted by his loving sweetness

* Cap. xxvii.

and his saintly behaviour, soon gathered about him. When he was only twenty-five years of age, the fame of his sanctity had spread so widely that prince and people agreed in choosing him for their bishop, and an Irish bishop was sent for to consecrate him. He fixed his See at Glasgow, and the community of monks who gathered about him was the first commencement of what is now one of the greatest cities in the Empire. His pious exercises, his unsparing mortification of himself, and his incessant labours for the salvation of souls, proved him to be the model of a Christian bishop. Joceline gives the following description of his personal appearance:—

“Holy Kentigern in the form of his body is said to have been of middle stature, rather inclining unto tallness, and it is asserted that he was of robust strength, capable to a considerable extent of enduring great fatigue, in the labours both of body and soul. He was beautiful to look upon and graceful in form. Having a countenance full of grace and reverence, dove-like eyes, cheeks like the turtle-dove, he attracted the hearts of all who beheld him. His outward cheerfulness was the sign and most faithful interpreter of that inward peace which flooded all things, with a certain contentment of holy joy and exultation, which the Lord bestowed upon him.” *

And in cap. xiii. he thus speaks of his mode of dress:—

“He used the roughest hair-cloth next the skin, then a garment of leather made of the skin of the goats, then a cowl like a fisherman’s bound on him, above which, clothed in a white alb, he always wore a stole over his shoulders. He bore a pastoral staff, not rounded and gilded and gemmed, as may be seen nowadays, but of simple wood and merely bent. He had in his hand the manual-book, always ready to exercise his ministry, whenever necessity or reason demanded. And so by the whiteness of his dress he expressed the purity of his inner life and avoided vain-glory.”

We cannot wonder that a lawless nobility should sooner or later take umbrage at his bold resistance to the abuses of power and his stern denunciation of vice, and so it happened that about 553 some members of the Royal family conceived so great a hatred of him as to seek his life. This led to his journey through Lancashire to Wales, on a visit to St. David, then Bishop of Menevia, but I cannot do better than allow Joceline, the monk of Furness and the biographer of the saint, to tell the story in his own words. Joceline lived in the twelfth century, and wrote the life of St. Kentigern at the request of another Joceline, at the time Archbishop of Glasgow. He is the first Lancashire writer that I know of, and though

* Cap. xviii.

he lived six centuries after the saint, yet he tells us that he used older documents, and his narrative is accepted by the learned as a most valuable contribution to our historical literature, and as giving on the whole a trustworthy account of the saint and his times. He especially throws light on a most obscure period and region, and it is from his work that we learn what we know of the kingdom afterwards known as Strath-Clyde or Cambria, as it was in the sixth century. Indeed, he is almost the only authority who makes more than an incidental allusion to the subject. I may add that he always calls the country south of the Forth and Clyde "Cambria," and gives the name of Wallia to what is now called Wales; but where the border was he nowhere states, and all the probabilities point to the Dee as the actual line of demarcation. Perhaps here I ought to state that the terms Strathclyde and Cambria were of after-growth, and that Bede uses no other word than Britons when he has to speak of the inhabitants of the western coasts. Gildas and Nennius are equally unacquainted with these terms. Adamnan in his life of St. Columba has no other title for Rhydderch Hael than the king who reigned in "Petra Cloithe" or Aldclyde, and the Irish annals dealing with the kings who reigned over the district in the eighth century style them simply kings of Alocluaithe. It is not until the ninth century that we have in the Irish annals 872, *Artgha rex Britannorum Strathacluiaidhe*, and in 875 the Saxon Chronicle speaks of *Straeceled Wealas*, the Strathclyde Welsh. The name Cambria, to express the people who had been previously known as the Britons of Strathclyde or the Strathclyde Welsh, is of still later date, and first occurs in Ethelwerd, who wrote at the end of the tenth century, about 980; and, as I have already stated, Joceline uses the word Cambria only, and he speaks of passing from Wallia into Cambria. This is perhaps a long digression, but without some such explanation my readers would scarcely apprehend the position of the ruling powers, whether civil or ecclesiastical. The following is the narrative of Joceline:*

"When some time had passed, certain sons of Belial, a generation of vipers, of the kin of the aforementioned King Morken, excited by the sting of intense hatred and infected with the poison of the devil, took counsel together how they might lay hold of Kentigern by craft and put him to death; but fearing the people, they did not dare to do that evil deed openly, because all held him for a teacher, bishop and shepherd of their souls, and loved him as an angel of light and peace. In many ways they laid great wait for him, that they might suddenly shoot him with arrows; but the Lord became unto him a tower of strength, that his enemies, the

* P. 73, c. 23.

sons of wickedness, should not triumph over him. At last binding themselves together by a solemn oath, they determined among themselves that in no way would they fail in carrying out the resolve by which they had conspired to compass his death; and that for the fear of no man would they pass over one unjust and treacherous word to which they had agreed against him. And when the man of God had learnt this, although he could meet force by force, he thought it better for the time to quit the place and to give place unto wrath, and to seek elsewhere a richer harvest of souls, rather than to bear about with him a conscience seared as with a hot iron, or even darkened by the death of any man, however wicked. For the blessed Paul, the chosen vessel, gave him the ensample of acting similarly, seeing that when at Damascus he saw death without fruit impending over him, he sought the basket and the rope to escape and to avoid it, and yet afterwards at Rome willingly submitted to it with great gain.

“At last, instructed by Divine revelation, he journeyed from those regions towards Menevia, where at that time the holy Bishop Dewi, like the morning star, when it with its rosy countenance heraldeth the day, was shining forth in his episcopal work. Wheresoever the saint went, virtue went forth from him to heal many. And when he had come to Karleolum, he heard that many among the mountains were given to idolatry, or ignorant of the Divine law. Thither he turned aside, and God helping him and confirming the word by signs following, converted to the Christian religion, many from a strange belief, and others who were erroneous in the faith. O how beautiful on these mountains were the feet of him who brought glad tidings, that published peace, that brought good tidings of good, that published salvation, that said unto Zion, Thy God reigneth. He remained for some time in a certain thickly planted place to confirm and comfort in the faith the men that dwelt there, where he erected a cross as the sign of the faith; whence it took the name in English, of Crosfeld, that is Crucis Novale. In which very locality a basilica, recently erected, is dedicated to the name of blessed Kentigern; and to exhibit his sanctity, he is not doubted to have been distinguished by many miracles. Turning aside from thence, the saint directed his steps by the sea-shore, and through all his journey scattering the seed of the Divine Word, gathered in a plentiful and fertile harvest unto the Lord.”

St. Kentigern's journey lay through a country inhabited by a race akin to that from which he himself sprung, and the language of the whole district would be the same essentially as that spoken by himself. His route is traced as far as Crossfell on the borders of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and thence he bends westwards, and pursues his journey along the sea-coast.

The mountainous district which lies between Crossfell and Lancashire in the direct line to the south, and which contains in its deep recesses the vales and lakes forming the great pleasure-ground of modern England, would be at this time all but impassable ; and besides, his journey was an Apostolic one, and he sought the spots where he could find souls to instruct and save. He must naturally have traversed the shores of Morecambe Bay, passing through Grange-over-sands on his way to Lancaster. Then the remains of the old Roman road would conduct him by Galgate and Claughton-on-Brock, to Walton-le-Dale and through Wigan, to the ford over the Mersey. Whether his preaching led to the establishment of priests on the banks of the Ribble, of which we shall read more later on, or he found them already flourishing there, and merely confirmed them by his teaching, Joceline does not say ; but large tracts of land in Lancashire had been already given by religious princes to the support of the Church.* There is no mention where he passed the limits of his own diocese, and that for a very good reason. At this period among the Celts the extent of both civil and ecclesiastical divisions were ill-defined, and depended much more on the power and influence of the individual than on any boundaries laid down by law. Of course the jurisdiction of the See of York over Lancashire would have ceased, for York itself as we have seen was a wilderness of ruins, and the Saxon invaders had left few if any traces of the religion of Christ in their newly formed kingdom of Deira. As this narrative tells us, St. David was Bishop of Menevia, and the See of Bangor was instituted about this time by Maelgwyn, but to whom Lancashire belonged is nowhere said. St. Kentigern himself, whilst in Wales, founded the See of St. Asaph, and it derived its name from his saintly disciple and successor in the Episcopate. It is most probable that the two dioceses of Glasgow and St. Asaph, the older and newer dioceses of St. Kentigern, were conterminous, and that the Dee or the Mersey was the boundary. For this we have the high authority of Haddan and Stubbs, who in their "Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, relating to Great Britain and Ireland" state as follows :—"His (St. Kentigern's) diocese must have been co-extensive with Rydderch's kingdom—*i.e.*, from the Clyde to the Mersey, and from the sea to the hills which form the watershed ; and was therefore on the south conterminous with the diocese of St. Asaph."† Be that as it may, it is certain, from the passages I have just quoted, that he preached and administered the sacraments on his way through our county ; and Lancashire may fairly claim him as the one saint who preached and laboured for souls within its

* Eddi, "Life of St. Wilfrid," cap. xvii.

† Part I. vol. ii. p. 4.

area. In various ways, in later times, Lancashire has been connected with Saxon and Norman saints, but I have never found any trace of their presence or personal labours within the county. It cannot be doubted that St. Kentigern found an abundant field for his holy apostleship. The old Paganism had still its adherents, and the worship of the Druids would still prevail in the forests of oak which abounded in Amounderness and other parts. Ackmunderness, as we first find the word in the next century, is merely the oak-covered promontory; and Grimsargh and Goosnargh are still witnesses of the rites of this ancient religion and its sacred groves. That it was something more than a mere slumbering superstition, hidden in the recesses of the forests, is proved by the rebellion of Gwendoleu; and it required all the united resources of Maelgwyn of Wales, Rhydderch of Aldelyde, and Aidan of Dalraida (the three leading princes of the Celtic nation in Britain during this century), to crush the struggles of the old idolatry and ensure the triumph of the Christian faith. Gildas speaks of the prevalence of idolatry among his countrymen in these words:—"Nor shall I enumerate those diabolical idols of my country, which almost surpassed in number those of Egypt, and which we still see mouldering away within and without the deserted temples, with stiff and deformed features, as was customary."* Heresy, too, was not unknown among the people, and the Pelagian errors are especially alluded to; but above all things to be overcome was the ignorance of Divine things which called for all the patience and endurance of a minister of the Gospel.

The steps of holy Kentigern, as he journeyed through the land, were marked everywhere by the earnest zeal of the preacher, and the wondering awe-struck attention of the listening crowds. We cannot doubt that the burning words of the saint had a great share in keeping alive the faith of Lancashire men, and when, a century later, we find the British priests still dominant on the banks of the Ribble, we may recognize the abiding effects of his labours. He seems to have had a singular gift in drawing to himself the hearts of men; and Joceline gives the following account of his way of speaking: †—"In speaking he was able to control his spirit, and he learned to set a watch before his mouth and to keep the door of his lips, that he might guide his words with discretion. Nor did any one of his words fall lightly to the ground, nor was the word he spoke given to the winds, nor did it return to him in vain. Wherefore he spoke in weight, number, and measure, as the necessary occasion demanded, for his speech was flavoured with salt suitable to every age and sex,

* Historic, sec. 4.

† Cap. xv.

for honey and milk were under his tongue, and his cellars were filled with spiritual wine, whence the babe in Christ drank milk from his lips, the more advanced honey, and the perfect man wine, each to his soul's health. In judging and condemning, or in chiding, he had not by him divers measures, nor did he respect the person of man; but he studied the cause, and with the greatest discretion measured forth the degree of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the name of the fault, in due time and place. Yet the saint preached more by his silence than many doctors and rulers do by loud speaking, for his appearance, countenance, gait, and the gesture of his whole body, openly taught discipline, and by certain signs, bursting forth like water, indicated openly the purity of the inner man which lurked there." And he concludes the chapter with the following glowing tribute to his overflowing liberality:—"It is unnecessary to commit to writing his munificence, which spent itself wholly on alms-deeds and works of mercy, for all the substance which the Divine largess had bestowed upon him was the common treasury of the poor."

Perhaps I cannot better indicate the kindliness and affectionateness of his disposition than by recounting the following story of his childhood, as given by Joceline*:—

"The fellow-pupils of St. Kentigern, seeing that he was loved beyond the rest by their master and spiritual father, hated him, and were unable, either in public or private, to say anything peaceable to him. Hence in many ways they intrigued against, abused, envied, and backbit him. But the Lord's boy ever had the eye of his heart fixed upon the Lord; and mourning more for them than for himself, cared little for all the unjust machinations of men. Now a little bird, which on account of the colour of his body is called the redbreast, by the will of the Heavenly Father, without whose permission not even a sparrow falleth to the ground, was accustomed to receive its daily food from the hand of the servant of God, Servanus, and by such a custom being established, it showed itself tame and domesticated unto him. Sometimes even it perched upon his head or face or shoulder or bosom; sometimes it was with him when he read or prayed, and by the flapping of its wings, or by the sound of its inarticulate voice, or by some little gesture, it showed the love it had for him. So that sometimes the face of the man of God, shadowed forth in the motion of the bird, was clothed in joy, as he wondered at the great power of God in the little creature, to whom the dumb speak and the irrational things are known to have reason. And because that bird often approached and de-

* Cap. v.

parted at the command and will of the man of God, it excited incredulity and hardness of heart in his disciples and convicted them of disobedience. . . . Therefore, on a certain day, when the saint entered his oratory to offer up to God the frankincense of prayer, the boys, availing themselves of the absence of the master, began to indulge in play with the aforesaid little bird, and while they handled it among them, and sought to snatch it from each other, it got destroyed in their hands, and its head was torn from the body. On this play became sorrow, and they already, in imagination, saw the blows of the rod, which are wont to be the greatest torment to boys. Having taken counsel among themselves, they laid the blame on the boy Kentigern, who had kept himself entirely apart from the affair; and they showed him the dead bird, and threw it away from themselves before the old man arrived. But he took very ill the death of the bird, and threatened an extremely severe vengeance on its destroyer. The boys therefore rejoiced, thinking that they had escaped, and had turned on Kentigern the punishment due to them, and diminished the grace of friendship which Servanus had hitherto entertained for him.

“When Kentigern, the most pure child, learnt this, taking the bird in his hands, and putting the head upon the body, he signed it with the sign of the cross, and lifting up holy hands in prayer to the Lord, he said, ‘Lord Jesus Christ, in whose hands is the breath of every rational and irrational creature, give back to this bird the breath of life, that Thy blessed name may be glorified for ever.’ The words spake the saint in prayer, and straightway the bird revived, and not only with untrammelled flight rose in the air in safety, but also in its usual way it flew forth with joy to meet the holy old man as he returned from church. On seeing this prodigy the heart of the old man rejoiced in the Lord, and his soul did magnify the Lord’s boy in the Lord, and the Lord, Who alone doeth marvellous things, and was working in the boy. By this remarkable sign, therefore, did the Lord mark out, nay, in a way, presignify, as his own, Kentigern, and announced him beforehand whom in after-times, in manifold ways, He made still more distinguished by wonders.”

Such was the saint, whose troubles in his own city led him to seek peace and a friendly welcome in South Wales, and whose passage through Lancashire is the single ray of light which brightens up for us the darkness of the sixth century.

“At length, safe and sound, he reached Saint Dewi, and found in him greater works than had been reported by fame. But the holy Bishop Dewi rejoiced with great joy at the arrival of such and so great a stranger. With eyes overflowing with tears and mutually embracing, he received Kentigern as an

angel of the Lord, dear to God, and retaining him for a certain time in his immediate vicinity, always honoured him to a wonderful extent. Therefore, these two sons of light dwelt together, attending upon the Lord of the whole earth, like two lamps burning before the Lord, whose tongues became the keys of heaven, that by them a multitude of men might be deemed meet to enter therein. Those two saints were united together opposite each other, like the two cherubim in the holy of holies in the temple of the Lord, having their faces bent down towards the mercy seat. They lifted their wings on high in the frequent meditation upon heavenly things; they folded them down in the ordination and arrangement of earthly things. They touched each other mutually with their wings, as by the instruction of each other in the doctrine of salvation, and in the alternate energizing of virtues, they excited each other to a more earnest advance in sanctity. Thus these saints, either mentally rising up unto God, or being made useful to us, have left to posterity an example of laying hold of and labouring so as to attain to eternal life."

Of his life in Wales a brief notice will suffice. The King Cathwallain, father of Maelgwyn, of whom mention has already frequently been made, conceived a high esteem for him. "Knowing him to be a holy and righteous man, he heard him willingly, and after hearing him did much which concerned the good of his own soul. And when, on the occasion of the king from time to time inquiring, he expounded the causes why he left his native land, and said he would wish to live near, and have the means of building a monastery, where he might unite together a people acceptable of God, and devoted to good works, the king replied, 'My land is in thy sight, wheresoever it suiteth thee and seemeth good in thy sight, there construct the habitation of thy dwelling-place, there build thy monastery. Yet, as it seemeth to me that it is more suitable for thee than any other, I assign to thee a place, Nautcharvan, because it aboundeth in everything suited to thy purpose.' The man of God rendered profuse thanks to the king, and chose for his building and habitation that place which had been marked out for him by Divine intimation. Then giving his blessing to the king, he departed, and bidding farewell to St. Dewi, after mutual benediction, he betook himself to the place aforesaid, with a great multitude of disciples who had flocked to him, preferring to lead with him a lowly life in a foreign land to living without him luxuriously in their own."

In the twenty-fifth chapter we have a graphic account of the life of the monks in the monastery on the banks of the Elgu near its junction with the Clwyd.

"There flocked to the monastery of the man, old and young,

rich and poor, to take upon themselves the easy yoke and the light burden of the Lord. Nobles and men of the middle class brought to the saint their children to be trained unto the Lord. The tale of those who renounced the world increased day by day both in number and importance, so that the total number of those that enlisted in God's army amounted to 965, professing in act and habit the life of monastic rule according to the institution of the holy man. He divided this troop that had been collected together and devoted to the Divine service, into a threefold division of religious observance. For he appointed 300 who were unlettered to the duty of agriculture, the care of cattle, and the other necessary duties outside the monastery. He assigned another 300 to duties within the cloister of the monastery, such as doing the ordinary work, and preparing food and building workshops. The remaining 365, who were lettered, he appointed to the celebration of Divine service by day and by night, and he seldom allowed any of these to go forth out of the sanctuary, but ever to abide within as if in the holy place of the Lord. But those who were more advanced in wisdom and holiness, and who were fitted to teach others, he was accustomed to take along with him, when, at the urgent demand either of necessity or reason, he thought fit to go forth to perform his episcopal office. But dividing into troops and choirs those whom he had appointed for the service of God, he ordained that as soon as one choir had terminated its service in the church, immediately another entering should commence it, and that again being concluded, a third should enter to celebrate. Thus, the sacred choirs being conveniently and discreetly arranged so as to succeed in turn, while the work of God was celebrated perpetually, prayer was regularly made to God without ceasing of the church there; and by praising God at every time, His praise ever resounded in their mouths."

It would be interesting to dwell on his relations with St. Asaph, whose character is described as being as charming and as attractive as that of his saintly master; but this would only lead us away from our main subject. I need but say that Joceline tells us that he betook himself seven times to Rome, bringing home what he learnt there for the correction of the British people, and that, as he was returning for the seventh time, he was attacked by a most grievous malady, and got home with the greatest difficulty.*

The saint was now growing old, and he looked forward to a peaceful close of his days in the beloved monastery he had founded, when the disturbances occurred which ended in the battle of Ardderyd in 573, and which gave a new impulse to the

* Cap. xxvii.

Christian religion. Rhydderch, now King of Aldclyde and virtual ruler of the whole western coast as far as the Dee, was distressed at the state to which he found the true faith reduced, and he set himself in earnest to provide a remedy. After much consideration, by the advice of his trustiest counsellors, he determined on recalling St. Kentigern to his northern See. For the reputation of the saint was not confined to the neighbourhood of his monastery in the beautiful Vale of Clwyd, but he still lived in the memory and love of his original flock. The king therefore sent urgent letters to him to beg him to return, appealing to him in touching terms and reminding him that "a spouse should not desert his bride, the shepherd his flock, nor the prelate his Church, for the love of which he ought to lay down his life." St. Kentigern received the message in deep silence, for he loved the repose of the sanctuary, and he wished earnestly that his bones should rest in the midst of his beloved sons, whom he had gathered around him. That night he spent in prayer, and the following morning, when the day dawned, he called his disciples together, and announced to them his intention of returning to Glasgow.

Joceline gives the following simple and pathetic account of his telling the news to the monks and of his taking his farewell:*

Having called his disciples together, he said unto them: "I speak as a man unto you, dearly beloved; I desired, after long thought and deliberation, according to the infirmity of my flesh, that these mine aged eyes should be closed by you, and that my bones should be hidden in the womb of the mother of all, in the sight of all of you. But since the life of man is not in his own power, it is laid upon me by the Lord that I should return unto mine own church of Glasgow; nor ought we, nor dare we, nor will we, contradict the words of the Holy One, as Job saith, nor in any wise go against it, but in all things obey His will and command, even to our life's end. Do you therefore, most beloved ones, stand firm in the faith. Quit you like men, and be comforted, and seek always that everything be done in charity." These and many things like these he said in their presence, and lifting his hand he blessed them. Then with the unanimous consent of all he appointed St. Asaph to the government of the monastery, and by the petition of the people and by canonical election the successor of his bishopric; and after that he delivered a profound sermon at great length, of faith, hope, and charity, of mercy and justice, of humility and obedience, of holy peace and of mutual forbearance, of avoiding vice and acquiring virtue, of observing the institutes of the holy Roman Church, of the regular

* Cap. xxxi.

discipline and exercises which he had established, to be observed by them all, and, in fact, of constancy and perseverance to the end in all good things.

When the sermon was over he enthroned St. Asaph in the cathedral See, and again blessing and taking leave of them all, he went forth by the north door of the church, because he was going forth to combat the northern enemy. After he had gone out that door was closed, and all who witnessed and heard of his egress and departure bewailed his absence with great lamentations. Hence a custom grew up in that church that that door should never be opened save once a year, on the day of St. Asaph, that is, on the kalend of May, for two reasons—first, in deference to the sanctity of him who had gone forth, and next, that thereby was indicated the great grief of those who had bewailed his departure. Therefore on the day of St. Asaph that door is opened, because, when he succeeded to St. Kentigern in the government, their mourning was turned into joy.

In his return journey he was accompanied by a vast company of the monks, no less than 665, but no details of his route are given. His would be like the march of a small army, though bent only on peaceful ends, and if as was likely he returned the way he came, Lancashire priests and people would again listen to his stirring words, and find faith and charity renewed by his gracious presence.

The King, hearing of his arrival from Wallia into Cambria, accompanied by great numbers of his people, went out to meet him. On every side resounded words of thanksgiving, praise, and joy, while the holy bishop himself burst forth into the exclamation, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will."

As Joceline tells us that one of his journeys to Rome was made during the pontificate of Gregory the Great, and as that Pope did not begin to reign until 590, this visit must have taken place after our saint's departure from St. Asaph's. His saintly demeanour made a great impression on that sagacious Pope, who conceived a high esteem for him. St. Kentigern laid before him certain doubts about his consecration as bishop, and earnestly begged of him to supply any omission in the rite. St. Gregory gave the matter his most serious consideration; and satisfied himself that nothing essential was wanting; but at length he yielded, though with great reluctance, to his importunity, and with his own hands supplied the missing parts of the service.

We need not further pursue the career of St. Kentigern, nor speak of his holy and happy death at an advanced old age in his own city of Glasgow.

After his decease, owing to many causes, Glasgow ceased to

have any religious connection with Lancashire, and in process of time St. Kentigern's services to religion in our county passed out of the memory of man. The conquests of the Saxons and the ravages of the Danes turned the thoughts of men into other channels, and in time York again took the place of Glasgow, and St. Wilfrid's name was revered instead of that of St. Kentigern.

In the nineteenth century it has been reserved for Dr. Forbes, a Scotch bishop, to re-edit the Life of the Saint by Joceline, along with St. Ælred's Life of St. Ninian, and so bring before us the important part played by both those great servants of God in keeping alive the faith in the minds of the British inhabitants of our north-western shores.

ROB. GRADWELL.

ART. IV.—ABYSSINIA AND ITS PEOPLE.

1. *Meine Mission nach Abessinien im Winter 1880–1881.* Von GERHARD ROHLFS. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1883.
2. *Abissinia.* DI PIPPO VIGONI. Milano: Hoepli. 1881.
3. *In Abissinia. Viaggio di* PELLEGRINO MATTEUCCI. Milano: Treves. 1880.
4. *Les Eglises monolithes de la Ville de Lalibela.* Par ACHILLE RAFFRAY. Paris: Morel et Cie. 1882.
5. *Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia.* By W. McE. DYE. New York. 1880.
6. *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874–1879.* By GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. (Second Edition.) London: De la Rue. 1884.
7. *Les Missions Catholiques.* Lyon.

DURING the effervescence of popular imagination accompanying the heroic romance of the Crusades, a strange tale began to circulate in Europe. A Christian potentate, the descendant of the Magi, the champion of the Cross, at once king and priest, warrior and pontiff, had been discovered in the far East, ruling a wondrous realm under the name of Presbyter Johannes or Prester John. To this shadowy personage a papal embassy and epistle were actually directed, but the letter, written by Pope Alexander III. from the Rialto, Venice, on September 27, 1177, failed, as may be imagined, to reach its destination; while the envoy, one Philip, physician to his Holiness, never returned to give an account of his mission.

Nevertheless, the belief in the mythical monarch, effaced for a time, revived as though written in sympathetic ink on the human brain, called out at intervals by the heat of imaginative excitement. Thus, when the conquest of Genghiz Khan sent a spasm of terror through Europe, intensified by the belief that the Tartar invasion would be accompanied by the appearance of Antichrist, the outbreak of the hosts of Gog and Magog from their Asiatic prison, and all the signs of the end of the world, a fresh crop of legends associated Prester John with the new scourge of humanity, and he was fabled to have fallen in battle with the Mongol hordes.

But, though early tradition seemed thus to assign the fabulous Christian empire its seat in Asia, the prevailing confusion of geographical ideas rendered it easy for later romance to transfer it to a place in Africa, and we accordingly find Renaissance writers unanimous in identifying Prester John with the ruler of Abyssinia. Here, indeed, some of the conditions of the legend were found to exist; here was a fragment of Christendom isolated in the heart of Paganism; here relics of a lost civilization and landmarks of a forgotten past; and here sufficient of the wild trappings of barbaric splendour to supply an outline for fancy to fill in with a stately fabric of royal pomp.

A curious confirmation of the African origin of the tale is found in Bruce's suggested derivation of Prete Gianni, the later form of the monarch's name, from the cry, *Rete o Djanhoi*, "Do me justice, oh my king!" which he heard resounding day and night round the dwelling of the sovereign of Abyssinia. We find this form of the title embodied in Ariosto's verse, where in the description of the English Paladin's visit to the Ethiopian potentate, the prevailing ideas as to Abyssinia were no doubt summed up. The two following stanzas are curious in this respect:—

Senapus, who doth Ethiopia sway
As emperor, and bears the cross in hand
For sceptre, whom all tribes and towns obey;
Who treasure owns hence to the Red Sea strand,
Who in like faith with ours his vows doth pay,
Lest in eternal exile he be banned.
And his the land (unless I err) whose nation
Use fire in baptism's administration.

The Soldan, Egypt's sovereign lord they say,
Homage and tribute renders to this king,
Since he hath power from its accustomed way
To turn the Nile, and through fresh channels bring,
And so to leave proud Cairo a prey—
With all the land around—to hunger's sting.
Senapus styled by those who homage owe him,
As Prester we, or Preteianni know him.

To the Portuguese attempts to open communications with the mythical Prester John, and find that other *ignis fatuus* of early adventure—a route to India through his dominions—is due the rediscovery of Abyssinia, and its introduction to modern civilization. The first envoy, Pedro de Covilham, was despatched in 1490, but it is to Father Alvarez, who accompanied the second mission in 1520, that we owe the most detailed and authentic description of the country, compiled during his six years' residence there. His narrative is exceedingly curious, the manners and customs observed by him closely tallying with those still prevailing, while his analysis of ecclesiastical institutions is naturally fuller and more comprehensive than can be looked for from lay travellers.

Abyssinia, though then for the first time made known to modern Europe, had already a history reaching back to remote antiquity, in which truth and fable were mixed in proportions now undiscernible. A tradition, undoubtedly very ancient, and accepted by the people themselves with unquestioning faith, ascribes their origin to a Jewish colony, led by Menelik, a prince of illustrious descent on both sides, since sprung from the fabled union of Solomon with the Queen of Sheba. The heir of his royal mother's realm, of which the capital is identified with the ancient city of Saaba, near the modern Khartoum, he adhered nevertheless to the faith of his father, and brought with him from Jerusalem, not only twelve Jewish elders to instruct his people in its dogmas, but its most august symbols, the Ark of the Covenant and Golden Cherubim, for which copies were fraudulently substituted in the Hebrew Temple. The present Nègoosa of Ethiopia thus bears the title of King of Zion, and claims to represent the royal House of Judah by lineal descent from the grandson of David.

But setting aside legend, Ethiopia, long a province of Egypt and a partner in her civilization, has a sufficiently ancient record even in authentic history. In the opening centuries of the Christian era came its most brilliant period of independent existence, when, as the seat of the kingdom of the Axumites, founded by a Ptolemaic colony, it occupied a prominent position among Oriental states. The imperial city of Axum, whose sculptured monoliths still remain to attest its former greatness, was then the point of contact between Central Africa and the remote East, and through its seaport Adulis, the modern Zoula, exported gold-dust and ivory, skins and musk and gums, in exchange for the spices and tissues of Persia and Ceylon.

To a foreign youth, shipwrecked on her coast, and enslaved by her people, Abyssinia owed her early conversion to Christianity. Frumentius having risen from his humble position to one of power

and influence in the country, became its apostle, and was consecrated its first bishop about 330 A.D. Monasticism, introduced from Egypt a century later, found here a not less congenial soil, and the hermitages of the Theban Desert had their counterparts on the cliff-bound summits of Ethiopia.

The conquest in the sixth century of the Homerite kingdom of Yemen, undertaken by Caleb or Elesban, king of Abyssinia, at the instance of Justinian, raised the Axumite Empire to its meridian of splendour, and conferred on it a considerable territory in Arabia, retained for sixty-seven years. The subsequent obliteration of Ethiopia was due to the great westerly rush of Mohammedanism, which though deflected by its impregnable mountain ramparts, swept past and round it, leaving it islanded in the midst of that deluge. The solitary stronghold of Christianity in Africa, it was the asylum of Coptic and Jewish refugees from Egypt and Syria, but gradually declined in culture and manners, as it became more completely blockaded by the advance of Islam.

The only noteworthy incident in its subsequent history down to its rediscovery by Portugal, occurred about 960 A.D., when a certain Jewish princess named Judith, belonging to a tribe of Hebrew immigrants, conceived and executed the design of possessing herself of the throne by the massacre of the reigning family. One royal infant, however, carried in the arms of faithful attendants to Shoa, survived to perpetuate the House of Solomon, of which through descent from this child in the female line, Menelik, the present tributary king of Shoa, is the most authentic representative. The line of the usurper continued in power for 340 years, after which the rightful heir of the former dynasty was restored to his throne.

The Portuguese, from their first visit to Abyssinia in 1490, kept up close relations with it during a century and a half. They sent a small contingent to assist the natives against the Mussulman invader, Mohammed Gagn, in the sixteenth century, and contributed to develop the material resources of the country by building bridges, palaces, and churches—still standing to attest their influence. In Gondar, the capital, they settled in sufficient numbers to modify the type of the native population to an extent still traceable at the present day. The Portuguese Jesuits had even succeeded in temporarily reconciling the Abyssinian Church to the obedience of Rome, when a change of sovereigns in 1633 led to their final expulsion.

Visited since then by European travellers only at long intervals, Abyssinia has been little known to the rest of the world. A recrudescence of savagery was produced by repeated incursions of the rude Galla tribes from the south, and as the daughters of

the warrior chiefs of this nation were sought in marriage by the native aristocracy, a fresh barbarian element became assimilated by the ruling classes of Ethiopia. The turbulent spirit thus infused into the population prepared the way for the disruption of the Empire; the vassal chiefs asserted independent rule in their respective provinces, and the heir of the House of Solomon, living as a pensioner in his palace at Gondar, became, like the later emperors of Rome, a sceptred puppet in the hands of the most powerful or ambitious of his nominal subjects.

It was during this period of civil convulsion, that there emerged into notoriety one of those military adventurers destined to rise to power from the heaving dregs of chaos. Lidge Kassai, born about 1818, of noble parentage, but in comparatively obscure circumstances, early left the convent in which he had received a semi-priestly education, to inaugurate the wild romance of his life in more congenial fashion, as chief of a band of freebooters. Having inherited later from his uncle the government of Kwara, he forcibly seized that of the adjacent province of Dámbea, consolidated his position still farther both by victories over his rivals and by marriage with the daughter of Ras Ali, the most formidable amongst them, and was ultimately, in March 1855, crowned by the Abouna as Negoosa Negust, King of Kings, or Emperor of Ethiopia. He assumed the name of Théodros, consecrated in Abyssinian tradition as that of a future kingly hero, destined to crush the power of Islam, restore the ancient glories of Ethiopia, and seat himself on his ancestral throne of Zion. How the Empire, restored amid such ambitious auguries, resulted in a ruthless reign of rapine and slaughter;* how the half-insane monarch, haunted even amid the delirium of wine and carnage by glimmerings of a better self, drew down the vengeance of England by imprisonment and mal-treatment of her subjects and official representatives; and how the heaven-sent hero of prophecy ended his career, abandoned and accursed by his own people, as the miserable suicide of Mágdala, is a tale too fresh in public memory to need more than bare recapitulation here.

The reign of Theodore marks a transition period in the history of Abyssinia, separating its long past of isolation from that new chapter of recurring contact with other nations which is still unfolding. The British expedition, too, seemed to give the western mind some substantial hold on a region previously regarded as almost outside the pale of accurate knowledge. Yet even

* A curious instance of official morality is furnished by Lord Russell's letter to Theodore, thanking him in the name of the British Government for the announcement that he had avenged the death of Consul Plowden, by the massacre of 1,500 unresisting prisoners, of the tribe which had committed the attack on him.

still no portion of Africa lying equally close to its seaboard is so little known as Abyssinia, whose physical and social conditions conspire to discourage the explorer. Travelling, which Nature has impeded by the interposition of the most formidable mountain ramparts, is still, as in past ages, prohibited save by special license of the king; and neither means of transport or necessities of life can be procured without a royal mandate for the purpose. To the ordinary traveller the country is thus practically closed, and as official visitors are generally conducted only to the royal headquarters, the outlying provinces are still almost *terra incognita*.

"Tell me the geography of a country," Victor Cousin has said, "and I will tell you its future." Now if strongly marked natural features can assist this species of cosmographical palmistry, the fortunes of the Ethiopian Switzerland should be legibly written on its surface. For here we have a region so rent and cloven to its nethermost foundations, so humped and bossed with rock-masses towering high above them, so torrent-racked and rent through all its crag-anatomy, so storm weathered and splintered in its fantastically contorted crest, that it seems not to have been sculptured by slow processes of Nature, through gradual development into its present form, but shaped in the throes of some great cataclysm, and torn and shattered by the same convulsion that gave it birth.

Springing from the belting plains of the Red Sea in a succession of precipitous rock-flights with intervening mountain-locked plateaus, it reaches its highest altitude in the snow-clad ranges of Semyen, culminating in peaks 15,000 and 16,000 feet high. A stupendous mass of writhing ridges here forms the eastern wall of the great central plateau of Amhara, dominating the surrounding provinces from its imperial elevation of 8,000 feet, and containing Gondar the capital, the vast lake of Tzana or Démbea, and the sources of the Bahr-el-Azrak or Blue Nile, in the mountains of Gojam, its southern parapet. This alpine region, broken and bristling with cross ranges, and deeply scored with valley-troughs through which the affluents of the Nile have cut their way, slopes westward in shelving terraces and falling ledges, until it merges in the scorching levels of the Egyptian Soudan.

Southward from Amhara lies, at a lower level, the province or kingdom of Gojam, closely hugged within the great spiral coil of the Blue Nile, and still nearer the equator is the tributary kingdom of Shoa, the richest district of Abyssinia, renowned for its exuberant pastures and productive soil. North of the Amhara highlands, and overlapping them to the east, stretches the frontier province of Tigré, with Adowa for its capital, and the rivers

Mareb and Tacazzé, or upper Atbara, for its boundaries; while still further from the centre is the plateau of Barnagash, the third and lowest terrace on the sea slope of the hills.

The entire territory of Abyssinia covers an area of some 200,000 square miles, approximately that of France, and runs 630 miles from north to south, between 7° 30' and 15° 40' N. lat., and 530 miles from east to west from 45° to 40° 30' E. long. Lying thus altogether within the northern torrid zone, its climate is so modified by diversity of elevation, that its general average may be classed as rather temperate than tropical, and like Mexico it is regarded by its inhabitants as being triply divided into regions corresponding to the *Tierras Calientes*, *Templadas*, and *Frias* of that country. The Kollas, or hot lowlands of Abyssinia, extend to 5,500 feet above the sea-level; the middle zone, called woina denka, or wine-highlands from the grape-culture once extensively practised there, is comprised within the next two thousand feet of elevation, while the denka or alpine region extends from 7,500 feet upwards.

Rearing its enormous rock-bastions right in the track of the south-east monsoon, Abyssinia intercepts the moisture-supply of a continent, and robs the carrier clouds of the vapours of the Indian Ocean ere they can reach the arid plains of Nubia. It gives back, however, in another form to the lands under its thirsty lee, the watery dues thus filched from them, since while sending no single permanent stream from its eastern slope to the Red Sea, it pours the full volume of its liquid tribute into the Mediterranean, through the one great arterial drain of Northern Africa.

Egypt, styled by Herodotus "the gift of the Nile," might by modern geographers be still more aptly termed the largesse of Abyssinia. Not from the sluggish ditch strained and filtered through the vast floating meadows of the Bahr-el-Gazal comes the alluvium that fattens the Delta, not by the dull stream rolled from the full heart of Africa to pause and clear in the Equatorial Lakes, is brought the freight of fertilizing slime that confers perpetual youth with perpetual fecundity on the venerable mother of civilization. It is the sudden cataracts that yearly plunge down the Abyssinian steeps, foul and fetid with the scour of Ethiopia, thick with mud-avalanches loosened from the quaking slopes of Semyen, clogged with earth-wreckage stripped from the scarred valley sides of Démbea, black with landslips ploughed from the furrowed plains of Tigré, that work the ever-recurring miracle, and each year create Egypt anew, like Eve from the side of Adam, of the very soil and substance of the flank of Africa.

Nor is it the Equatorial Nile that, from beneath its ever-reeking

skies, sends the mysterious yearly tide pulsating along three thousand miles of desert to the sea. The main contingent of the annual inundation comes with a mighty rush from the Ethiopian hills, where the monsoon has burst in its fury, sending down the roaring floods through all the sun-scorched channels of lands that have not seen a hand's-breadth of cloud in the sky.

The suddenness of their swoop upon the plains was witnessed by Sir Samuel Baker * in the case of the Atbara, the Bahr-el-Aswâd, or Black River of the Arabs.† This, the last affluent received by the Nile, sends during nine months of the year no single drop of water to swell the main current, as its bed, for a hundred miles above the confluence, is between September and June a glaring tract of sand, distinguishable from the surrounding desert only by its thicket-fringes of mimosa. The English traveller, encamped by this dry trench, was wakened in the dead of a summer night (June 22) by a continuous rumble like that of approaching artillery waggons, and saw his Arab neighbours snatch their effects in wild haste from the bed of the stream, announcing by their shrill cry of "El Bahr! el Bahr!" that the river was upon them in all the thunder-fury of its flood. It was indeed the Black Nile that came bellowing down in full charge from the mountains, a leaping wall of waters with the momentum of a cataract, champing and grinding the rock masses it had wrenched from the skeleton ribs of Abyssinia. In the morning a dark and turbid flood rolled from bank to bank, where a few hours before the herds of the Bedouin had tramped fetlock deep in sand.

The rise of the Blue Nile, though less sudden, synchronizes with that of the Atbara, and it is to the inrush of these two mighty torrents that the inundation in Egypt is mainly due. The steady volume of the White Nile, on the other hand, fed by the shifting but never wholly absent equatorial rain-belt, alone enables the Nile to survive at all seasons its passage through the Nubian desert, and saves it from being, like its Abyssinian tributary, a periodical though colossal stream.

The rise of the rivers and water-clogged heaviness of the soil during the rainy season render locomotion impossible, and thereby impose an enforced truce along the Abyssinian frontier, where the wild border tribes, predatory followers of Nimr-el-Mek the Tiger King, Hamran Arabs the daring sword-hunters of the elephant, vagrant Tukruri and savage Basé, are at all other times

* "The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia." Sir Samuel W. Baker. London. 1869.

† Also called by them *Zibdet-un-Nil*, Cream of the Nile, from the supposed quality of its waters.

in a state of chronic guerilla warfare. As the rains occur earlier on the Red Sea slopes than in the interior, their inhabitants sometimes plant successive crops in different localities, and the dwellers on one mountain, whose crest parts the seasons, escape their vicissitudes by alternate residence on both sides of the range.

The savage violence of its temporary torrents has imprinted on the landscape of Abyssinia its singularly abrupt and dislocated character. Each mountain group, instead of standing on a common platform with the general mass of elevation of the country, forms as it were an insulated block, deeply trenched round with water-cleft gorges. So perpendicular are the walls of some of the stream-fissures, that a sudden flood leaves to those overtaken by it within the chasm no possibility of escape, and during the British expedition, not even the warning of the electric telegraph was always in time to save men and cattle from this form of danger.

Volcanic action, though no longer in operation, is still traceable in the unmistakable outlines of long-quiescent craters, and in the ancient lavas ejected by them; as well as in the basaltic formation of some of the mountains, uplifted in terraces faced with fluted cliffs like the front of an organ.

But the most characteristic landmarks of Abyssinia are its "ambas," great tabular masses of mountain, whose summits, often many leagues in extent, are girt with sheer precipices on all sides. Inaccessible in many cases save by ropes or ladders, they are used as State prisons, and in their lofty isolation the princes of the blood royal are by Abyssinian custom compelled to wear away their unhappy lives. It is interesting to note that this singular practice, recorded by the Jesuit Father Lobo, in his account of his travels in Abyssinia, obviously suggested the story of Rasselas to Dr. Johnson, who translated the work. Madagascar contains some specimens of the same mountain form, and there a similar name, *ambo*, a rock, is applied to them.

Abyssinia, with its copious rainfall, torrid sun, and gradual stages of climatic elevation, has the capability of producing almost all the vegetable growths of the universe. In the forcing-house temperature of the lowlands, two or even three harvests may be gathered in the year, and sowing and reaping, with all the intermediate stages of the crop, may be seen at one and the same time. Only an inferior grain, however, called *dagusha*, a species of millet, will thrive here, and the black bread made from it is used by the poor exclusively. This region is the home of tropical vegetation, and palms, bananas, sugar-cane, and gum-acacias, cotton, indigo, tamarinds, saffron, senna, and other drugs may be enumerated among its productions. Gigantic baobabs

and sycamores, attaining a girth of twelve or fifteen yards, grow along its river-banks, while on some of the lakes and upper waters the papyrus is so abundant that Bruce conjectures it to have made its way hence to Egypt.

The vine region, or *woina denka*, with its lower limit some 5,500 feet above the sea, was once, as its name implies, principally devoted to the culture of the grape, introduced, it is supposed, by the Greeks, but now almost abandoned. The principal crop raised is *teff* (*Poa Abissinica*), from whose minute seed, no larger than a pin's head, the favourite bread of the country is made. Barley, oats, beans, and lentils are also grown, while orange and lemon, peach and olive trees flourish in a wild state, producing only uneatable fruit. The most characteristic growths are the *kolqual*, a *Euphorbia* extending rigid branches in regular candelabra form; and the *Echinops giganteus*, a monster tree-thistle, eight or ten feet high, with seed-balls, each as large as a man's head, a banquet for a Brobdingnagian donkey.

The upper highlands produce oats, barley, and pasture; while as high as ten thousand feet flourishes the *kosso-tree*, famous for its properties as a vermifuge, a powerful dose of the infusion of whose blossoms is taken at regular intervals by all the natives of the country, as a specific for the malady engendered by the consumption of raw meat. The snow-limit is reached only by some of the peaks of the Semyen ranges, which wear their winter livery all through the year.

Prolific in animal as in vegetable life, Abyssinia harbours all the great game of Africa, and its border provinces are a favourite resort of enterprising sportsmen. Hither, too, come professional dealers in wild animals, to secure for European menageries specimens of the lion, elephant, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, buffalo, and giraffe, as well as of lesser beasts, such as leopards, zebras, gazelles, and antelopes of every variety. Vast crocodiles of greenish hue lie in wait for the lesser game at the drinking-places by the streams, and troops of dog-faced baboons colonize the clefts of the rocks, and amuse travellers by their mimicry of humanity. Birds, many of them of the most vivid and varied plumage, are so numerous that Mr. Mansfield Parkyns, during a residence of several years in the country, collected as many as three hundred different species.

Swarms of locusts are among the most dreaded visitations, and formidable to animals as they to plants is the *seroot*, the "fly" *par excellence* of the rainy season, from whose punctured bites the cattle almost bleed to death. In compensation for these insect scourges, bees are not less abundant, and honey, both wild and cultivated, is one of the principal articles of food. Among

entomological curiosities, the most noteworthy is the paussus, a creature which lives at free quarters in the dwellings of the white ants, and resents impertinent familiarity by detonating and expelling a puff of acrid smoke on being touched.

The productive soil of Abyssinia maintains a relatively small population, whose figure, generally estimated at from three to four millions, Herr Rohlf, the most recent German traveller, would reduce to a million and a half. The heat and miasmatic exhalations of the valleys being prohibitory of residence there, villages and habitations are universally found on the higher levels, while the lower are only visited occasionally.

Africans in a geographical but not in an ethnological sense, the Abyssinians are now regarded as belonging to a group of races, collectively termed Kushite, comprising Somalis, Gallas, and their offshoots, Taltals, Adals, and Danákils, as well as Nubians and Bisharin. This family is believed to have extended through southern Arabia to the Gulf of Oman and the lower Euphrates, whose inhabitants, the Lemlouns, have been identified with the Bisharin of the Eastern Soudan.

The Gheez, or ancient Ethiopic tongue, still the liturgic language of the Abyssinian Church, is a Semitic idiom akin to Arabic and Hebrew. In its alphabet the vowels, having no separate symbols, are indicated only by a sixfold modification of each consonant character, expressing the associated vocal sound. Amharic, the official language of modern Abyssinia, spoken by the court, the army, and the upper classes generally, is not regarded as an offshoot from the earlier tongue, although embodying many of the words contained in it. A third idiom, the Agow, conjectured to be that of the autochthonous race, is very widely spoken, in some provinces by the lower orders exclusively, in others by the whole population. The Tigrean dialect again is of sufficient importance to be studied as a separate language.

The Arabic name *Habesh*, of which Abyssinia is a corrupt form, signifies a mixture, and though not used by the natives who style themselves Itjopians, and their country Manghesta (Itjopia), conveys an undoubted truth. The present population, whatever its original stock, represents a miscellaneous compound of races, though to a certain extent all modified in harmony with a prevailing type. With skin of every shade of colour, from golden chestnut to glistening bronze and ebon blackness, the Abyssinians are in general distinguished from other African races by a regularity of feature and symmetry of form unknown elsewhere on the continent. Even the inevitable infusion of negro blood, elsewhere so potent in asserting itself, seems here to have been absorbed unobtrusively. Slender and athletic frames, extremities small and shapely, hands in both sexes daintily

turned and tiny almost to a fault, are points that seem to belong to the thorough-bred human animal. The Abyssinian women are admittedly handsome, and command a high price in the slave-market. They seem to be without moral sensibility, and usually conform as a matter of course to Mohammedanism when introduced into a household of that persuasion.

Fanatically religious as is the Abyssinian in fierce intolerance of other creeds, his attachment to his own seems rather theoretical than practical. His virtues and vices are alike of the savage order, and in habits and modes of thought he is little, if at all, above the heathen natives of Africa. His lively intelligence is neutralized by apathetic indolence, and his quick imagination deadened by strong animal passions. Garrulous, vain-glorious, and self-important, both his courage and cruelty as a warrior are stimulated by his craving for applause. Though not without superficial amiability, his power of strong attachment may be doubted, yet his shallowness of feeling is by no means incompatible with a certain turbid depth of dissimulation. Nevertheless, he is not incapable of truth and fidelity, and Mr. Rassam, who as British envoy shared the later imprisonment of Theodore's captives, met with some striking instances both of kindness and fidelity on the part of his jailers and attendants.

Family affection scarcely exists in Abyssinia, where the extreme laxity of domestic ties dissolves all bond of union. Polygamy, though never condoned by the Church, is sanctioned by public opinion, and the ecclesiastical marriage, being indissoluble, is seldom contracted. The civil form, apart from the festivities that accompany it, consists of a mutual pledge exchanged in presence of witnesses, and revocable at the pleasure of the parties. A third order of marriage, lower even than this, admits of absolute plurality of wives, and is common among the upper classes. But as all these irregularities are matter of excommunication, a large section of the population are under the ban of the Church, while it is generally only those advanced in life who seek its removal by having their unions consecrated at the altar. To priests only one marriage is permitted, and the same rule sometimes applies to the sovereign, who often receives some form of ordination.

The Abyssinian dwelling is of the rudest, and, we may add, of the dirtiest. A circular structure, with grass or reeds overhead, in the form of an umbrella-thatch, and reeds or grass underfoot by way of carpet, a raised shelf for sleeping-chamber, a pair of stones for grinding corn, some capacious jars for hydromel or butter, with smaller ones for minor articles of food; a sofa or bedstead, consisting of a wooden frame, laced with strips of ox-hide; a few skins or rugs, weapons or implements—such are the aspect and objects it offers to the eye. How it affects another

sense we shall only hint by saying that the low and narrow door affords the sole admittance for light and air, that the domestic animals are as much at home within it as without, that the grass carpet becomes a perfect treasury of accumulating and festering refuse, and that the inhabitants, while abhorring all contact with water as though afflicted with hydrophobia, make lavish use of rancid butter as a cosmetic for their hair and persons. When we have added, by way of illustrating the prevailing standard of domiciliary refinement, that the royal mules and horses have their allotted place in the presence-chamber close beside the monarch's divan, we shall have sufficiently indicated why the European traveller generally prefers the shelter of the leakiest and draughtiest tent, or a night in the open air itself, to one passed within the fragrant precincts of an Ethiopian dwelling.

The food of the people is equally uninviting to foreign taste. Its principal condiment is butter, preserved in an oleaginous state, forming a substance known as *samen*, of smell and savour more strong than appetizing. Mixed with capsicums, bean-flour, and antelope's flesh, dried and powdered, it constitutes a glutinous compound called *shiré*, used as a sauce for all dishes. The finest bread is made from *teff*, and baked from semi-fluid dough into flexible leaf-like sheets, is the accompaniment of all meals. It serves not only as plate and table-napkin, but as spoon and fork as well, other food being rolled in it, and so conveyed to the mouth after a dip into red-pepper sauce. It is thus the Abyssinians swallow those revolting morsels cut from the newly slain beast and still quivering with its life, which form the choicest delicacy of their feasts. These vulture-banquets, described by the earliest travellers, are still in vogue; and the traditional course of *brind*, or raw beef, has been seen by the latest visitors served at the royal table. Nor is it always disguised in a wrapper of *teff*-cake, but devoured in ruder fashion, held up in great slices by the attendants to the lips of the guests, who with knife or even sword slice off the morsel as they masticate it, with imminent peril to their noses. To the Abyssinians might justly be applied the pithy sentence of that early explorer who, when called on to describe the manners and customs of certain natives, acquitted himself of his task by saying, "Manners they have none, and their customs are very beastly."

Honey, diluted with three parts of water, and fermented with the addition of bitter leaves, called *guecha*, forms *tedge*, the favourite and universal drink. *Bouza*, an inferior beer, is made from roasted barley; and *tallas*, a third quality, from fermented crusts of *durra* bread. As these beverages are drunk in large potations, inebriety is by no means uncommon.

So voracious is the Abyssinian appetite for flesh, that the entire

carcass and offal of a cow will be consumed raw in a few hours by a score or so of men. A curious superstition as to food, prevailing here as well as among the tribes about Lake Tanganyika, is that those partaking of it must be shielded from observation. Servants consequently hold up their garments as a screen before their masters at mealtime; and a party of men, dining in the open air, will throw a cloth over their collective heads to ensure privacy. A remote analogy with some Indian caste prejudices is perhaps traceable here.

The universal outer garment of both sexes is the shamma, a long piece of cotton cloth, skilfully draped round the person. The strictest etiquette prescribes its disposition, and makes it the measure of social respect. The reverence due to royalty, or its immediate representatives, requires it to be girt round the waist, leaving the upper part of the body uncovered, and varying degrees of deference are indicated by corresponding gradations in its position. The king and his ministers receive ordinary visitors with their faces muffled to the eyes in its folds, which, however, are gradually withdrawn after the first assertion of social superiority. All Abyssinians go barefooted and bareheaded, but a straw parasol is sometimes carried as a shade.

Home-grown cotton is manufactured into fabrics suitable for native use; but the art of dyeing it has not been attained, though indigo grows wild, and the red stripe which commonly ornaments the shamma is woven of threads procured by raveling a kind of cloth imported from North Italy for the purpose. The manufacture of rude pottery, basket-work (so closely woven as to be capable of containing liquids), and the tanning of hides, in which they excel, are their other chief industries. The fine goldsmiths' work of Gondar was wrought entirely by Mussulman artisans, a separate quarter of the city having been, down to the present reign, occupied altogether by Mohammedans.

All trade is carried on at weekly markets, as shops do not exist. Travellers, precluded from purchasing for themselves, are dependent for food and transport on requisitions levied by royal decree. The Austrian dollar with the effigy of Maria Theresa is the only coin current, nor would any other be accepted in its place. Small change is represented by the amole, a block of rock-salt, weighing 750 grammes, and of about the size of a whetstone. It varies in value, according to the distance it has travelled from the coast region which supplies it, but has a fixed standard of purchasing power in each place.

The most active centre of trade in Abyssinia, though practically inaccessible to European commerce since it is forty-three difficult marches from the coast, is the great bi-weekly market of Baso in the southern province of Gojam. This mart, visited by Signor

Matteucci, taps the virgin riches of the Galla countries, and is attended by vast caravans from Kaffa, Enarea, and Gemma, which encamp for a week in the neighbourhood of the town. The precious nature of the commodities bartered in this remote emporium, in contrast with the primitive rudeness of their surroundings, realizes the idea of Eastern commerce. The finest coffee from Enarea is shaken out of rough sacks of hide, nuggets of gold are hidden away in bags of corn, elephant tusks are flung in piles on the bare ground, and great ox-horns are redolent of the priceless petulance of the civet-cat; since the animal, tamed and caged, is deliberately angered twice a year, when its glands secrete the odorous oil that expresses its impatience, and enriches its tormentor. Human merchandize, invoiced and passed through the customs as "black ivory," is unfortunately one of the principal wares, and the Italian traveller reiterates the oft-told tale of the debasing horrors of the slave-market. Its average prices are 200 francs for a healthy man, 300 for a woman, 100 for a boy, and 500 for a girl, rock-salt being the substitute for coin.

Traffic and all communications throughout the country are carried on under the most extreme difficulty, as art has done nothing to overcome the obstacles interposed by Nature. The roads are little better than rocky staircases, and their frequent intersection by river-gorges makes the journey an alternation of headlong plunges from the crest to the trough, and of toilsome escalades from the trough to the crest of the land. Mules and oxen are the beasts of carriage, and fragile merchandise cannot be expected to survive long on their backs. Horses are the luxury of the rich, who consider it degradation to be seen on foot, and ride out attended by a mounted retinue. Like many of the Arabs, the Abyssinians use the ring-stirrup, through which the great toe is passed; hence the native saddle is useless to Europeans. They are accomplished cavaliers, and have a good breed of horses with a strain of desert blood. Adepts in the use of the lance and sword, their firearms are mostly of an antiquated pattern, the import of improved weapons being discouraged by the Egyptian custom-house.

The frequent sight of churches and monasteries alone reminds the traveller that he is among a people redeemed from utter barbarism by the Christian tradition. The Church,* though corrupted by centuries of schismatic isolation, is still the most civilizing influence here, and travellers who, like Gordon Pasha on his journey through Abyssinia, wake at dead of night to hear

* See the DUBLIN REVIEW, September, 1844, "The Christians of Abyssinia," and February, 1862, "D'Abbadie's Ethiopic Literature," for details of ecclesiastical institutions, literature, and traditions.

the Psalms of David chanted by the monks, cannot fail to be touched, as he was, by such long fidelity in faith even in the midst of error.

The mateb, a blue silk cord worn round the neck by all Abyssinians as a token of Christianity, is cherished by them as a mark of nationality as well as of religion. The political power of the priesthood is considerable, but their moral influence seems small. The religious services are few, and even those scantily attended. None are held on ordinary days, and a solitary Mass on Sunday, for whose celebration the attendance of several priests is required, represents the entire public devotions of the week.

The churches are circular, and divided into three concentric spaces, an outer gallery reserved for the laity, a second circuit for the clergy, and a square enclosure or inner sanctuary containing the tabôt, a block of wood figurative of the Ark of the Covenant. This object is regarded with such superstitious veneration, that no church can be consecrated or Mass celebrated save in its presence. On the Feast of the Epiphany it is borne in procession to the nearest lake or pond, sprinkled with water, and solemnly returned to its place, a rite which recalls some of the ancient pagan ceremonies, while the name of the ark is identical with the Arab *Tabut* applied to similar movable shrines.

On the same day of the year was annually repeated, at the time of Father Alvarez' visit, the baptism by immersion of the king, court, and numbers of the people. A simple bath seems now to have superseded the religious ceremony, and this anniversary is the only one on which the Ethiopian skin comes in contact with water.

The Abyssinian Church is a dependency of that of Alexandria, and follows it in adherence to the Eutychian heresy. There are, however, several sects of dissenters, one of which, called the *sost ledel*, has so subtilized the original Monophysite doctrine as to be, on this head of belief, nearly in accord with the faith of Rome. This movement, which would tend towards a healing of the schism, has been sternly repressed by the present ruler, and its adherents, including many religious communities, have conformed externally to the royal standard of orthodoxy.

The head of the Abyssinian hierarchy, styled the Abouna, Metropolitan, or Catholicos of Ethiopia, is, in conformity with a very early ordinance, invariably a foreigner; a circumstance which has doubtless preserved the local Church from total corruption. Through this dignitary, consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria, the channel of ordination is alone kept up, and the consent of the Egyptian Government to the despatch of an Abouna, purchased always by a sum of money, is constant matter of negotiation between the countries. The Abouna is

consequently jealously guarded, lest he should weary of his exile, and is in fact treated like a State prisoner.

The clergy are very numerous and extremely ignorant, ordination being almost indiscriminately conferred. Their distinctive mark is a large turban, more suggestive of Mussulman than Christian sanctity. Many of the monasteries are situated on the precipice-walled platforms of the ambas, accessible only by ladders or paths that might deter a chamois-hunter. The summit supplies water, with sufficient land for cultivation, and here the monks live and die without ever revisiting the world below. There are also numerous communities of nuns, but composed entirely of elderly women, who only renounce the world after having played their part in it.

The exterior of the Abyssinian churches is unpretending, and with their circular walls and thatched conical roofs they would be scarcely distinguishable from the ordinary dwellings of the country, save for the cross surmounting them. They are generally surrounded by a wood, and provided with a curious substitute for a bell, in a large slab of rough-hewn stone suspended to a horizontally extended rope, and struck with another stone by way of hammer.

There are, however, a curious class of exceptions to the prevailing simplicity of structure, in a considerable number—it is said 200—very ancient rock churches hewn out of the mountain sides. A group of these monolith temples, ten in number, at Lalibela in Eastern Abyssinia, has been visited and described by M. Achille Raffray, alone, we believe, of modern Europeans. These buildings are distinct from cave structures, each forming a separated block, isolated from the mass of the mountain by a deep trench forming an open court or gallery round it.

Legend ascribes their construction to Lalibela, the fifth Christian Negus, who reigned somewhere in the fifth century. An architect called Sidi Meskal brought with him 500 workmen from Alexandria, and is reported to have completed in twenty-four years the monumental task. The style of architecture is simple and majestic, and ogive and horse-shoe curves are seen in combination with the plain round arch, while the coloured ornamentation is of a geometrical pattern. Indestructible as the rock from which they are carved, these architectural sculptures are still in perfect preservation, for though buried and filled up with rubbish during the invasion of Mohammed Gagn, they were disinterred and restored on the expulsion of his followers.

Axum, the holy city of Ethiopia, has a cathedral of stone, built under the auspices of the Portuguese. Tradition is rife about the spot, for here, as it avers, a church was reared by St. Joseph, with the help of angels, in acknowledgment of the safe

residence of the Holy Family in Ethiopia, a legendary addition to the Flight into Egypt. Here, too, are enshrined, according to current belief, the most venerable relics in the world—the Ark of the Covenant and Golden Cherubim, brought by Menelik from the Temple of Jerusalem. The secret of their hiding-place, in a chamber in the thickness of the wall, is known only to the existing Nebrei, or high priest of the shrine, on whose death it is transmitted to his successor by means of a written document always carried about his person.

However fantastic the Ethiopic legend of the genealogy of the royal house, it embodies in mythical form the curious fact of a very large and early Jewish migration to Abyssinia. Thus only could have been introduced here so many practices and precepts of the Mosaic dispensation—the rite of circumcision, distinction between clean and unclean meats, triple division of the churches, and observance of the Sabbath in a Saturday as well as a Sunday day of rest, reminiscences of the Hebrew ritual which are adhered to with unalterable tenacity. Christians and Mohammedans in Abyssinia reject each the meat slaughtered by the other, obliging travellers, who have both creeds represented among their followers, to supply all animals for food in duplicate.

A large section of the Abyssinian population, called Falashas, from the Ethiopian word *falas*, an exile, are still professing Jews, though settled in their present abode from time immemorial. They have, however, adulterated the Hebrew worship with the addition of a female divinity, Sambat, the Queen of Heaven, to whom they offer meats and sacrifices, and who is generally identified with the Syrian Ashtaroth. The absence among them of any tradition of the Babylonian Captivity, or of either Talmud, seems an argument of the remoteness of their divergence from the parent stock. Abyssinian tradition regards them as descendants of a contingent of Menelik's followers, who, having refused to obey him by crossing a stream on the Sabbath, remained fixed in their original creed, while their comrades, accepting by anticipation the dispensation of the New Law, became the ancestors of the Christians of Ethiopia. The Jewish type is still traceable in the features of the Falashas, although their complexions have assumed the sable hue of the African races.

Of other creeds there is little to be said. The Galla tribes have adopted a nominal Mohammedanism, and in the central provinces there exist some communities of tree-worshippers, called Kamants, who probably perpetuate the primeval religion of the country.

The government of Abyssinia is a pure military despotism. The king lives in the field, ready to move his camp from his headquarters at Debra Tabor to any district showing signs of disaffec-

tion, while martial rule is similarly enforced by his vassals, the kings of Shoa and Gojam, and the viceroys, who govern the other provinces with the title of Ras, Arabic for head or chief. The next degree of authority, in this rough semblance of a feudal system, is exercised by the Dejatch, whose title, approximately translated by that of Duke, implies the command of a section of a column in the field, as well as the government of a district. The purely honorary title of Lidj, is like the French *de*, a hereditary prefix of nobility, while that of shoum is borne by a civil magistrate, with functions resembling those of a mayor or prefect.

Jurisprudence, embodied in an ancient code, partly founded on that of Justinian, and partly on Deuteronomy, is administered by the military chiefs, assisted by twelve so-called judges who represent the twelve Jewish elders or counsellors of Menelik. Their number and unofficial character, representing the popular element as a check on State authority in the administration of justice, recall the institution of the jury, and their function of advisers and assistants to the presiding judge seems to imply that the community at large is the depository of the traditional interpretation of the law. The parties in a case plead in person, arguing alternately with much flow of language and variety of gesture, the shamma being rolled and twisted in every conceivable fashion as an adjunct to oratorical effect. The king is the final arbiter of justice, and the last appeal in every case lies to his decision.

The death of Theodore closed one act of Abyssinian history; the coronation of the present king inaugurated another, of which the protracted duel with Egypt has been the principal interest. With the collapse of the power of the latter State in her southern provinces, the conflict has for the moment come to an end, but whether Abyssinia be capable of profiting to any extent of the opportunity thus offered her, still remains to be seen.

The withdrawal of the British expedition without establishing any permanent government in place of the one demolished, was witnessed with dismay by many of the natives, and one of them expressed in forcible language to Mr. Rassam his anticipation of the result. In reply to the remark of the latter, that the people must learn to govern themselves, he exclaimed, "You mean that we must cut each other's throats!" and this simple solution of the vexed problem of self-government seemed for a time the most probable one. Superiority in fortune or ability, however, enabled one of the aspirants to power eventually to triumph over his rivals, and gave Abyssinia, in her present ruler, a saviour of society.

Lidj Kassai, Prince of Tigré, a namesake but no relative of Theodore, seemed, with that monarch's name, to have inherited his

earlier fortunes. Like him, he passed his youth in a convent, and like him, exchanging the cloister for the camp, became a schefta, or captain of banditti. But as war and brigandage are in Abyssinia almost synonymous, the successful outlaw was quickly merged in the military chief. Having had the shrewdness to await, in an attitude of friendly neutrality, the upshot of the British campaign, and being rewarded by the victors with a present of four guns and a thousand stand of arms, he was placed at a considerable advantage over his competitors for power. It was not, however, till after a long and arduous struggle, extending over three years of constant fighting, that he attained to supreme authority; when, having succeeded in procuring an Abouna from Cairo, he was crowned in 1871, by the magniloquent titles of Johannis, King of Sion, Negoosa Negust (King of Kings), of Ethiopia and its dependencies. Even then the kingdom of Shoa, in the south, remained unconquered, while Bogós in the north, asserted its independence under its hereditary Prince Walad-el-Michael, or Wadenkal, son of Michael. This pretender, after being successfully combated and taken prisoner, was again released, to assist, as was hoped, in repelling the attack of a still more formidable claimant to his dominions.

One Werner Munzinger, a Swiss subject, was at that time (1874) Egyptian governor of Massowah, and being a man of restless and ambitious character, urged on the Khedive the annexation of the Abyssinian border provinces, Bogós and Hamasém. In an evil hour, Ismail, ever sanguine and impulsive, listened to his counsel, and organized an expedition. But while adopting his advice, he distrusted his co-operation, suspecting him of designs of personal aggrandizement, and Munzinger was detached in command of a small separate force to operate from the south in the direction of Shoa, while the main body of 2,500 Egyptian troops, commanded by a Danish officer, Colonel Arrendrup, marched from Massowah on Northern Abyssinia.

Both expeditions were equally unfortunate; Munzinger and his detachment were cut to pieces near Lake Aoussa, by the Danákil tribe, natives of the coast, while the bones of Colonel Arrendrup's force, with which was Arakel Bey, Nubar Pasha's nephew, are still bleaching by the banks of the Mareb, where they fell thick beneath the Abyssinian spears. Scarcely a man survived to tell the dismal tale of that disastrous day, or survived only in such plight as to make the fate of his comrades, mangled by the hyænas of Godda-Guddi, seem enviable to the living monument of the mercies of the Abyssinian or the Galla.

The lesson was a severe one, but it was lost on the Egyptian Government. A fresh force, some 20,000 strong, was collected and despatched to Massowah, with Ratib Pasha as com-

mander, and Loring Pasha, an American officer, as Chief of the Staff. The presence of Prince Hassan, the Khedive's younger son, was intended without doubt to give éclat to anticipated conquest.

Yet despondency prevailed in the Egyptian ranks, overshadowed by the tradition of the Prophet's curse on any Mussulman invading Abyssinia. The ruler of Ethiopia, so the legend runs, having sheltered eighty of Mohammed's followers from the persecution of the Koreish, was rewarded by this malediction on his future enemies; while, according to another prophecy, the Caaba, towards the end of the world, will be finally destroyed by Abyssinia, which is consequently grudged a sea-port as a step to the fulfilment of the prediction.

Amid such baleful auguries the Egyptian army set out on its ill-starred march, while a conflict of authority between the native and foreign elements on its staff was a worse omen for its success than any derived from ancient prophecy. Extraordinary difficulties beset its advance, from the nature of the ground traversed, and the guns were dragged over rock-ladders and staircases, where subsequent travellers find it difficult to realize their transit. The valley-plateau of Gura, amid the wildest gorges of Tigré, was at last reached, and here the march on Adowa, the capital of that province, was stayed, until the erection of two forts should have secured the rear of the expedition.

Meantime, though no enemy had been seen, King Johannis had not been idle. The drum beat to arms in the market-place of every hamlet and group of huts from the Rahad to the Mareb, and by scores of thousands the wild spearmen of the hills flocked to join the royal standard. Hungry for blood and hot with battle-fever came those fierce lean mountaineers of the tropics, for fanaticism inflamed their native ferocity, and bade them give quarter to no living enemy, and burial to no infidel dust.

In the invaders' camp the vicinity of this barbarous array was uneasily felt, and the king's mustered warriors, numbering 180,000, were said to stand aligned along seventy miles of mountain crest. Colonel Dye, historian and eyewitness of the campaign, puts his fighting strength at 50,000.

It was on the morning of March 7, 1876, that the low distant hum of swarming thousands, and the wavering movements of a cloud of dust behind the hills, warned the Egyptians that the battle was at hand. Little preparation had been made for it, but the infantry were ordered out at the last moment in a groping sort of way, to seek a position where the valley widened from a funnel-throated gorge. Men who saw the column march out, wondered afterwards to remember how quietly, though with

little show of martial enthusiasm, it went forth to its destruction.

For, in the words of Colonel Dye,

from the hills came down as one great avalanche, hewers of men (one may call them) with brandishing swords, and fusiliers by thousands with ready weapons of war. Each column was led by a Ras, bare of head and foot, bedecked in all the paraphernalia of barbaric warfare, mounted on a gaudily caparisoned horse, presenting a *tout ensemble* at once fantastic, wild, and fiend-like. Following the Ras at the head, and with each Dejatch and under chief throughout the column, were martial bands consisting principally of *nagariths* and *aimbeltas*. The former of these instruments is at once a tambour and a tambourine, having in its sound the volume of the drum and the clattering of cymbals, while the latter instrument has the range and flexibility of the trumpet and the shrillness of the clarionet; a mingling of deep, hurried, and ominous tones, hiding both past and future, and arousing their barbarous souls to fury and combat.

Under the impact of this mass of impassioned humanity, the Egyptian infantry wavered, began to give ground, and finally retreated, but still preserved the cohesion of its ranks, until it reached the throat of the pass, where men and animals, pursuers and pursued, became wedged together in a struggling mass. In this slaughter-pen the annihilation of the Egyptian column was but the work of a few seconds; the hideous, horrible, blood-carnival raged and roared into silence, and the battle-fury of the assailants was soon slaked, since nothing living remained to gratify it.

Meantime the remnant of the expedition was safe behind its intrenchments, and the enemy, disorganized by his victory, was incapable of following it up. The king returned to his camp to find it plundered by his followers, who had counted on his defeat, and on the morrow half his force had melted away, the vain-glorious warriors having no doubt gone home to boast of their achievements among their friends. It was said that, fatigued by a long march, they had fought reluctantly, and that the king had compelled them to do so, sending round his messengers to cut open their water-skins, and tell them they must drink next at the enemy's wells. His diminished force was still further weakened by an unsuccessful assault on the forts, and after the cold-blooded massacre of his prisoners, he withdrew with the main body of his army. The campaign ended with the retreat of the Egyptian force to Massowah, the march thither degenerating into a stampede, in which many lives were lost.

King Johanniss told Herr Rohlfs, the German envoy, that their escape was connived at, in consideration of a bribe by his general

Ras Bariu, a breach of trust for which he was deprived of his eyesight. In regard to this transaction as well as to other details of the battle, the king's narrative differs from those published by eye-witnesses on the Egyptian side.

All the enemy's camp-equipage, tents, treasure, 25 guns, and 10,000 Remingtons, fell into the hands of the victors, and English sovereigns, which they took for trumpery counters, were sold at the rate of thirty for four dollars. Nine thousand Egyptians are commonly said to have fallen, but Colonel Dye would reduce that estimate by one-half. He believes the Abyssinian loss to have been equally heavy, as their ranks were severely punished by the artillery before coming to close quarters. The unburied slain wreaked vengeance on their destroyers by breeding a fearful pestilence, which together with a famine, caused by a plague of locusts, is believed to have swept away two-thirds of the inhabitants of Tigré.

Prince Hassan, on reaching Cairo, told his father that he had no army, a dictum seemingly justified by recent events. The Khedive directed all his efforts to preventing news of the disaster from reaching Europe, and with such success that it was years before its scope and details were fully known there. His reverse, nevertheless, had not the effect of rendering Ismaïl pliant in regard to terms of peace. The Abyssinian envoys, sent to Cairo to treat, met with such discourtesy that they had to invoke the protection of the foreign consuls, and had to return to their country after months of detention on their bootless errand.

Thus the breach remained unhealed; and a state of chronic warfare, carried on by licensed freebooters on both sides, subsisted all along the Abyssinian border. Walad-el-Michael, titular prince of the provinces annexed by Egypt, let loose, as it will be remembered, by King Johannis, to fight the armies of that State, had made common cause with them instead; and, supplied by them with arms and money, was long the firebrand of the frontier. From his mountain eyrie in that debateable land, he and his horde of banditti swooped on Abyssinian territory, while Ras Aloula, the frontier general of the latter State, made periodical plundering raids on the Bogós country—a process which that pleasant-titled officer euphemistically describes as “collecting taxes.”

These troubles confronted Gordon Pasha on the threshold of his Soudan administration in 1877; and of the many cares of his vast pro-consulate, by none was he more harassed than by the perpetually recurring outbreaks on the Abyssinian frontier. Walad-el-Michael, when bribed by him, as a step towards pacification, into temporary quiescence, was secretly supplied with men and arms by his own lieutenants and sub-governors, as an

incentive to fresh aggression. After alternately favouring Egypt and Abyssinia with his alliance, and being in the end thrown over by both, Wadenkal's eventful career was terminated, in 1879, by his capture by Johannis, and imprisonment for life on the summit of an amba, accessible only by an aerial voyage in a basket.

On Mohammed Tewfik's accession in the same year, Gordon was formally accredited by him to the King of Abyssinia to announce the fact, and settle the outstanding quarrel between the countries. His instructions, conveyed in these vague terms, "*Il y a sur la frontière d'Abyssinie des disputes, je vous charge de les arranger,*" empowered him to make no substantial concessions, and his mission was foredoomed to failure.

It began with an insidious attempt on the part of the King and his lieutenant Ras Aloula, to detach him from the interests of his master by appealing to his personal sympathies as an Englishman and a Christian; to which the single-hearted envoy replied, that while there he must be regarded simply as the Khedive's deputy, and a Mussulman for the time being. The story that he asserted his independence by dragging his chair to the same level as the monarch's, he has himself contradicted, saying that such conduct would have been both rude and foolish. Yet the frank, soldierly bearing of the Englishman evidently irritated the surly king, whose jealous self-love was wounded moreover by the popularity which the munificence of the satrap of the Soudan acquired for him, in contrast with his own penuriousness. He even threatened his visitor's life, but was much taken aback by the latter's reply, that he would confer a great boon on him by ridding him of its troubles.

The Abyssinian demands were extravagant. Johannis asserted a claim to Dongola, Berber, Nubia, and Sennaar, but graciously consented to waive it in consideration of the retrocession of the frontier districts of Bogós, Metemmeh, and Changallas, the cession of two ports, Zeila and Amphilla, the despatch of an Abouna, and an indemnity of from one to two millions sterling. Negotiation on this basis was impossible, and Gordon was rudely dismissed, but succeeded, as he believed, in extorting from the king a letter, in which he formulated his demands in writing. The missive, however, contained nothing but an insulting challenge to the Egyptian Government, couched in the usual elegant phraseology of Abyssinian official correspondence, and Gordon having opened it, which as the Khedive's wakil he was entitled to do, let the king know he was acquainted with its contents, and aware of the bad faith with which he had been treated.

The premature detection of his trick incensed his Ethiopian

Majesty to the utmost, but he allowed the envoy to proceed on his return journey as far as Char Amba, the last point on the confines of the Soudan, on the north-western boundary of Abyssinia. While awaiting there a military escort of Soudanese troops to enable him to pass the brigand border-country in safety, Gordon was suddenly surrounded by a large Abyssinian force, arrested by royal mandate, and peremptorily ordered back to the coast. A march of terrible hardship ensued, and by breakneck precipices, over snow-covered mountains, and without tents in the depth of winter, the party re-traversed the whole breadth of Abyssinia. Bullied by the soldiers, mobbed by the people, plundered by the officials, it was only by the expenditure of £1,400 in bribery, that Gordon was at last permitted to reach Massowah, where the welcome sight of a British gunboat gave him the first visible assurance of safety and protection.

I do not write the details of my miseries [he says to his correspondent], they are over, thank God, and though the King of Kings (Johannias, King of the Kings of Ethiopia) has made me uncomfortable, I have made him uncomfortable too. Sleeping with an Abyssinian at the foot, and one on each side of you, is not comfortable, and so I passed my last night in Abyssinia.

Gordon, nevertheless, whose only prejudices are in favour of his personal enemies, on his return to England wrote to the *Times* an eloquent appeal for sympathy for Abyssinia, as a Christian country which had kept the torch of faith alight, however dimly, during so many centuries of isolation.

The breach between Egypt and her neighbour remained unhealed, until Admiral Sir William Hewitt, despatched by the British Government, succeeded in negotiating a treaty, signed at Adowa on June 3, 1884. Its main provisions are the restitution of the Bogós territory, free transit of goods to Abyssinia through Massowah, and facilities for the appointment of an Abouna; while the Negoosa engages to co-operate in the withdrawal through his dominions of the besieged Egyptian garrisons of Kássala, Amedeb, and Sanheit. A separate treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade was concluded with Great Britain, and an interchange of presents and compliments took place between Her Majesty and the ruler of Ethiopia, whose envoys were received by her at Osborne, on August 20, 1884.

The English mission, these tokens of amity notwithstanding, was treated with scant courtesy in Abyssinia. The natives, elated by their victories over the Egyptians, are arrogantly hostile to all foreigners, as appears from their demeanour to Admiral Hewitt's party. The correspondent of the *Daily News* who accompanied it, narrates how two officers, arrested in Adowa for attempting

to buy provisions in the market, were kept in the full blaze of the sun for two hours; and how their captors replied to remonstrances on this head, saying, "It would be better if the sun killed them, for the skin of these pink devils is only fit to cover the scabbards of our swords," adding the further complimentary speech, "Those with the green eyes have nothing to be proud of, for we speared such men at Gura." *

Neither have the first results of the treaty been very encouraging. Ras Aloula, the Abyssinian governor of Tigré, immediately began to assert his master's restored sovereignty in Bogós by the plunder of its inhabitants, while from Massowah itself the panic-stricken citizens fled from his approach, as he led a successful cattle-foray to their very gates. In the Soudan province of Taka, meanwhile, where the towns of Kássala, Kedárif, and Gallabát had held out stoutly for the Khedive, the rumoured advance of King Johannis has had anything but a reassuring effect, and it would seem that the inhabitants prefer surrender to the Mahdi to deliverance by the Abyssinians. Nor is anything to be hoped from the Negoosa's co-operation against the insurgent Arabs, for his army, formidable in numbers, is without military cohesion, and his mountain-bred troops cannot live or fight in the plains. Justice to Abyssinia is a virtue, which it seems must be its own and only reward.

King Johannis, while thus successful in rectifying his northern frontier, has displayed no less sagacity in extending his empire to the south. There, Menelik, King of Shoa, who had maintained a semi-hostile attitude during the Egyptian campaign, was finally subjugated in 1878, and made due submission in the received Abyssinian style, by approaching his conqueror with a stone on his neck. The latter, with a touch of kingly generosity, stepped from his dais to meet his defeated rival, embraced him with tears, and crowned him anew with the royal diadem from his own brows; while the heir of the House of Solomon, not to be outdone in magnanimity, offered a double tribute of beeves and fatlings.

This dramatic reconciliation was unfortunately effected at the expense of the Catholic missionaries, previously received with favour by the King of Shoa, and successfully established in the adjacent Galla countries. Their patriarch was Mgr. Guglielmo Massaja, a Capuchin monk of Piedmontese birth, during thirty-three years of wanderings and persecutions, the indefatigable apostle of those savage tribes. The autobiography, which by the desire of the Holy Father he is now engaged in compiling, will be a romance of charity, for seldom has more adventure been crowded into a single life.

* *Daily News*, Saturday, June 21, 1884.

Exile and imprisonment, the exceptional trials of others, were with him the normal experiences of the apostolate, and their barest record is a panegyric. Banished in 1847 from one province of Abyssinia, he two years later purchased his release from prison in another by the payment of £600, and in the same year was again arrested and again enlarged. Wandering in disguise through Western Ethiopia in 1852, and recognized as a Christian by the Arabs while selling his wares in the habit of an itinerant dealer in the market-place of Dunkour, he was savagely attacked, and only saved from death by the soldiers of Prince Kassai, afterwards King Theodore. A fresh imprisonment a little later was terminated by a fresh ransom, and the interior of a dungeon at Kaffa, in August, 1861, was exchanged for a second term of banishment. Arraigned as a magician by the Mussulmans of Amhara, in November of the same year, he was once more incarcerated by the King, and once more banished on his liberation. Next accused of treasonable practices by an apostate Christian, he suffered fifteen days' durance before he could establish his innocence. Robbed and seized by Theodore's soldiers on the western border of Abyssinia on June 27, 1863, he pleaded his cause so successfully before the King that he ordered his immediate release.

A romantic episode in the life of another comes to light among the dramatic incidents of his career. Some thirty years since a young Egyptian, a Catholic, and pupil of the Propaganda in Rome, chanced to be left behind by his boat on the Nile, while on the return journey to his home in Tantah. A Coptic priest decoyed him into the desert, and carried him a prisoner to the monastery of St. Anthony, within whose fortress-like walls he remained immured for eight years, a Catholic at heart, though numbered among the community. During his detention there arrived at the convent, seeking shelter and hospitality, a pedlar, dealing in small cutlery, who passed three months under the roof, treated as a beggar by its inmates. To the young Egyptian alone was the itinerant—bearded, bronzed, and poorly clad—known as Mgr. Massaja, Vicar-Apostolic of the Gallas, flying from a persecution in that country. His counsel and conversation were of great assistance to the captive, whose eventual escape was due to his being selected for an Abyssinian bishopric. On his way through Cairo, when passing the residence of the Catholic bishop, he eluded the two monks who accompanied him, and took refuge there. He is now the Abouna Boutros, or parish priest, of the Catholic Copts of Mansourah.*

The Galla missions in 1878 numbered seven churches and

* *Les Missions Catholiques*, May 9, 1884. "Voyage dans le Desert de les Basse Thebaïde." R. P. Jullien.

many Christian communities. The schismatic King of Shoa was the friend and patron of the priests, and his regard for Mgr. Massaja led him to retain him in his own dominions, where his influence secured a favourable reception for European travellers. But Menelik's submission to Abyssinia entailed the sacrifice of his predilections in this respect, as Johannis was resolved on the religious as well as political unification of his empire. Hence, the first proof he demanded of the renewed loyalty of his recreant vassal was the dismissal of the foreign priests, who, three in number—Mgr. Massaja, his coadjutor, Mgr. Taurin Cahagne, and Father Louis Gonzaga—were summoned to the royal camp early in 1878.

Compelled to await the Negoosa's pleasure or caprice as to receiving them, they accompanied from day to day the march of the combined armies of Shoa and Abyssinia, and were the unwilling witnesses of their depredations. The vast multitude of 180,000 souls, of whom a full third were women and children, subsisting on rapine and pillage, carried devastation on their track, and left famine in their rear. The hearts of the missionaries ached for the sufferings of the peasantry, compelled to beg a pittance from those who had robbed them of all they possessed, wasting even more than they consumed. The Abyssinian soldier, a picturesque figure, with lance and shield, fringed goat-skin flung over his bronzed shoulder, and metal bracelet on his sinewy arm, is indeed but a licensed brigand, equally formidable in peace and war.

The royal audience, when granted, was not of a very reassuring character. The King received the missionaries with his face muffled in his drapery, and did not permit them to approach nearer than the door of the apartment. Nor when Mgr. Massaja, so venerable in years, in aspect, and in character, had finished his plea for permission to remain in the country, did the sour fanatic vouchsafe a word of reply, but contented himself with an imperious gesture of dismissal.

Yet the Catholic priests had after all less ground for complaint than the *sost ledel*, or schismatics among his own subjects, against whom he was waging at the same time an active persecution. Having invited the leaders of this sect to hold a formal dispute with their adversaries in his presence, he had their tongues cut out at its close, effectually silencing arguments which had proved unanswerable, while universal conformity to the State religion was established under pain of death.

Menelik meantime had been bidden take his choice between war and the banishment of the foreign priests, but by diplomatic temporization staved off for a year the execution of the decree. In announcing it at last to Mgr. Massaja, he strove to soften its

import by feigning that the missionaries were to be despatched to Europe in the character of envoys from the king, a pretence too hollow to deceive them.

Ordered in the first instance to the royal head-quarters at Debra Tabor, Mgr. Massaja and his two travelling companions of the previous year with some young native disciples, were compelled to make the toilsome journey of nearly a month during the rainy season in July, when the valleys were hotbeds of fever. Reaching Debra Tabor on the 5th of August, 1879, they had to undergo two months' detention in wretched quarters, and under close guard, until the cessation of the rains rendered their farther journey possible. The King's gracious adieu to them in an interview conducted as before, was couched in the single phrase, "Go to your country."

But while the easier and direct way thither would have lain eastward through Tigré to Massowah, they were by a refinement of cruelty compelled to take the circuitous route westward into the interior of the Soudan, at the very time of year when that country is most unhealthy.

The frontier governor here was Ras Arya, the King's uncle, who replied to the missionaries' renewed remonstrances on the dangers of the route both from fevers and brigands, that he would guarantee them safety from brigands, while he hoped Providence would give them immunity from fevers. He kept his word by providing an escort which conducted them in safety across the border, and once in Egyptian territory the courtesy and hospitality of authorities and residents did much to alleviate the hardships of the remaining journey to the coast. Nothing, however, could avert the effects of the malarious poison they had been subjected to, several of their young companions died on the road, and Mgr. Massaja reached Europe in shattered health, incapacitated from farther apostolic labours. The patriarch of missionary bishops, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the thirty-ninth of his episcopate, has recently been raised to the Roman purple, and received the intimation of his new dignity on the August 7, 1884, at Frascati, where a tiny cell in the Capuchin convent is his haven of rest after a life of such toil and travel. His successor, Mgr. Taurin Cahagne, has returned to his mission in the Gallas country by a more southerly route from Tadjourah Bay, avoiding Abyssinian territory.

The flourishing mission of the French Lazarist Fathers at Senheit, the capital of Bogós, will doubtless be utterly annihilated as the result of the retrocession of that province under the treaty of Adowa. Seventy or eighty boarders and 500 out-door pupils here attended the schools, while whole villages had embraced

Catholicity *en masse*. All must now emigrate or apostatize, and barbarism will usurp the place of this nucleus of civilization.

The intolerance of Johannis is not confined to Catholic teaching, and in 1880 he published a decree of banishment against all Mohammedans, with the result of almost universal conformity on their parts, by the acceptance of baptism as a formality.

While the extension of Abyssinian rule is thus fatal to religious freedom, it is in no sense a gain to humanity or civilization. "The king," Gordon says, "is hated more than Theodore was. Cruel to a degree, he does not, however, take life. He cuts off the feet and hands of those who offend him. He puts out their eyes by pouring hot tallow into their ears." With a ferocity resembling incipient madness, he punishes smoking and snuff-taking respectively by amputation of the lips and noses of those who indulge in them. The cruelty of the Abyssinians to the Egyptian prisoners is notorious, and the authority just quoted tells how a batch of 2,000, being unable to march after three days' deprivation of food, were compelled to lie on the rocks to be fired at as targets by the captors.

With such memories fresh in their minds, the subjects of the Khedive may well regard their transference to the rule of the Negoosa with abhorrence. The worst Egyptian pasha is less inhuman, and not more rapacious, than a Ras of Ethiopia, while, as a guardian of peace and order, even the Bashi-Bazouk is preferable to the Galla. It need not then be matter of surprise if the Arabs of the Soudan prefer to follow the fortunes of the Mahdi, their compatriot and co-religionist, rather than pass under the hated and dreaded alien yoke of Abyssinia.

E. M. CLEEKE.

ART. V.—THE VICISSITUDES OF "VIGIL."

STRANGE and varied are the associations which cling to certain words. The bare mention of them conjures up a whole history of the past, and that history is often made up of events as romantic as any that cluster round the memory of the most famous knight-errant. The deeds of an Alexander or Cæsar sink to the level of mere commonplace in comparison with the startling events interwoven with the fortunes of some words. For they are mixed up with exploits not solely of particular times and individuals, but of successive heroes and ages, and enter largely into the history of the Pagan as well as the Christian world; and of such is the old word "Vigil."

Any one having the merest rudimentary knowledge of the

Latin tongue need not be told that vigil means simply a watch or guard, without reference either to the goodness or to the badness of the object, or to the time of the watch. During Pagan ages vigil denoted as well the celebration of religious rites in honour of false gods as the treacherous surprise of an enemy. Even in our day the word is employed to express quite opposite ideas. It has been associated as well with places "where heavenly pensive contemplation dwells," as with those scenes which made an illustrious poet sing, that an opportunity will always be found for wreaking vengeance through the

vigil long
Of him who treasures up a wrong.

Though the vigil was very often observed by night, and very naturally, still there is nothing in the original meaning or derivation of the word to exclude a watch by day. If, on the one hand, the eyes of the Psalmist anticipated the watches,* if the spouse in the Canticles was found by the watchmen,† if our Saviour walked on the sea towards His disciples during the watch of the night;‡ so, on the other hand, the same Psalmist is represented as watching from early light,§ and our Redeemer tells us to watch and pray,|| for we know not the time of judgment. And in another passage He exhorts to watch and pray at all times.¶

In sacred as well as profane authors there has been frequent mention not only of nightly but daily vigils. The vigil is suggestive of the marches and adventures of the Imperial legionaries of Rome as they proceeded from the Capitol by the Flaminian way on the old Roman road through Etruria, on to Milan, over the maritime Alps, through Lyons, to Rheims, across to Sandwich, to London, and onward till they reached the wall of Antoninus. Every sod of ground within the vast empire on which a Roman soldier encamped is suggestive of the vigil. At the very mention of the word do we not in spirit see the pioneers clear away the ground for an encampment, dig the fosse and deep moat, and fix the strong stakes on the ramparts? Does not the vigil conjure up visions of the auxiliaries posted in front, of the squadrons covering the flanks, of the military engines in the rear, and the heavy-armed infantry forming in the centre? At the bare sound of vigil do we not hear in fancy the crashing of the palisades before the incursion of the enemy, the clarion sound the alarm, the barbarian arrows rattle on the embossed shields of the Roman soldiers, while the missiles from the military engines are heard

* Ps. lxxvi. 5.
§ Ps. lxii. 2.

† Cant. iii. 3.
|| Mark xiii. 33.

‡ Mat. xiv. 25
¶ Luke xxi. 36.

whizzing in the direction of the barbarians? Through the entire extent of the Roman Empire during many long ages the vigils by day and by night entered into the actions of daily existence.

Turning to another nation in comparison to whose antiquity the Roman Empire was only of yesterday, we find that the vigil played a most conspicuous part. It prevailed among the Jews, for sacred as well as profane purposes. The vigils are closely bound up with the history of the famous tabernacle of the Lord; and so strongly were they enjoined, that a disregard of them entailed the penalty of death.* The vigils kept on the mountain-top by shepherds, as well as those in cities, both ensured the peace of the inhabitants and regulated the hours of the night. They meet us at every turn of the long and eventful history of the people of God, from the morning vigil on which the Egyptian host was swallowed in the deep,† till the angelic hymn was heard over Bethlehem by the shepherds keeping the night watches.

2. Here we may notice the second meaning attached to vigil. It meant not only a watch, but the time during which the watch lasted. In the early history of the Jews, before the Babylonish captivity, the night had been divided into three parts. The first vigil,‡ which embraced the time between sunset and midnight, was called the beginning of the watch; the second vigil, or midnight watch,§ lasted till cock-crowing, or about three o'clock A.M.; and the third vigil, or morning watch,|| from cock-crowing till sunrise. But at the time of our Redeemer, and for a considerable time previously, the night was divided by the Jews, as by the Romans, into four vigils. To these our Redeemer alludes when he tells His disciples to watch,¶ for they knew not when the Master would come, whether *late*, or at midnight, or at cock-crow, or in the morning. This *lateness* in the evening, which commenced at sunset, was called the first watch, or evening.** The watches at midnight and cock-crow, are called respectively the second and third vigils by St. Luke,†† and the morning watch spoken of by our Saviour, is called the fourth vigil by St. Matthew.‡‡ Each vigil or watch consisted of three hours, while the whole night was divided into twelve hours or parts. These were equal among themselves, but varied according to the seasons of the year. They were longer in winter, and shorter in summer. But short or long, each vigil comprised three hours.

The division of the night into four vigils, consisting each of three hours, is naturally connected with the division of the day. Our solar or civil day, consisting of night and day, and made up

* Lev. viii. 35.

§ Jud. vii. 19.

** Mark xxv. 6.

† Exod. xxiv. 25.

|| Exod. xiv. 24.

†† Luke xii. 38.

‡ Lam. i. 19.

¶ Mark xiii. 35.

‡‡ Mat. xiv. 25

of twenty-four hours, is supposed to have begun at evening; for we read that the evening and morning were one day.* On that account the Jews began their day at sunset, or the first vigil. The first vigil commencing, say at the equinoxes, at six o'clock, had also the name of "conticinium," expressive of, perhaps, the quiet silence into which the busy hum of business was hushed; the second vigil, called "intempestium," the unseasonable or dead hour of night, continued from nine o'clock till twelve o'clock; the third vigil, called also "gallicinium" or cock-crow, lasted from midnight till three o'clock; and the fourth vigil, called also "antelucanum," or before the day-spring, lasted from three o'clock till sunrise.

Now the division of the Jewish night begun and terminated by the hours, say for average purposes, of six o'clock in the evening and six o'clock on the following morning, facilitated the distribution of the day into corresponding portions. The close of the fourth or last nightly watch was the beginning of the twelve hours of day, while the end of that day was defined by the first hour of the first watch of the night, namely, six o'clock in the evening. Now that the limits of the day were defined by the fixed beginning and end of the night, in order to have the day divided, not only into twelve hours, but even into four parts consisting each of three hours, corresponding to the vigils of the night, there was need only of marking off a division of the day at the third hour, nine o'clock A.M., at the sixth hour, twelve o'clock, and at the ninth hour, or three o'clock P.M. The first division or watch of the day, beginning at six o'clock, would correspond with the first vigil of the night at six o'clock P.M.; while the second division, beginning at the third hour of the day, corresponded with the second nightly vigil, or nine o'clock. The third division, beginning at midday, or the sixth hour of the day, corresponded with the third nightly vigil, which began at midnight; while the fourth division or watch of the day, beginning at the ninth hour, or three o'clock, corresponded with the fourth vigil of the night, which began at three o'clock A.M.

The remarks of St. Jerome, in his commentary on the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew, are very much to our purpose. Speaking of our Divine Lord's appearance on the waters to His disciples, during the fourth vigil of the night, he says: "On the fourth watch of the night, He came walking on the sea. Military stations and vigils were partitioned off, each into the space of three hours. When, then, the Evangelist says that the Lord came to them during the fourth watch of the night, he points out how they were in danger all the night long,

* Gen. i. 5.

and how our Lord will give aid to them at the end of the night and to the consummation of the world."

In this passage we observe that the division of the night into four hours or vigils was a military idea; and as we know that the Romans observed a military station or vigil by day as well as night, we are to infer a like division of the day for civil and every-day life. Furthermore, the saintly and learned commentator remarked that the vigil or watch represented not merely its first hour, but its last one also—*extremo noctis*. So too the third division, for instance, of the day should mean not only its last, but even its first hour, which began at twelve o'clock.

I have dwelt the more on this matter as bearing on the apparent discrepancy between the evangelists St. John and St. Mark in reference to the hour of our Saviour's crucifixion. Thus the sixth hour of St. John, counting from sunrise, corresponds with St. Mark's third hour or watch; just as the sixth hour of night corresponded with the beginning of the third night-vigil. Of course the opponents of this method of harmonizing the Gospels may deny there was a division of the day into three or four portions corresponding with those of the night. But Varro assures us that the prætor had, by sound of trumpet, the third and sixth and ninth hours of the day publicly proclaimed.* Even for a long time after Varro, Tertullian spoke of these hours as something more than the twelfth part of the day. He says that these hours partitioned off the day.† He calls them the "distinguished or remarkable hours," and observes that the public crier proclaimed their advent. He winds up by saying that at the sixth hour, using the word in the ordinary sense, darkness came on the earth at our Saviour's crucifixion.

To see the full force of Tertullian's argument, we should bear in mind that the carnal men objected to the "stations" and fasts being prolonged beyond three o'clock, or ninth hour, to evening. They grounded their objections on the example of St. Peter, who ascended to the temple at that hour. But Tertullian replies by asking, what reason was there for supposing, even though St. Peter went at the ninth hour to the temple, that that hour limited the time for prayer, or did not include the next three hours to evening? And in favour of this view, he appeals to the examples of Moses, Saul, and Joshua, who continued their miraculous prayers till evening.

The division of the day into four parts, each consisting of three hours, is brought out clearly by Prudentius. In one of his

* "De Jejuniis."

† "Tres istas horas et insigniores in rebus humanis quæ diem distribuunt, quæ negotia distinguunt, quæ publice resonant."

beautiful hymns he says,* "Now the sun declines, we offer our prayers, and receive the Eucharist. It is None; three parts of the day are gone, and a fourth remains; we break off our festival and go to our common food."

The principal objectors to the division of the day, as the night, into four parts, are those who endeavour to harmonize the Gospels by saying that, while St. Mark counted the hours according to the Jewish method, St. John fell in with the Roman computation of the hours, not from sunrise, but from midnight; so that St. John's sixth hour would be six o'clock A.M. But this theory derives no support from Scripture or facts, and is opposed to the very best authority. No one could be more competent to speak for the Jewish practice than Josephus, and his authority should be decisive on the matter. He was coeval with the last of the Evangelists. Like St. John, he died at the end of the first Christian century, and wrote his "Antiquities" in the same decade.† In the fourteenth book of his "Antiquities," alluding to the piety and love of religious observance among the Jews, he states that the war and siege of Jerusalem did not prevent the priests from ministering in the temple, twice a day, in the morning and evening about the ninth hour. Here the ninth hour must mean three o'clock. The ninth hour must have been counted not from midnight but sunrise, according to the immemorial custom of the Jews. It may be observed that in the earlier history of the Jews sunset and sunrise were the hours for the morning and evening sacrifice.‡ Now, if Josephus, who states in the preface to his book that he wrote for the benefit of the Greeks and Romans, still adhered to the old Jewish computation of hours, we have no reason for supposing that St. John Evangelist adopted a different computation of the day. We cannot suppose any necessity for doing so on the part of St. John. In the passage alluded to, Josephus quotes Strabo and Titus Livy, and therefore must have been thoroughly acquainted with the Roman system of reckoning the day; and therefore it is scarcely possible to suppose that the Roman was different from the Jewish method of computation. Again, in the preface to his "Autobiography," speaking of the faction that raged during the siege of Jerusalem, he says that the multitude would have gone into a tumult unless

* "Nona submissum solem rotat hora
Partibus vixdudum tribus evolutis.
Quarta devexo superest in axe
Portio lucis."—"Cathemerinon," H. 8.

† Josephus wrote his "Antiquities" in Greek, as he says, for the Greeks and Romans in the year 93. He lived in Rome.

‡ *Ibid.* B. 3, chap. viii. sec. 3. I quote from Whiston's translation.

the sixth hour, which was now come, had dissolved the assembly, at which hour their laws required them to go to dinner on Sabbath days.* Now we know that the Jews dined at midday, and from this, as for other reasons, the sixth hour could not be reckoned from midnight, or be said by any means to correspond to the six o'clock A.M. Besides, in the very next sentence Josephus tells us that, when informed of the tumult, he determined to go to the city of Tiberias in the morning. Acting on his determination, he proceeded to Tiberias about the first hour of day. Now the first hour must have been counted not from midnight but from sunrise, otherwise it should be said that it was by night he went there.

3. Different in duration from the Roman or Jewish vigils of four hours were the apostolic vigils. The quiet of night was deemed peculiarly suited to prayer and deep meditation. It is no disparagement to some Christian ideas that their wisdom and beauty, as being founded in the very nature of things, appear to have been anticipated in some respects by Pagan sages. Homer describes night as ambrosian; and Quintilian† observes that the activity of the mind in a wakeful mood was assisted by the darkness of the night. Pagan poets and philosophers vied with each other in singing the praises of night, or in descanting on its beauties.‡ But the fathers and faithful of the primitive Church need not have borrowed lessons from Pagan wisdom. Examples from the Old Testament were familiar to them. Familiar to them was the conduct of the Royal Prophet who was mindful of God's name during night; of Judith, who went out by night and prayed; of Samuel, who prayed the livelong night; and of our Divine Lord Himself, who spent whole nights in prayer. Christian writers most earnestly recommend the use of nightly vigils on their own merits. They insist that good as prayer and meditation are by day, they are still more efficacious by night; because, they observed, the various occupations and cares of the day distract the senses, and thus interfere with that calmness and attention secured by night.§ While some maintain that the nightly vigils in apostolic times were recommended by a sense of their natural advantages and examples in Holy Writ, others trace their origin to the persecutions under the Pagan Emperors. Christians not being allowed to meet by day for the purpose of celebrating the festival of Christ and His Saints, were driven to meet on the night preceding the festival. They met in the catacombs and at the graves of the martyrs. Their

* "Autobiog." p. 53.

† Lib. x. 6.

‡ Euripides, "Ion," 85, and Cicero "De Leg." lib. ii.

§ Nicetius, "De Vigiliis," apud D'Acherry "Spicilegium," tom. iii.

conduct did not escape the vigilance of the Pagan persecutors. Pliny informs the Emperor Trajan* that a Christian confessed to him that the only crime of the Christians consisted in meeting on stated days before dawn, and singing hymns to Christ as their God. The nightly meetings were so characteristic of the Christians, that the Pagans gave them the name of skulking light-shunners.† The nightly vigils of the early Christians, whether taking their rise from the Pagan persecutions or otherwise, continued for many centuries after the cessation of the persecution. The vigils were continued in some cathedrals and churches down to the close of the Middle Ages. The first prohibition by the Church against them regarded the vigils at the crypts or tombs of the martyrs. Abuses had crept in. Under the guise of religion, the vigils were used as a cloak for intemperance and other vices.‡ The nightly meetings, even in a church, were not free from abuses, and in the course of time even in these the vigils were discontinued.

However, I am not concerned about the origin, nature, or history of vigils. It is not within the scope of this paper to describe what filled up the nightly vigils—the prayer and meditation and genuflexions, the self-infliction, the sacred hymn, the prostration, and the sweet tears of penance. My province is not to follow the faithful in their hallowed vigils into the churches built on the lonely shore, in the busy mart, or into oratories and lauras of hermits. My purpose is not to deal with the matter, but the name, of the things—to glance at the several offices filled by vigil, without detailing the history of these employments.

The vigils of the early Christians sometimes extended over the whole night. Hence with the fathers of the Church they got the name of night-long sacred meetings.§ That they began in the evening is made manifest from a passage in the life of St. Athanasius. Socrates|| describes an escape which the saint on one occasion had from the Arians. He tells us it was evening, and that the people had assembled for the purpose of keeping the nightly vigil because of the following day being a festival. Soldiers had been stationed round the church. St. Athanasius,

* Lib. x. Ep. 97, "hanc fuisse summam culpæ suæ vel erroris quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo, &c."

† "Latebrosos lucifugaces."—Minutius Felix.

‡ Concil. Eliber. can. 35: "Placuit prohibere ne feminæ in cæmeteris pervigilent, eo quod subobtentu orationis latenter scelera committuntur."

§ Chrysos., "Hom. IV. de verbis Isaïæ et Hom. I": βλέπε παννυχίδας ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὶ συναφθείσας.

|| Lib. a, cap. xi.

fearing a tumult or slaughter of the people, ordered the deacon to intone a psalm. During the singing of the psalm the soldiers did not venture to stir, and in the meantime the people left the church, and with them escaped St. Athanasius.* And St. Ambrose, speaking of vigils and defending their practice, says that our Divine Redeemer spent whole nights in prayer, not that He needed it, but to teach us to do for ourselves what He did for us.†

4. The vigils in the course of time came to signify something different from the night or nightly exercises. The faithful prepared themselves for the celebration of a festival by the observance of a fast on the previous day. After the discontinuance of the nightly stations a solemn fast with appropriate prayers constituted the vigil. The station so early as the time of Tertullian was synonymous with a fast,‡ and even in modern times, in ecclesiastical language, the vigil signified a fast.

Pius VI. took an opportunity of restoring partially the Advent fast in retrenching some holidays of obligation. While exempting the faithful from the obligation of Mass and cessation from servile work on the retrenched holidays, the Pope transferred the fasts attached to the festivals to the Advent. But as it is not so much for the fact as the language employed by his Holiness that I refer to the matter,§ I use his own words: "But as to the *vigils* attached to these festivals already retrenched, his Holiness has directed they be transferred to the fourth and sixth ferias on each week of Advent, on which the same fast is to be observed as should be in Lent and the days of Quarter-time."§ Here we see that vigils are implied to be the same as fasts.

5. By-and-by, though the fasts were discontinued in many instances, as well as the nightly prayers, the time during which these religious observances prevailed got the name of vigil. And as the day of twenty-four hours has been reckoned for many centuries amongst us from midnight to midnight, and as the ecclesiastical fast covers that time, the vigil came to signify what it signifies at present with ourselves, the entire civil day counting from midnight to midnight. Hence at present we attach no other meaning to Christmas Eve, or rather St. John's Eve, than the day before these festivals. And perhaps I may observe that, as the fast remains attached to some few festivals, a relic of past discipline, so the Nocturns which used to be said three times during the night, as implied by the term, were a relic or substitute for the vigils properly so called.

* "Apol. de fuga."

† Serm. 19, in Psalm cxviii. 147.

‡ "De Anima," chap. x. 48.

§ "Ex audientiâ SSmi." die 29 Martii, 1778.

6. Not only the full public offices of the Church, but even particular parts of them, got the name of vigil, and this happened without regard to the time at which they were gone through. Hence Matins and Lauds for the deceased faithful got the name of vigils for the dead. Hence too, I suppose, the Litanies and other prayers said by private individuals, as well as less holy practices which take place in presence of a corpse on the night previous to interment, got the name of wake or vigil.

7. A variety of meaning is shown in the derivatives of vigil, simple and compound. It is employed in the Irish language as a noun, verb, and adjective, and means "prayer," "to pray," and "prayerful." Its compound derivative, "crossfigill," is of frequent occurrence in Irish writings, and has been a puzzle to philologists. Though its component parts are plain enough, yet in composition they issue somehow like those elements that chemically result in something different from their physical nature. Notices of the cross, Latin, Greek, Swastika, turn up in Irish records, and the inquiry arises as to what particular kind of cross is meant. Is there question of a certain form of prayer, or of merely a particular attitude of the body? Well, the word crossfigill has been employed to express a position of the hands raised and parted somewhat like the position of the hands of the priest raised during Mass.

8. But turning from the derivative of vigil to the word itself, there is none of its various and strange meanings so strange apparently, or that has played so prominent part in Irish mediæval literature, as *feil* (vigil) or festival. Accustomed as we have been for a long time to associate the vigil with the day previous to the festival, nay, to make them convertible terms, it will sound strange that the word could or did mean the festival itself. Yet such was the case. Vigil or Feil is the word employed in the Irish language to express festival; and so much did it become a part of the language even at an early period that in the eighth century it had a derivative in the word *felire*, a collection or calendar of festivals. This will not appear surprising if we bear in mind the original or etymological meaning of vigil. It came to be an expression for the time during which religious exercises prevailed; and as these prevailed on the festal day as well as the previous day, one day as well as the other could with some propriety be termed vigil or *feil*. For the present, however, I am concerned only with the fact.

Irish writers treating of feasts and their observances state that whenever a festival falls on a Saturday outside Lent, its vigil was taken off at nine or three o'clock; but if it fell on a Wednesday, or Friday, or Monday, its celebration was transferred to Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday following. The vigil was

kept on the festive day.* But though Saturday was opposed in character to the solemnization of a festival, still the vigil was discontinued at nine because of the genuflexions accompanying the vigils.

The rule of the Church, then as now, was that, in honour of our Saviour's resurrection, public prayers should be said in a standing posture from Vespers on Saturday till the evening of Sunday. Genuflexions were deemed inappropriate. But when the feast chanced to fall on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday, then the feast, rather than curtail the vigil as on Saturday, was altogether transferred to another day, because these three days, being fast days normally, were inconsistent with the suitable celebration of a festival. From all this I infer that the vigils were observed on a festival.

This is made still clearer by another passage. The law regulated that penitents should not be exempted from vigils, except after None, during the solemn festivals from Easter to Pentecost; so that the relaxation of vigils on festivals granted to others was denied to penitents. The exemption from genuflexion on Saturday evening and Sunday was extended to the Pentecostal time as having been considered one unbroken holiday.

Nor was the association of vigil with *daily* prayers, once on a time, confined to the British isles. Cassian, giving an account of the introduction of Matins and Lauds as distinct from the Nocturns, says that the practice began in Bethlehem in his own time. Soon it became very common through the Western Church. But the *daily* vigils previously formed a part of the nightly vigils.† That prayers or vigil were associated with the very festival will appear the less surprising if we consider that the image of vigil or station was borrowed from military life. The prayers were not to be said, as the word station would imply, in a standing posture. Vigil on the part of the sentry at the camp-fire or elsewhere was necessary to guard against surprise. The midday demon as well as the nightly fiend was to be guarded against by the soldiers of Christ. Hence the vigil of the Christians—hence the station; for, as Tertullian remarks, we are in a state of warfare.‡ In another place he institutes a comparison between the military and Christian station.§ He says that the faithful soldier never should forget the oath by which he is

* L. B., p. 11.

† Cassian, "Inst.," lib. iii. ch. iv: "Usque ad illud tempus hac solemnitate matutina . . . cum quotidianis vigiliis consummata."

‡ "De Oratione," xiv.: "Si statio de militari exemplo nomen accipit, nam et milites sumus."

§ "De Jeuniis," ix: "Secundum stationis vocabulum addicimus, nam et milites nunquam immemores sacramenti magis stationibus parent."

bound, though at the same time more obedience and watchfulness are exacted from him while engaged in camp-duty. So, too, as to the Christian, though at all times he should watch and pray, still there were times and stations for his special fervour, earnestness, and loyalty in the service of God.

If we bear in mind that, in celebrating the festivals of her heroically holy children, the Church had in view the spiritual rather than the corporal benefit of the faithful, the association of their celebration with vigils will excite no surprise. Hence we find, as a trace of primitive discipline, even so late as the year 1752, that canons in a provincial council at Tuam enacted* that the festival of St. Mark should be celebrated with a procession, and, unless it fell on Sunday, with abstinence and a fast till dinner; and this took place even though the festival coincided with that of SS. Philip and James.

In other languages the word *festival* is associated only in idea with vigil, just as a fast, though supposing a feast, is essentially different from it. But in the Irish language the vigil is not only associated but synonymous with festival; while in the Latin and its cognate languages, as also in English, "vigil" is an expression for a day previous to the feast. In the Irish it means the feast itself. This appears rather curious. How is it accounted for?

Many have fancied they saw a similarity in the Celtic temperament and language to the Greek rather than to the Roman type; and that it is characteristic of the genius of the Greek language to name things from some accidental rather than, unlike other languages, some essential quality inherent in them. It may appear that the Irish like the Greek genius has been readily struck, without looking things through and through, by some accidental or external quality in objects, and was thus influenced in its nomenclature. Still the question arises, does the strange meaning of vigil in the Irish happen from anything peculiar to the genius of the language? Or are we to seek for its explanation in harmony with well-established historical facts? To answer this it is desirable to determine the time when the vigils became identical with festival in the Irish language, and when were the vigils discontinued.

At the end of the fourth century among the errors broached by Vigilantius was one that regarded the nightly vigils. He inveighed against their abuse, and then passed on to deny their utility. The heresiarch was successfully combated by St. Jerome; and there is reason for believing that the attacks of the heresiarch had only the effect of making the vigils still dearer to the

* O'Renehan "Collections," 505.

Catholic heart. St. Jerome, playing on the name of *Vigilantius*, remarked that it was a misnomer; and that he should be called rather the sleeper. The applause with which the wit and argument of the saint were received by the Catholic world proved that the abuses of the vigils had not yet led to their discontinuance. Nay, even so late as the year 816, in a council held at Aix-la-Chapelle, under Lewis the Pious, the utility of the nightly vigils was maintained, whilst those who advocated the contrary were branded as heretics.* It is pretty certain, then, that vigils were common in the Christian commonwealth when St. Patrick came to Ireland, and that he introduced their practice there. This is the more likely as the word "vigil" is found in the oldest Irish manuscripts, and has been employed to designate a festival.

The religious exercises usually performed on the eve or night of a festival in other countries were transferred to the day previous. Even in Rome, the mother of Churches, and from which were borrowed by other Churches its name and use, the vigil was originally a nightly pious practice. Then by a figure of speech the time during which it continued got the name of vigil; and by a further violence to language the vigil, as an expression of time, was extended to the entire previous day. But the meaning attached by the Irish language to it will appear natural, if we consider that in that language the ecclesiastical rather than the civil division of the day was adopted. I admit that in Rome and throughout the Catholic Church the festivals were celebrated from Vespers to Vespers; but I am not speaking of the practice. I speak rather of the vernacular language. Whatever may have been the ecclesiastical division of the day in other countries, the vernacular was conversant only with the civil day. Not so in Ireland. That eminently Catholic spirit, which under favourable circumstances made the Irish nomenclature of the days of the week the most Christian in Europe, made the Irish vernacular conversant only with the ecclesiastical division of the day. The night of a festival in the Irish language meant, and means still, not as in other languages, the night following, but preceding the festival. Hence, for instance, Christmas means literally our English Christmas Eve. The night then, according to the ecclesiastical division, and as expressed in the vernacular language of the country, formed a part of the succeeding rather than the preceding day; and, consequently, the vigils and the other holy exercises performed during the night,

* "Con. Aquisgran." cap. cxxx.: "Est quoddam genus hæreticorum superfluas existimantium vigilias et spirituali opere infructuosas . . . qui Græco sermone Nyctuzontes, hoc est somniculosi vocantur."

could be associated with more propriety in Ireland than in other countries with the festival itself. Moreover, we have the clearest evidence of the prevalence of vigils not only by night but by day in the Irish Church from its very first reception of Christianity. On the principle, then, by which the religious offices of the Church are named "Prime," "Tierce," "Sext," and "None," the hours at which respectively the offices were to begin, conversely the religious exercises of the vigil became an expression for the time during which they lasted. While then the Christian vigil, as originally understood, and as an expression for the time during which it lasted, lost its original meaning in the language of other countries, in the Irish language it has retained the same meaning as on its first adoption into the language. In most, if not all, of the languages in which the word "vigil" is used, it is only by a figure of speech or fiction that it can be said to signify the entire day previous to a festival. Not so in the Irish language. Here the day, whether considered as a civil or liturgical day, or named from the exercises practised on it, could with great propriety be called a vigil. Vigil then signifying a festival in the Irish language is in harmony with facts, testifies to a more Catholic past than the present, and though more strange, is more true and natural than making it an expression for the day previous to the festival; while the vicissitudes of vigil add one more proof to the correctness of the adage, "that truth is stranger than fiction."

SYLVESTER MALONE.

ART. VI.—THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND:

A REPLY.

WHY is not England Catholic? Why does the nation as a whole turn a deaf ear to the claims of the Church, remaining to all appearance as far from submission to the authority of the Pope, as if there had been no Romeward movement in the Established Church forty years ago? Why are the fruits of the conversion of Cardinal Newman and his distinguished disciples so poor? Why has the restoration of the hierarchy been so barren of results? These are questions that are seldom asked, and most Catholics and Protestants would agree in complaining that their form is somewhat misleading. Protestants are dismayed at the fact that "Rome's Recruits" may be reckoned by thousands, and that over and above the persons of position, whose names are paraded before the public by enterprising pamphlet-

writers, there are numbers of perverts to Popery annually made of whom the world hears little or nothing. Catholics, among whom the memories of past persecution have not been obliterated by present prosperity, rejoice over the unlooked-for successes of the Church, and marvel not at the fewness of conversions, but at their multitude; and they feel that their view is not merely that of partisans. It is surely not without significance, they think, that the belief common among the children of the Church should be shared by some of those who cordially detest and distrust Catholicism. Mr. J. A. Froude, for instance, makes this complaint: "It is a fact not to be denied that, in countries where, at the beginning of the century, a Catholic was as rare as frost in July, and the idea of a return to Popery would have been ridiculed as madness; there nevertheless, Popery is returning with a rapidity and a force so remarkable as to challenge attention and explanation. The reaction is strongest where the movement in the opposite direction was most violent." But there are some among us who had hoped for greater results than those which have been attained, and believe that methods other than those actually adopted by their co-religionists would have brought greater success to the Catholic cause. There are, we are warned, "very serious drawbacks to our prosperity," and it is well "that these should be recognized, and that we should not rest in a fool's paradise, or do nothing but praise each other, and depreciate others, as if we belonged to a mutual admiration society." Or again, the same suggestion is made in the form of the plaintive question: "Is there any religious body in this country where so much fine energy is wasted?" That such complaints are reasonable is of course far from an impossibility, for the Church is always liable to suffer through the shortcomings or shortsightedness of her sons; and when the complainants are Catholics, whether lay or clerical, who are known to be loyal to their faith, and anxious only for what will secure the triumph of the truth, what they have to suggest certainly deserves careful consideration. Recently two exponents of this less common view regarding the progress of the Church in England have claimed the attention of their fellow Catholics. In the last number of the DUBLIN REVIEW, Mr. St. George Mivart put forward this side of the case earnestly and plainly, contending that the conversion of England, which forty years ago was expected as a not very distant event, had been retarded not alone by circumstances beyond the control of Catholics, but also by the fact that the conduct of Catholics themselves had not been in all respects as judicious as it might have been. Mr. Mivart's contention was all the more important because he not only attempted to trace this failure to its source, but also had some practical suggestions to make to

the laity as to future co-operation with the clergy in the struggle to secure the conversion of this country. With much that he has written it is impossible not to agree. Every effort to elevate the standard of our education, and to render our culture more complete, claims earnest sympathy and support; and if the Catholics of the coming generation are to hold together, and not waste their forces by allowing themselves to be first isolated among and then absorbed by the Protestant majority around them, it is no doubt desirable that such social sympathy as is supposed to distinguish Catholics from Christians of other communions should have a real existence. That the laity should "serve tables" for the clergy, and give gladly to the Church the benefit of that business experience which is second nature to them, while it has from the nature of the case often been wholly withheld from their pastors, goes without saying; though it may be that the clergy have been too considerate to press the matter on laymen, and that this truth is one which needs to be re-stated. But along with so much that is beyond criticism, there are contentions of an important character, which Mr. Mivart urges with all the earnestness of keen conviction, but which cannot be so easily accepted; and I venture to think that some of these which more or less concern the relations of the Church with the Anglican Establishment have been so stated as to call for modification, not merely because they seem as they stand to reflect unjustly on the present policy of the Catholic Church in this country, but because they may be misunderstood by Anglicans, and taken as an admission on the part of a distinguished Catholic of certain charges which Ritualists reiterate without ceasing against modern Catholicism. That Mr. Mivart's tone in dealing with such delicate topics is respectful and filial it is needless to say; it is to be regretted that the same cannot be as safely asserted of another Catholic writer, who earlier in the year gave to the world his views on somewhat similar subjects. Lord Bray's little book on "The Present State of the Church in England" hardly deserves to be placed side by side with Mr. Mivart's essay. It is not cast in the form of an argument at all. It consists of a number of complaints for the most part vaguely, and in some cases vehemently, worded, without attempt at proof; and his "Seventeen Paragraphs," written in a species of prose-poetry, have the tone of a jeremiad poured forth by a prophet of coming desolation. Surely this is not the form in which a remonstrance should be addressed to those who are set over the Church of God? If there be ground for complaint let it be made by all means to those who have the power of redress; but there is a right and a wrong way of making it. It is not just that a father should rebuke his son till it is clear

that a fault has been committed; it is due to any inferior that when fault is found the ground of the fault-finding should be clearly and calmly stated. Any prudent parent, any just master, any capable teacher, will tell Lord Braye this. But what would be said of a son who took his father to task with less respect than that due from parent to child, and wherever his notions did not happen to accord with his superior's policy cried to the world to come and behold the shameful shortness of sight which did not see what to his childish wisdom was self-evident? Among Catholics such vague vaticinations will hardly receive even a passing attention, but among those who are outside the Church they may perhaps acquire an unreal importance from the fact that the existence of grievances, at which they hint in the language of sentiment, has been gravely asserted by such a Catholic writer as Mr. St. George Mivart.

If I venture to take on myself the task of suggesting certain errors into which, as it appears to me, Mr. Mivart and Lord Braye have fallen, it is with the desire not only to remove an unjust stigma of failure from my fellow Catholics, but also to point out both to them and to my former co-religionists in the Anglican communion the real bearings on our present position and theirs of the Tractarian movement; and to promote, so far as I can, that better understanding between Catholics and Anglicans to the absence of which so much injury to religion is due. One word of apology may be permitted me for making such an attempt. During the time that I was a clergyman of the Church of England it was my lot to have official and social relations with the clergy of many dioceses and of all schools of thought. I knew the Established Church, not only as a curate and afterwards as a beneficed clergyman, in town and country, but also as the representative of the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor, and of the Additional Curates' Society, which supports the Home Missions of the Anglican Church. In the discharge of my duties I passed day after day from diocese to diocese and from parish to parish, and I may safely say that I have seen and conversed with more Anglican clergymen than any living Catholic can have done. In those days, I never thought, indeed, to leave the Church of England, but the question was always before me what side to take in the conflict of creeds which raged within her, and I seldom lost an opportunity of hearing what thoughtful and learned clergymen—of whom I had the privilege to know many—had to say on the great questions of the day. On the results of such intercourse I ground my view of the Church of England clergy and their attitude to Catholicism. My experience of them has been from the circumstances of the case not only vast but varied, for I have sat

in a Synod of the Society of the Holy Cross, and I have discussed Auricular Confession with the late Dean Close; and it certainly leads me to the conclusion that the position of Protestants is much misunderstood among us. But while I agree with Mr. Mivart that numbers of the Anglican clergy lead "exemplary and devoted lives" which call for our sympathy, and that the Anglican Church is "often spoken of by some amongst us with sarcasm and ridicule as injudicious as unjust," I cannot but think that he has himself erred somewhat on the other side, and that much of his disappointment at the delay in the conversion of England is due to his sharing certain delusions on Anglican subjects which are as complete as they are common, even though he declines to accept the received view of his fellow Catholics as to the actual progress of the Church.

But before entering on this question it is natural to inquire whether it is quite certain that the speedy conversion of England was to be expected as a consequence of the Tractarian movement? That it *was* expected Mr. Mivart tells us, but that is a separate question. He adds, however, that in his opinion that expectation was not unwarranted. His argument seems to be to this effect: Religious evolution has so far culminated in the religion of the Cross; the spiritual development of man is the highest form of development known to us; and if a purpose underlies the course of Nature the events which were instrumental in spreading Christianity were providentially designed to spread it. The character of the ancient Roman Empire did facilitate the diffusion of the Gospel and aid in the organization of the Church; and what Rome did in early ages Portugal and Spain did for the Church in the sixteenth century. But as England has now succeeded to a vast imperial rule and a more than imperial influence, with a growing population and a characteristic fondness for freedom, the extension of the Holy Father's dominion must be the present providential purpose for which our imperialism exists. Protestant England, however, must first be Catholicized, and to the coming of such a consummation events seemed to point conclusively, when forty years ago the Tractarian movement sent its distinguished chief and his disciples to the Catholic Church. Certain conditions which seemed to be wanting were speedily supplied; but England is not Catholic or likely to be for some time. "Some obscure cause, or causes, evidently hindered the carrying out of consequences which seemed so surely designed by Providence to follow after such hope-inspiring antecedents. Since then, as year has succeeded year, our former sanguine hopes have seemed to fade and grow less and less likely to meet with speedy fulfilment." This is due partly to circumstances outside the control of Catholics, but also in part to faults of omission and com-

mission, and to injudicious proceedings on their own part; and among the most fruitful causes of failure has been the introduction of "Italianism," the attempt to kindle amongst our Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples "a taste for the ways and feelings of Southern Italy," instead of favouring the identification of the Church of to-day with the English Catholic Church of mediæval times.

Such is the main part of Mr. Mivart's argument, and it will be seen at once that it contains a serious indictment—respectfully as it is expressed—against those who have directed the destinies of English Catholicism since the restoration of the hierarchy. But ought not such an indictment to rest on accepted facts rather than on historical theories; and on established conclusions rather than on convenient assumptions? It is true, of course, that Almighty God uses human agencies to fulfil His providential purposes; but is it less true that the powers of the world are often permitted to postpone, if not actually to prevent, the progress of the Church? The Roman Empire aided the spread of Christianity in early ages. Does it follow that every great empire in every age must have been raised up to fulfil the same purpose *directly*? I say *directly*, for that is Mr. Mivart's contention, though he does not state it clearly. *Indirectly* the Roman Empire may be said to have aided Christianity in the first instance by persecuting and so purifying the Church; and is it the case that great Powers always aid the Church *directly*? Had the relations between the Papacy and the Empire of the West no share in preparing the way for the estrangement between the Holy See and the Eastern Church? Again, did Spain always aid the Church? Portugal and Spain may have been instrumental in the propagation of Christianity in Asia, Africa, and America; but it may be argued that the action of Spain on behalf of Catholic interests did more to consolidate English Protestantism than all Elizabeth's prelates and preachers put together. Did the Ottoman Empire aid Christianity? Or, if this case be an extreme one, take that of Russia. Is not the Czar in a position to effect the reunion of Christendom, and facilitate the return of millions of schismatics to the obedience of Rome? But is it safe to assert that the Czar is providentially predestined to perform what in fact he prevents? Germany, again, has been at war with the Church; but now events point, as many believe, to a permanent peace between the Pope and this great Power. Prince Bismarck probably desires this for the sake of his country as keenly as Christ's Vicar seeks it for the sake of souls; and Prince Bismarck could with a little persuasion regain for the Holy Father some share at least of his temporal power. May we therefore conclude that the power of Germany has been

raised up for the purpose of placing the Pope once more upon his throne? It would at any rate be rash to found an argument on an assumption that such was the case; and it is surely no less hazardous to conclude that because England is in a position to be of use to the Church she has been providentially predestined for such a task, and therefore for speedy conversion to Catholicism.

To dogmatize as to the "interpretation of God's purpose" is to play with edge tools. In the hands of Protestants the practice has certainly not increased the popular respect for religion, and it would be a pity if Catholics should follow the example of the late Dr. Cumming, and of those Conservative readers of prophecy who traced in the cession of Cyprus, through the influence of a Hebrew Premier, a remarkable indication that the Jews should return to their own land under the auspices of the English people, and that the latter were in all probability the descendants of "the Lost Tribes." Looking back from a distance of centuries it may be fair to seek in the pages of history for indications of the purposes of God, but how can any man know enough of the facts of the case to treat contemporary history thus without allowing his imagination to run wild? Moreover, Mr. Mivart's argument rests on a second assumption, which may be less apparent than the first to English readers, but which is none the less an assumption. Granted for the moment that the patronage of some predominant Power is really a means of propagating the Gospel which has the Divine approval, must we not suspend our judgment as to which of all the Powers is the one that is to predominate in the future? How is it certain that England is that Power? To doubt this may seem to an Englishman sheer insanity; nevertheless, a great many people do doubt it, and it is therefore not to be assumed as axiomatic. Arguments based on what "Englishmen will" do or leave undone are suitable for the hustings, but hardly for theological discussions. This idea may be in itself "un-English," and therefore not worth listening to in English estimation. To the Englishman what is "English" is right, and what is "un-English" is wrong—a happy solution for awkward questions; but Popery is itself so essentially "un-English" that this kind of logic is a little out of place in the mouths of Catholics. Indeed, to most Catholics that an idea is "English," is a reason for regarding it *primâ facie* with suspicion. What will French or Irish Catholics think of such a theory? To millions of Irish Catholics all over the world, "that small island" which is Mr. Mivart's "beloved home," is the home of the Protestant oppressors of a race faithful to the Church and distinguished among the nations for its widespread missionary enterprise. The

people of the United States of America are "agents" for Irish far more than for English "ideas and sentiments," and there are many who regard the diffusion of the Irish race, with its growing power in America and Australia, as far more remarkable than that of the English. To multitudes of Catholics it will seem probable that "the future dominance in the world" of "the English-speaking peoples" is "so certain," as Mr. Mivart says it is, only because "the English-speaking peoples" include peoples that are not English in race or sympathies, and sensible Englishmen are to be found by the score who deplore as no less "certain" the decadence, and even the speedy decadence, of England's imperial sway. These views may be wrong, but they may also be right. It is not necessary to pause for a moment to examine them, or to conjecture whether Russia or Germany is to be the Power of the future, or whether the Irish are the coming race. The existence of such opinions—which can hardly be questioned—need only be recalled in order to prove that Mr. Mivart starts with a surprising assumption when he declares that the spread of the Church can be "the only adequate object for our Empire's existence," and adds, that "to doubt this would amount to doubting the truth of Catholicism itself." Surely English Catholics rest their faith on some better basis than a political prophecy which has little more to recommend it than that it is pleasing to their national pride? In the past this sacrilegious nation, as Cardinal Newman calls it, has been the propagandist of Protestantism, and the bitterest foe of the Church in every part of the globe. Was she given her vast power to be the harbinger of Catholicism? If facts count for anything, can such a theory be accepted for a moment? That God will turn that great power to His own glory and the advantage of the Church, in His own way and in His own time, we may not doubt; but if we are to venture on any "interpretation of God's purpose," it is quite as reasonable to suppose that England is to be in the future what she has been in the past, one of the persecuting powers by which the Church has been purified for her divine mission, as to conclude that she will be the converter of the nations. Protestantism she has spread, and Protestantism is not dead. It takes daily a more dangerous form in that indifferentism which has sapped religious and moral life in this land so much in our own day; and it may be that the very quietness with which this anti-religious revolution is going on, will render it a far more formidable foe to the faith than any of those spasmodic rebellions against the Church which have arisen and been almost as quickly quelled in Catholic countries on the Continent. But I have no wish to prophesy evil for England, or to prophesy at all. All that I desire to do is to point out that

the premises with which Mr. Mivart starts are very far from sure. It may be that his conclusions will not seem more certain when subjected to closer scrutiny.

It may, no doubt, be answered that Mr. Mivart does not rely on theory alone. Speaking from personal experience he tells us that the speedy conversion of England was as a matter of fact expected at the time of Cardinal Newman's reception into the Church; and that this was the feeling not alone of the ardent young students of Oscott, but of their seniors as well. No doubt this fact adds some weight to Mr. Mivart's argument, and every one must agree with him that those who entertained such hopes for England could "hardly be blamed as unreasonable." The Tractarian movement was one of the most remarkable religious phenomena which the world has seen. Its leader, the greatest intellect of his country, perhaps of his age, was a formidable antagonist of the Catholic Church, against which he had exhausted his unrivalled controversial skill. If controversy could have killed Catholicism the Church would have died before Newman was converted. But the Church lived, and her assailant was converted—not half-converted, but converted to be the most loyal and chivalrous of her defenders. Has he not overthrown himself in her cause, performing a feat that none but himself could have essayed? And was not the contrast between the Anglican and the Catholic controversy of Cardinal Newman enough to show to those whose tentative faith was *Credo in Newmannum*, that in his later writings he wielded not the power of a single gigantic intellect alone? The conversion of Cardinal Newman was, in truth, an event which might well mislead Catholics, for they could appreciate his power while he was yet a Protestant in a way that contemporary Protestants had not the knowledge to do. What could those know of his controversial vigour against Rome who knew not the rights of the controversy? It was, indeed, no wonder that high hopes were cherished among illustrious Catholics at that thrilling time; but it is very odd indeed that Mr. Mivart in looking back over the years that have since elapsed does not see that the circumstances assume a different aspect from that which they then wore. History this time, at any rate, is all against him. Things have turned out exactly opposite to his expectations and those of his friends; but his confidence in his cherished theory is still complete, and the judgment of his contemporary Catholics continues correct. They looked for a miracle and it came not, but that does not show, forsooth, that they looked for what they had no right to expect. It is the fault of those who came after them—the wearers of chasubles that were not Gothic, and of mitres that were not low like Bishop Milner's. Surely those Catholics "can

hardly be blamed as unreasonable" who consider that it is simpler to infer from the course which events have taken that Mr. Mivart and a handful of his friends and superiors, who were impressed with Cardinal Newman's conversion, and who had faith in saintly Father Ignatius Spencer's prayers, leaped to a hasty conclusion, than to suppose that things have been very badly managed in England ever since we have had the hierarchy back again? History is against Mr. Mivart and his friends, and something more than history. It is no disrespect to the illustrious men who dreamed the dream of England's speedy conversion to say that their "confident hopes" were quite without warrant. They were, it must be remembered, arguing about a subject of which their ignorance was profound. Suppose that the greatest Catholics in England at that time expected the conversion of the country, what could a Catholic, however sagacious, know of the state of feeling among the Protestant clergy—in such a way as to judge whether they were near the Church or not? Nothing could at any time be more difficult to decide about, under the most favourable circumstances, for Catholics are just the last people to whom possible converts are likely to confide their doubts; and the separation between Catholics and Protestants was infinitely greater half a century ago than it is to-day. Cardinal Newman compares the knowledge which English Protestants had of their Catholic fellow-countrymen at the beginning of this century to that possessed of Christians by the heathen of old time; at the date of his conversion the same remark would have been no less true, and though "the rough outer-coating of dense anti-Catholic prejudice" was, as Mr. Mivart points out, removed from many an English mind by the resignation and piety of the French refugee ecclesiastics, their influence on the country at large was of necessity very limited. Indeed, Mr. Mivart unconsciously pleads against himself by what he tells us of the condition of Catholics before the Irish immigration. "Catholics in England," he says, "then consisted only of a number of highly respected old families (mostly leading retired lives), with their chapels and chaplains, together with a scanty population in a few towns and villages." The mass of English Protestants did not think of Catholics as a Christian community at all, did not accord to them even the consideration due to an insignificant sect. "The Roman Catholics," so ran the current phrase of the time, were, as Cardinal Newman observes, "not a body, however small, representative of the great communion abroad, but a mere handful of individuals who might be counted like the pebbles and *detritus* of the great deluge, and who, forsooth, merely happened to retain a creed which, in its day indeed, was the profession of a Church."

Mr. Froude's testimony is also worth notice in its way. "The Catholic religion," he says, "hung about some few ancient English families like a ghost of the past. They preserved their creed as an heirloom which tradition rather than conviction made sacred to them. A convert from Protestantism to Popery would have been as great a monster as a convert to Buddhism or Odin worship. 'Believe in the Pope!' said Dr. Arnold, 'I would as soon believe in Jupiter.'" This was all that Protestants knew of their Catholic neighbours. Is it surprising that we should hesitate to accept as unimpeachable the view which Catholics of that day took of such a portentous occurrence as the conversion of the Tractarian leaders? For how could they know more of Protestants than Protestants knew of them, except by hearsay and at second-hand.

It is, indeed, strange that such an argument should be gravely used by an experienced Catholic, when it is remembered how far even now Catholics and Protestants are from understanding each other. There is hardly a family of any social pretensions in this country that does not own some connection or near relationship with one or more converts to Catholicism. But the old ignorance, not unmixed with fear of all things Catholic, remains strong and vigorous. Even High Churchmen, who are commonly credited with Romeward sympathies, know as little of our real beliefs, feelings, and religious practices as it is possible for people to know while living in the same country with us. The Catholic, as the Protestant imagination depicts him, would hardly be recognizable by those of his own creed. And Catholics know just as little of Protestants and their actual ways and habits of thought. They are under all manner of delusions as to the religious whereabouts of Ritualists, they do not understand them, and I sometimes doubt whether they try very hard to do so. For this there are excellent reasons, to which I shall allude later on. Meanwhile the fact may be taken for granted, and I think that the experience of every Catholic who has formerly been a Protestant will in this matter tally with mine. Catholics and Protestants live in different worlds. Their faith, their modes of thought, their ways of life are as different as may be. They have little in common, and many grounds of disagreement, and a hereditary Catholic is the last person to gauge, with any approximation to the truth, the private feelings and tendencies of Anglican clergymen, whom he ordinarily misunderstands as entirely as he mistrusts them. Even converts of long standing come at length to find the position of their old friends a puzzle. The Puseyite standpoint and that of more recent Ritualism are poles apart. Beliefs and practices which ten years ago would have argued distinctly Romeward tendencies are now to be found in men who

are not merely tolerated but revered in the Established Church, by large and influential sections of the clergy and laity, and who know little and care less about the Church of Rome. The convert of ten years' standing is astonished at finding some old friend firmly fixed in his Anglican position, although he has advanced to a point undreamed of in the days when he, himself, discovered his "position as a Catholic in the Church of England" to be plainly untenable. Bishops whose lightest words were heavy in the estimation of early Tractarians have fulminated their anathemas in vain against doctrine after doctrine; Courts have condemned the "Conspirators," clergymen have been deprived of their benefices, and yet Ritualism has gone cheerfully on, taking up new standpoints, framing fresh *ultimatums* to suit altered aspects of affairs, and drawing out new definitions of "the Church," when events proved its position to be condemned by the application of older ones. Such fluctuations of principle are theoretically not wonderful in the disciples of an eclectic "Anglo-Catholicism;" but they are practically very puzzling to people who pass their lives outside the magic circle of this mysterious religion, and render the obedience of faith to an unchanging creed. To the younger Ritualists themselves the estimate formed of them and their doings by Catholics is also puzzling. Many of them have been brought up in their present form of belief; their views have grown with the growth of the views held by their party; they have never seen things as they used to be in the Church of England, and they cannot imagine why Catholics think them strange Anglicans. There are numbers of schools, for instance, where boys and girls have been taught to go to Confession and "hear Mass"—or perhaps I should say, "attend Celebrations"—regularly. That these things were not dreamed of by their fathers and mothers in their youth, they do not know; and when allusions are made by Catholics to the Church of England as it used to be they think it is mere Popish ignorance and spite.

It is, then, hardly fair for Mr. Mivart to infer from the expectations of Catholics in Tractarian times that the conversion of England ought to have occurred, but for the causes which he assigns for its delay. If such reasoning be permissible in that case, why not in the case of Catholics of to-day? Although "the depressing conviction was forced on" Mr. Mivart and his friends "that the conversion of England was a work reserved for a more distant future," there are numbers of Catholics—both admirers of "Italianism" and others—who look forward now to the speedy conversion of England with a simple faith which is at least touching and edifying, though it argues no great acquaintance with the state of religious feeling in the country at large.

Yet their knowledge of English Protestants cannot be less than was that of their pious predecessors. Are we justified in concluding that their views, taken in conjunction with the supposed future of greatness that lies before English imperialism, proves that England is designed by God to become Catholic in this generation or the next? Will our sons be justified forty years hence in charging the English Catholics of to-day with imprudence and want of tact in using opportunities if Catholicism grows slowly in that time, or even fails to advance at all? I confess with regret, that, so far as the Established Church is concerned, I see no signs at all of any great movement in the direction of the Catholic Church. I think that Catholics nowadays are sanguine without sufficient cause, just as were Catholics of the Tractarian times; and I claim Mr. Mivart once more in this matter as a witness for my view, as regards the past. The Tractarian movement, he tells us, "was in no way due to any action on the part of Catholics, but was altogether external to the Church." Again, he says that it "started indeed on principles which could have no other logical termination than submission to the Holy See; but, nevertheless, one of its express aims was to defend the national Church against the claims of Rome." Now this is what the main result of the Tractarian movement actually was. It roused the Establishment to new life, it took up new ground, suited to the spirit of the present age, against the Catholic Church; it met the artistic tastes of modern Protestants half-way by the invention of a new worship into which much of the dignity of Catholic ritual was imported, without a very definite belief in those supernatural truths which Catholicism teaches and the world rejects. Toleration for some of these truths in a more or less modified form has since been won by the resolution of such Ritualists as really believed in them; but it cannot be denied that ceremonialism in the Established Church is far in advance of dogmatic belief. The movement was not of the Church, though it was no doubt providentially guided for the general good of religion in England. That the ablest, and most logical, and the bravest of those who led that movement should have found their way to the Church was natural, but the majority of the Tractarians found their way elsewhere; and after the first "harvest of illustrious converts" had been gathered in, surely it was not remarkable that conversions became rarer, and that the converts were less "conspicuous?" When the crisis of the movement had passed, Puseyism as an intellectual power had waned. It no longer attracted the adhesion of the ablest minds at Oxford and Cambridge, and if "distinguished converts" became fewer, it was not due to any fault of Catholics, who had had nothing to do with this academical movement, but rather to the fact that

there were few "distinguished" Puseyites to convert, Nothing like a national conversion took place because the Catholic Church had not gained the ear of the nation. The movement was "external to the Church ;" it was also alien to the feelings of the English people. In its early days, indeed, Puseyism had been very popular, but chiefly with "the educated and refined." It was not long before it excited widespread suspicion and authoritative condemnation. As Mr. Mivart observes, it "was emphatically a clerical movement, and it was a rare phenomenon for the laymen of a parish to support it, and heartily join in 'High' services." Is it far otherwise now? Ritualistic churches are no doubt often crowded when the preaching is attractive and the singing "heartly ;" but how far do the laity sympathize with their pastors? Only so far, as a rule, as their personal respect and attachment to them will carry them. The laymen who really believe and practise all that their clergy believe and practise are in the most favoured churches but a handful out of the general congregation. Was the conversion of England to be expected from a movement so partial, so essentially clerical, and so entirely free from Catholic influence?

But what is it, according to Mr. Mivart, that has marred the fulfilment of this supposed "gracious purpose" of God towards England? The causes are twofold, adverse circumstances over which we have no control, and the faults of Catholics themselves. About the former little need here be said, but it must be observed that the question of mixed marriages is hardly one to be disposed of in a few lines, seeing that there are well-informed priests who are of opinion that we have gained by them rather than lost, on the whole, as regards numbers. But Mr. Mivart's complaint as to the contrast between Catholic and Anglican worship is amazing. He is very complimentary to the Church of England, and singles out for kindly notice two churches—All Saints', Margaret Street, and St. Peter's, Bournemouth—where he says there is such a "reverent and reasonable service" that Catholics "who have strayed" into them "would gladly see something similar amongst ourselves." I used in former days to frequent one of the churches named by Mr. Mivart, and of the other I was for some time curate; and I confess I read his statement and his suggestion with as much surprise as regret. These things are of course matters of taste, but there is an educated and also an uneducated taste, and the liturgical taste which prefers the poor, bald, parody of Vespers which the Church of England calls "Evensong," to the stately worship of which it is a reminiscence and no more, is surely a taste that calls for education. As to the musical rendering of the services at these two Anglican churches, it was careful and devotional so far as it went, and the

choir of All Saints' on Sundays—not on week-days—sang very well indeed. At Bournemouth, however, the service was far from perfect though the choir was expensive, and though an unusually skilful organist was ever on the alert to cover a multitude of sins. Compared with other Anglican churches these two are seen to advantage—as they should be, considering the wealth of their congregations; but musically the services at All Saints' and at Bournemouth—which by-the-by were not by any means of the same character—will not for a moment bear comparison with those at any well-known Catholic church. Has Mr. Mivart never been at Vespers at the Oratory, or the Pro-Cathedral, or the Carmelite Church in Kensington, or at Farm Street, or the Jesuit Church of the Holy Name at Manchester, or at the old Benedictine Church in Seel Street, Liverpool—not to speak of others? I will venture to assert that the choirs of most Anglican parish churches would find it very difficult to give a really satisfactory rendering of the music ordinarily performed with precision and effect by the choirs of the Catholic churches which I have named. There is no need to apologize for Catholics in this matter. Anglicans no doubt sing hymns better than we do, for it is the *specialité* of their present form of worship, and they chant the psalms tunefully, if not always with much devotion; but is the ordinary Anglican choir capable of singing the music of the Masses which we hear every Sunday? It is to me a matter of marvel that the Catholic community, with inferior numbers, poverty, and an unmusical and ill-fed Irish population, can get together such choirs as are to be heard in our greater churches in town and country. Our task is infinitely more difficult than that of the Anglicans (I may speak as an amateur choirmaster of some experience), and *positis ponendis* it is infinitely better performed. We are still “a small body worshipping with unrivalled solemnity,” and wherever Ritualists have made their services attractive they have merely done so because they have followed in our wake. Mr. Mivart, however, regards our supposed shortcomings in this respect as our misfortune rather than our fault. He is not so lenient as to other matters. “Italianism” has been, he thinks, a hindrance to the progress of the Church in England. Now what is “Italianism?” It is something which cultivated a “taste in devotion” which “gradually became, in many places, less ‘liturgical’ and more ‘sensational;’ and this still continues, so that we now find that psalmody is banished from one of our leading London churches, while some persons are trying hard to banish it even from our Pro-Cathedrals.” These are dark sayings, and I cannot pretend to be in the secrets of the conspirators; but there are instructive facts within my reach which

reassure me. *Pace* Lord Braye, I like statistics, and I find no such terrible state of things existing as Mr. Mivart complains of. The *Catholic Directory* for 1884 tells us that either Vespers or Compline is sung in all our Cathedrals on Sundays, and in all the London churches except some twenty minor churches, out of, say, eighty-five. Salford Cathedral is only an apparent exception, as there an English liturgical service is sung as an equivalent to Vespers. "Italianism" in any case can hardly be held responsible for the decline of "liturgical" worship, if such a decline exists. No churches in England are more Roman in their ways than the Jesuit Church in Farm Street, the Brompton Oratory, St. Mary's, Bayswater, and the Kensington Pro-Cathedral. But where in England is Vespers sung with more solemnity of ritual, and with greater musical care, than in these churches? And the mention of them leads to another point in Mr. Mivart's indictment. If "Italianism" stays the conversion of England, is it not a fact that needs accounting for that these "Italianist" churches—officered largely by the "conspicuous converts" who are answerable for propagating this "taste in devotion"—are just the churches where most conversions from Anglicanism have taken place? I am not concerned to champion "Italianism," but I must once more point out that Mr. Mivart inclines to support his case by theory, where facts, and very carefully weighed facts, ought to have been forthcoming.

But then our services, though liturgical, are in Latin. The English-speaking races, thinks Mr. Mivart, might be helped into the Church by the institution of "authoritative liturgical services in the English tongue, intermediate between the 'Book of Common Prayer' and the 'Breviary.'" Moreover, he thinks that "not a few converts" would find in such services a relief for a "yearning after their old worship." Lord Braye seems to agree with this suggestion, and groans out: "A plea for the psalms! Can it come to this that a sinner's pen should plead for the manual of the Church universal!" Are the psalms, then, unknown to our clergy and religious? One might suppose that such was the case, and that Lord Braye had just discovered the Psalter from the meditation on its history and use which he pours forth in his fifth "paragraph." But it is of the laity that he thinks: "Descending to what really is the dark case," he declares, "it is this—that only one psalm, the 129th, and that by an accident, is known to the laity." Is that so? Do they not know, for example, the 50th and the 116th—that is, those who go often to Confession and to Benediction—to say nothing of the psalms for the Sunday Vespers? But granting the facts, are the inferences of Mr. Mivart and Lord Braye correct? Inside the Church, surely Vespers are easily understood by

persons who can appreciate a service of the kind. Will those who are without be won to Catholicism by the English psalms? Mr. Mivart refers to Anglicans and converts, and I am bound to say that, as regards these classes, my experience is the reverse of his. I have never heard of a convert who liked Evensong better than Vespers; but be that as it may, the greater question is about those who are not yet converted. Would such a service win them? In the Established Church one great difficulty of the clergy consists in the obligation to give the liturgical services morning and evening under all circumstances. Indeed, in cases where new parishes are being formed in poor districts, it is found impossible to abide by the strict rule. To the average man of the middle class, and to all the poor, the language of the Prayer-book, although it is "the noblest and most magnificent form of the English tongue," is as unintelligible as Latin; and so would any English in which it would be possible to conduct a liturgical service in church. Are we to adopt Anglican failures? The Prayer-book does not win the sympathies of the mass of the English people nearly so much as the unliturgical efforts of the Salvation Army and the respectable Dissenting bodies. Shall we repeat the mistake? "A convert from the middle classes is unknown," says Lord Braye, and he is mistaken, for I myself know of several; but if we are to make many such converts it will not be by liturgical worship. They must be attracted by what is attractive to them, what that is may be discovered in any Ritualistic or Dissenting church. Why are these places of worship attractive to the English middle classes? It is mainly because there is much congregational singing, and much emotional preaching. The average middle-class Briton knows nothing and cares nothing about worship. He goes to church to "get good," as his phrase is—in other words, to be made comfortable or uncomfortable as the case may be about his soul—and this result is wrought in him by listening to sermons and shouting hymns. By all means let Catholics make use of similar means to win the middle and lower classes; but is not this just what "Italianists" do, in addition to their carefully conducted liturgical services? Let any one who doubts the superiority of the Catholic system attend Evensong at an Anglican church and afterwards Vespers at one of our own churches. At the former he will not only be offended by the mannerisms of the clergy, the mouthing of the prayers and lessons—horrors from which our use of Latin saves us—but he will observe that the liturgical service is tolerated but not entered into by the middle-class and lower-class members of the congregation. They endure the service for the sake of the hymns and the sermon; there is little or no apparent attempt on their

part to enter into it. At Vespers he will see that those to whom a liturgical service is unsuited still take their part in the worship of the church in their own way. They have their beads or their books, and they do not wear the appearance of *ennui* which marks an Anglican congregation during the chanting of the prayers. In this matter, as in that of the conduct of her liturgical services, the Church needs no apology, and need fear no comparison. This, I think, Ritualists would themselves be the first to admit—excepting those who, having never seen a Catholic service, are inclined to suppose that their own is far superior.

But why is England not Catholic? If the “glorious prospect” which Mr. Mivart “opens to our imagination” by his “interpretation of God’s purpose” must be given up; if the “confident hopes” of forty years ago are to be pronounced fondly founded, now that time has failed to bring their fulfilment; if the promoters of “Italianism” have really been the makers of converts in spite of their delusion that “the lowest Gothic mitres” and “the Gothic chasuble” are not the unerring instruments for the overthrow of Reformation principles, what account is to be given of the limited success which Catholicism has attained? If I am asked such a question, I am tempted to answer it first of all on Hibernian principles. I doubt, indeed, whether it is necessary for my present purpose to answer it at all. Why should it be? Because I object to accept a reading of nineteenth-century history such as Mr. Froude might have framed, as the foundation for an attack on the present policy of the Church in England; because I decline to admit that the Church has need to be taught by the heretical parody of Catholicism which Anglicans have devised in self-defence; because I conceive that enthusiasm led astray certain distinguished ecclesiastics forty years ago in judging of a question of which they had but scanty knowledge; must I in my turn feel bound to take to myself the *rôle* of a judge, and say why England is not Catholic—or, in other words, lay down directions for the Church as to the means by which alone she can carry out the work which God has given her to do in this land? I will not for a moment venture on any “interpretation of God’s purpose”; but to the question, why is England not Catholic, it is after all not very hazardous to suggest a possible reply, and the Hibernian method is at any rate a fairly safe one. If then, I am asked the question, why is England not Catholic, I should answer with the other question, “Why *should* England be Catholic?” There are a hundred reasons why she should not; I can hardly find a satisfactory reason why she should.

To begin with, any sudden change is wholly foreign to the

English character. Every political and social reform that has been accomplished in this country has been the work of generations. It took a long time to Protestantize England, so long that the old Catholicism has not yet been wholly stamped out of the Liturgy of her State Church, but survives to recall to men's minds those forgotten truths, the reassertion of which has led to such marvellous results in our own days. Ritualists are filled with delight at the occurrence of these quasi-Catholic phrases in the Prayer-book, and fasten on them meanings more definite than those they originally bore in Catholic mouths, so as to make them lend some sort of support to the "Anglo-Catholic" position. But they forget when they treat their pet passages in the Prayer-book as all but inspired, and insist on the force of almost every letter and every comma, for the sake of their supposed Catholicity, that the compilers of the book were hereditary Catholics, who, though they had apostatized, could hardly unlearn at will all the ecclesiastical phraseology to which they had been trained. The wonder is, as an observant writer has said, "not that such expressions should be found, but that so few remain." It is no less remarkable, however, that these have been allowed to remain so long. The book has been revised more than once in its earlier days, and it has somehow been allowed to retain its High Church characteristics; nowadays not all the efforts of Lord Ebury and the Prayer-book Revision Society will avail to effect the alteration of a single word. Englishmen are suspicious of reforms. Like a well-known old campaigner of the generation that is gone, they feel that "any change, even for the better, is much to be deprecated"—that is, until their passions are aroused by popular agitators, and they suddenly awake to a conviction that "something must be done." This is decidedly one of the stronger traits of the national character. It has saved many lives at critical times in our constitutional history, and rendered revolutions bloodless. Nevertheless, it operates in two ways, and to it is due to a large extent the slowness with which Catholicism has made way in England since its revival. As the Scotch are said to assimilate jokes slowly, so do the English as a nation accept slowly all new ideas. Now to make any nation Protestant ought surely to be an easier task than to win it back to God, and if that be generally true, most of all will it be true of a nation so strong in character and so conservative in its attachments as is the English nation. But to make half England Catholic in half a century! Truly this was a strange dream for any Englishman to believe in.

Another reason why England has not been converted speedily to the Catholic faith is that the clergy of the Established Church are to a man sincerely Protestant. It matters little that some of

them may profess to hold doctrines which are ordinarily supposed to be held by Catholics alone among all Christians. After all, it is a matter of no great moment, from this point of view, whether a man holds many of the truths of Christianity or few. The points to consider are why does he hold what he holds; and why does he deny what he denies? If by his investigations in ecclesiastical history, or his reading of the Bible, he has come to the conclusion that there are seven Sacraments, as the Catholic Church teaches, and not "two only as generally necessary to salvation," as his own Catechism declares, is the Anglican therefore any the more a Catholic? He might as well choose to accept three Sacraments, or five, or six. Indeed, Anglicans do not as a body really, that is practically, believe in seven Sacraments, but only in six at most. What do they think of Extreme Unction? "The Unction of the Sick," wrote the late Bishop Forbes—the most advanced Anglican prelate that ever lived—"is the lost pleiad of the Anglican firmament;" and he goes on to add, "One must at once confess and deplore that a distinctly Scriptural practice has ceased to be commanded in the Church of England. Excuses may be made of 'corrupt following of the Apostles,' in that it was used, contrary to the mind of St. James, when all hope of the restoration of bodily health was gone; but it cannot be denied that there has been practically lost an Apostolic practice whereby, in case of grievous sickness, the faithful were anointed and prayed over, for the forgiveness of their sins, and to restore them, if God so willed, or to give them spiritual support in their maladies." This is the language of the chief episcopal representative of the Ritualists. Can it be said that it is the language of one who believed the Sacrament of Extreme Unction to have been ordained by our Divine Lord? Besides this, hardly any Anglicans ever attempt to administer this "lost" Sacrament. Although I was much with "extreme" men when I was a curate, and afterwards a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, I was never asked to anoint any one, nor should I have known how to do so, or where to get the "Holy Oil." I never knew a clergyman who had endeavoured to give Extreme Unction, or a church where oil for the purpose could be had. It was vaguely rumoured that Bishop Forbes did bless oil for the anointing of the sick in his distant diocese of Brechin, and it was said that some southern clergymen were so fortunate as to be permitted to profit by this rare exercise of episcopal power—which of course could not be hoped for from, say, Archbishop Tait, or Bishop Jackson, of London. But Bishop Forbes' own view of the matter is therefore all the more instructive. "The Church of England," he says, "acted more in conformity to its declared adherence to antiquity, by appointing in the first instance a

Service for the anointing of the sick in her first English Prayer-book. . . . Since, however, the Visitation of the Sick is a private office, and uniformity is required only in the public offices, there is nothing to hinder the revival of the Apostolic and Scriptural custom of anointing the sick whensoever any devout person may desire it,"—nothing, that is, except the want of form and matter, and all knowledge of the Sacrament on the part of nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand Anglican ministers. The Bishop concludes with the consoling reflection that "it was never considered necessary to salvation. . . . It was rather a privilege of the devout." I quote the the Bishop's words on this subject, in order to give an illustration of my assertion as to the Protestantism of the Anglican clergy, which must at once be recognized as fair. The principle on which he seems to write is one of Protestant eclecticism. "Why reject what is admirable in the Catholic because he *is* a Catholic," he seems to say, "this practice seems to have had the approval of St. James. Use it, by all means, if you like; but if you do not, what does it matter? It is not, after all, necessary to salvation." Now this is exactly the temper of mind of the Ritualistic party, and it is also the temper of mind that is most typical of Protestantism. Some Anglicans practise "non-communicating attendance," or "hearing Mass," under the direction of their sacerdotalist guides. Others, under the direction of guides who are no less sacerdotal in their pretensions, are led to believe that this practice is "not Primitive," and therefore not permissible. Dr. Pusey averred that he would not venture even on the outskirts of so vast a system—apparently because it was vast—as that of the Invocation of Saints which the Church promotes. Canon Carter, on the other hand, ventured just to the outskirts of the system, and, in his "Treasury of Devotion," gave a "Scriptural" version of the first part of the *Hail Mary*, which many used who would not to save their lives have used the *Holy Mary*. "History" is made answerable for all these odd divergences of belief and opinion, just as the Prayer-book or the Bible is credited with the teaching of this or that doctrine. But Anglicans have not learned that any interpreter is required either for History, or the Bible, or the Prayer-book; though nothing admits, in ignorant hands, of more misleading manipulation than the Bible, and the Prayer-book, and History. The Anglican who holds every doctrine of the Church save that of the Infallibility of the Pope—and such Anglicans are not hard to find—is of course no less a Protestant than he who denies some or most of them. The Anglican holds more doctrines, or fewer, because his reading has convinced him that they are true or not true, or, oftener, because the leaders of the "school of thought" to which

he belongs declare them to be tenable or untenable. But he does not accept any single doctrine as divinely revealed for the reason that a Divine Teacher on earth has pronounced it to be part of the infallible teaching of God.

Hereditary Catholics cannot conceive such a state of mind as this for a reason which is often overlooked. To them the belief in a visible Church, the Divine Instructor of the nations, has been from their earliest years a truth as certain as that of the existence of God. The Anglican, on the other hand, has not learned practically to believe in a Visible Church at all. To him it is not a fundamental truth; it is not taught as such in any of the Anglican formularies; it is a sort of ornamental, "extra belief;" a charming dream, if you will; a subject for investigation and theorizing on; it is not, however, a great fact. The hereditary Catholic is puzzled beyond expression as he hears that there are Anglicans, well-read, cultivated, even learned; men, too, of great energy in their pastoral work, and of exemplary life; who practically believe almost all that the Catholic Church teaches, and yet remain without the true fold. He finds it almost impossible to believe that such a position can be sincere. Yet sincere it is, whether Catholics believe it or not. I am, I think, quite safe in asserting that not one Anglican minister in a hundred has ever had even a momentary suspicion that the Church of Rome and she alone is the Church of God. The hereditary prejudice against Popery has been only too faithfully handed on; the wells are poisoned; that "Romanism" is founded on fraud is an Anglican axiom, and hardly any Anglican dreams of going behind it. How, asks the Catholic, can the question *De Ecclesiâ* escape notice? The answer is that Anglicans do not really believe in the Visible Church, although they have a theory about a Church. So then the Anglican learns last just what the Catholic would try to get him to admit in the first instance. Few Catholics would think of wasting many words in proving to a man who believes in Transubstantiation that there is a Teaching Church. But that is just what has to be done if any advance is to be made in the Anglican's conversion. Ask an Anglican minister "What are the grounds of your belief?" and his reply will convince you that the subject is not one which he regards as of practical interest. Catholic controversialists have doubtless put the case plainly again and again, but their efforts are without effect because Ritualists will not read what they write. Rome is wrong, and Anglican Orders are valid—these are established truths among Anglicans; and so it comes about that very few ministers indeed have ever read a Roman Catholic book in their lives—I except, of course, devotional books such as those of Father Faber. Attacks on Rome

they will read, but not the replies. Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons" they will sow broadcast among classes of readers who cannot possibly judge intelligently on the controversy; but Father Ryder's masterly reply is rarely read by Ritualists. Rome is wrong, and they do not care to consider the question further. So with regard to Anglican Orders it is worth notice that no eminent Ritualists should have written on the question on which—however illogically—they make their position depend. Canon Estcourt's work remains unanswered, not merely because it admits of no answer—for if Anglicans felt this they would give up their pastoral positions—but because it is their view that the question is closed. It is Rome *versus* England, and Rome of course must be wrong.

If it be answered that such a position is clearly dishonest, it must be admitted that it is logically dishonest. I have no desire to defend it, but only, for the sake of our present inquiry, to point out the facts. Clergymen of the Church of England are, I am fully persuaded, thoroughly sincere in their erroneous beliefs. It is after all quite possible for an honest man to occupy a dishonest position, for questions of judgment and information have to be taken into account, and much depends on the point of view from which any matter is regarded. From the Catholic's point of view Anglicanism is anomalous and absurd. Probably it would wear the same appearance if viewed from an impartial standpoint; but who is impartial where a matter of great moment to himself is involved? These men are sincere, even though it is impossible to acquit them of a want of seriousness in their way of treating such a subject—especially when they take the responsibility of teaching others and of restraining them from even hearing what the claims of the Catholic Church really are. No one urges that every form of opinion is to be investigated by every one, learned and unlearned; but the position of the Roman Catholic Church towards Anglicanism is unique, and the claims of the oldest and the greatest of the Christian communities ought at least to be listened to with respect by the newer and smaller community which has so recently put forward, though not in any official way, its own claim to the name of Catholic. Still clergymen of the Church of England are sincere, and their conversion will not be accelerated by sarcasms about "snug livings," and the loss of "clerical position." It should not be forgotten that few of the livings held by the Ritualists are "snug," and that in many cases where they are in office it is the parson who keeps the parish, and not the parish the parson; while, as to "clerical position," the Anglican clergy are usually drawn from a class that has little to gain in social status by the superadded clerical dignity, and little to lose by its loss. There

are of course a multitude of cases in which married clergymen, with large families, are dependent on their profession, but the history of conversions during the last forty years does not teach us that such clergymen cling to their preferments when convinced that their place is in the Catholic Church. Convince Ritualists that Rome is right, and there will be as little hesitation among them as to their duty as there was among their predecessors.

To explain how such a strange obstacle to the conversion of England should exist in these days of free inquiry, the circumstances of Anglican clerical training should be taken into account. The modern Ritualist is very seldom a learned man like the old Tractarian. The ablest men at Oxford and Cambridge no longer enter the ministry of the Established Church, and the highest academical distinction is not always to be found in the popular dignitaries and preachers. The clergy, however, are still for the most part scholars and gentlemen. They have the culture which a University life bestows, and which belongs to the upper classes in English society. They are moreover, in most cases, men of kindly and pious intentions, and blameless conduct, and so they pass muster as very worthy ministers. Theology, however, is the last thing that they are likely to know. How should they? The "Divinity" required in the Schools at Oxford is not by any means advanced. A young man who has learned his Scripture History, and the Thirty-nine Articles, with a little Greek Testament at home or at school, will need little further study to pass in "Divinity." The examinations are, like all Oxford examinations, searching and careful, and a real knowledge of the subjects must be exhibited by undergraduates; but these examinations are not to be regarded as in preparation for a clerical career, but rather as tests of that acquaintance with "Divinity" which any Christian layman ought to have. The Final Theological School does little to mend matters, for it is an Honour School only, and the average pass-man cannot hope for success in it. It comes, then, to this, that the vast majority of Oxford men who take Anglican Orders have no theological training beyond the "Divinity," to which I have alluded, and the lectures of the University professors. These lectures, as I remember them, were exceedingly learned and able. But when Dr. Mozley discoursed on the Articles in the Latin Chapel at Christ Church, there was nothing to prevent his auditors from learning their Euclid for the impending "Second Schools," or reading novels, or making sketches of the chapel and the lecturer, and of the audience—according to their bent of mind. Comparatively few listened to the lectures, for it was supposed that they would be of little practical use in preparation for the Bishop's examination, and all that was required was to be present at them. No

subsequent knowledge of their subject was required. So, too, at Canon Bright's attractive lectures on Eusebius. There were many attentive listeners, but also many to whom Eusebius was quite unintelligible, and who had no desire to know anything of him or his doctrine. And this kind of teaching is all the preparation that Oxford makes compulsory on the coming clergy of the national Church. There remains, indeed, the ordeal of the Bishop's examination. But a month's "cram" will take an intelligent young man safely through its difficulties, and Bishops are slow to reject University men of good conduct and good connections in these days when the clerical profession is hardly what it used to be, socially speaking. And so a student of a few weeks finds himself a parson, called upon to visit the sick and dying, and to instruct the living, young and old, learned and unlearned, in the religion of which he has at least no technical grasp. Amidst the many occupations of a parish into which he is plunged forthwith, where is there time for private study, supposing the young clergyman to be a student? In preaching and instructing, questions of all sorts will come before him, of which he had never thought. How are they to be solved? His seniors, his director, if he has one, will suggest solutions, and point out profitable courses of reading; and naturally enough the young clergyman will follow his guides implicitly in the *terra incognita* in which he finds himself. Then, if at length a "Roman difficulty" arises, he is bid to banish it as a temptation of the devil, is assured that the learned Anglican leaders have settled all these questions conclusively, that History (of which he knows nothing) makes the Anglican position as clear as the day, that Roman Catholic controversialists are always ignorant or untruthful, or both, and that the "modern pretensions of the Pope" are founded on a clever and long-continued system of fraud. The ill-read Anglican believes his instructors, acquires from handbooks the jargon of their "school of thought," and in his turn hands on the tradition. Why should such an one think deeply *De Ecclesiâ*? What does he know of it? He is not willing even to hear of it, for he is set to defend a position that he has never considered, and he is persuaded beforehand that his Catholic opponents are wrong and dishonest, whoever else may have a right to a hearing. If it be thought that this estimate is too severe, or too sweeping, the testimony of such an experienced convert as the late Canon Oakeley may fairly be cited in support of my view. Catechetical instruction, he said, "is quite as necessary in the case of what are called educated converts as in that of the humbler classes." And this did not refer to the Anglican laity alone, for he adds: "I can by no means except even the Anglican clergy from the operation of the general rule

I have laid down. I speak of them of course as a body; and, with this limitation, I will say that I have often been really surprised to find how utterly they are without grasp of the true Catholic doctrine on such fundamental points as the Incarnation, and all the collateral truths into which it ramifies. I am convinced that it is as great a mistake, to take for granted that all clerical converts have religious knowledge enough to be received, as that all of them who are not married have a vocation for the priesthood; and I cannot express my sense of the former error more forcibly than by placing it in juxtaposition to the latter."

It would, however, be a great mistake to regard all the Ritualistic clergy as mere dabblers in the science of religion. There are among them men of solid ability and attainments, who if their academical training has not made them theologians, have at least at the University learned how to learn. A man who has taken a good classical degree at Oxford, for instance, will be found able afterwards to acquire a fair knowledge of a modern language or two at the cost of comparatively little labour. A man who has gained a class in the Modern History School will master a good deal of ecclesiastical history when he directs his attention to it, with an ease to which a student of longer but narrower experience is a stranger. There are, accordingly, among the Ritualists a number of men of very considerable attainments in theological learning, as well as a number whose knowledge is not deep, but for the most part gained at second-hand. Canon Oakeley, whose explicit declaration as to the theological ignorance of the majority of Anglican ministers has been quoted above, does not fail to acknowledge that there are converts, particularly from the High Church party, "who often bring with them so much knowledge of Catholic doctrine" as leaves the priest who instructs them before their reception "little to do except in the way of supplying the foundation;" who have made such a study of Catholicism that they will come to the priest, not with questions about fundamental doctrines, but with "a long string of intellectual difficulties or nervous apprehensions," satisfied "that the true religion is nowhere out of the Church" but "not yet satisfied that it is there"—a very common case, Canon Oakeley adds. It is not strange that such clergymen are converted; but how are we to explain the case of those who, in spite of much knowledge and undeniable honesty, remain Protestants? The difference, as it appears to me, between a well-read Anglican minister and a trained Catholic priest in this matter of theology, is the difference between a self-taught amateur and a professional person. Anglican ministers, however gifted and cultivated some of them may be, do not acquire their theology as barristers and solicitors learn law, or doctors study the science of medicine. They are amateurs,

teaching themselves, for the most part, according to the bent of their own inclinations and tastes ; and the greatest among the guides of the High Church "school of thought" are in this respect at no particular advantage over their disciples. The result, naturally, is not a scientific acquaintance with theology, but an unbalanced system of divine philosophy. It is not improbable than an amateur Inn of Court or College of Physicians might present to the legal or medical world results less strange in their way, while the gifted but undisciplined lawyers or doctors need not of necessity be knaves. One more consideration should not be left out of account. The present age is, in a certain sense, eminently religious. On all sides men are anxious in one way or another to know something more about God and the concerns of their souls. All the Christian bodies are more active than they were fifty years ago, and we are preached at from every street corner, while night and morning are alike made hideous by the manœuvres of some detachment of the Salvation Army. This abundant supply of spiritual wares argues a decided demand ; and such a demand from minds which had been under Tractarian influence but had not been led to the Catholic Church, would naturally find some kind of satisfaction in such a system as Ritualism—at once Protestant in its principles and Catholic in its claims. Ritualism may fairly be regarded rather as a devotional than a theological movement—indeed Ritualists themselves would perhaps not deny the accuracy of this description. It appeals to a certain class of minds for which there is no peace in Protestantism, minds to which certain Catholic doctrines readily commend themselves, though the idea of the Church as Catholics know it has not dawned on them. There are persons who perceive the truth of the Catholic doctrine of Confession the moment it is stated, that is as Ritualistic missionaries state it, in Protestant language, using no "Roman" terms which might alarm the "weak brethren." Under such conditions the poor so readily receive the doctrine that many parsons believe that a shadow of the old Catholic tradition still survives among them, on this as on some other subjects. But the attraction of the devotional aspect of Penance is not confined to the poor. Who can read Dean Goulburn's "Thoughts on Personal Religion"—a marvellous book of spiritual reading to have sprung from a purely Anglican source—without seeing that the author would fain recommend to his readers some such spiritual consolation as Catholics seek in the Sacrament of Penance? Bishop Wilberforce, again, though he was sufficiently hostile to the Church, though he hated sacerdotalism, and denounced direction as a device of the devil, is known to have fully recognized the advantages of at least occasional confession to a minister. The same thing may

be said of many other doctrines. To some men the truth and beauty of the doctrines of the Real Presence and of the Eucharistic Sacrifice are apparent at first sight, so as never to be forgotten when once heard of, and even to become forthwith fixed in the mind as settled subjects of belief. The same may even be said of Prayers for the Dead, and—greatest stumbling-block of all—of the honour rendered by Catholics to the Mother of God ; for there are Anglicans, and there have been such for a good many years, who honour our Blessed Lady even as we ourselves do. When a doctrine attracts by its devotional aspect the process of proving its “ Primitive ” or “ Scriptural ” character is not difficult ; and it is probably in some such way that the Ritualists have been led in the course of their somewhat undisciplined and spasmodic dogmatic career to accept so large a number of Catholic doctrines, that they present to the world the appearance of being “ at the very gates of Rome.” One Catholic doctrine after another has been assimilated, even the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is believed among the rest, in spite of the Article which denies it—but all have been adopted in the same way. One very important dogma, however, is of a kind that defies this process. To the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope there is not exactly a devotional side, at least from an Anglican point of view. Here the Ritualist finds himself face to face with the question *De Ecclesiâ*, whether he will or no. If I dare hazard a conjecture as to the divine purposes, looking not to the future but the past, I should trace in the promulgation of that dogma at which the world cried out so loud a providential preparation against that subtle form of heresy which we call Ritualism, while yet its true tendencies had not become apparent. Who can say how many Anglicans might have found their way into the Church by an extension of the process which I have tried to describe, without ever learning what was meant by Divine Faith, but for that dogma ? Who can say whether we might not but for the Vatican Council have had by this time in our midst a powerful band of *doctrinaires*, of rationalistic, or “ Liberal ” Catholics who might have sapped the life of the reviving Church in England ? To attempt to follow out such an inquiry would be foreign to our present purpose ; but perhaps enough has been said in the way of suggestion why Ritualists have not been the means of bringing half England to the Church, and why many of these earnest seekers after God, despite their learning and their zeal, have themselves failed to come to that knowledge of the Truth, which some among them have gained by grace—not, it may be, because they have merited it, but because their need of it was greater than was that of those whom they have left behind in the twilight of half-faith.

Ritualists are honest—though Ritualism is not ; and Ritualists are earnest. Catholics do ill to sneer at them, as Mr. Mivart says. Yet, Mr. Mivart unconsciously fails more than those who least respect the Ritualists to give them due credit for earnestness. What is to be said of his suggestions about chasubles and mitres? Who are the men who are to be won by Gothic vestments? Surely not those who are content to forfeit the smile of their Bishops, and the favour of their fellow-countrymen, to be called “conspirators,” and “law breakers,” and to be put in prison, because they will not give up the outward expression of those doctrines which they hold dear, though they have no right, logically or legally, to hold them at all? Ritualists, let me tell Mr. Mivart, wear vestments because they believe in the Sacrifice of the Mass. They wear Gothic vestments, because they believe that they are the true representatives of the mediæval English Church—and also as a kind of protest against Rome. But the vestments themselves they set store by, mainly because the use of these garments shows to the world that they hold that doctrine which the world denies, and which they think it is their mission to revive in England. They would, I am sure, “celebrate” in sacks, if thereby they could convert Protestant Englishmen to what they call “Catholicism.” At St. Peter’s, Bournemouth, we wore surplices and black stoles, lest we should frighten the people to whom by sermons and instructions we taught plainly those doctrines which vestments symbolize ; and that, not because the brave and single-minded minister, who was the real founder of that great church, was afraid—for he feared nothing, except doing wrong—but because that was his reading of Our Lord’s example on teaching the Word to the people “as they were able to bear it.” As to the vestment question, Rome has very likely not condemned “the Gothic chasuble”—few Catholic laymen care to inquire about the matter, unless they happen to be Gothic architects ; but it is hardly fair to quote Bishop Milner or Cardinal Wiseman on a matter which must be judged of to a great extent by the Circular of Pius IX. to the Bishops, of the year 1864. It is not necessary to add anything to Mr. Mivart’s own arguments in favour of what he calls “Italianism.” Even if St. Charles thought a very large chasuble serviceable, the Church may fairly trust to subsequent experience on such a trivial matter. The main point, of course, is one of convenience and uniformity, and an episcopate fresh from Rome naturally would not hunt up obsolete national customs, known only to antiquarians, when no living customs existed. It is equally obvious that Bishop Milner and Cardinal Wiseman must have had, in the circumstances of the times, other things to think of than the propagation of Roman vestments. But as to the con-

version of England, the mass of Protestants—like the mass of Catholics—are not likely to be influenced by questions of clothes, whatever a tiny clique of antiquarians may have to say on it. As an antiquarian or artistic question it is doubtless very interesting, and I personally think Gothic vestments very graceful; but it is really an insult to Anglicans to suggest that they will be led by considerations of such a kind on the great question "*De Ecclesiâ*."

These are some of the causes that render the conversion of England to Catholicism a work of time. The Church has not yet had a hearing. She has lived down much misrepresentation, and she will, as time goes on, live down more, and meanwhile her sons must be content like their forefathers to work and wait. Patience and charity in controversy, quiet holiness of life, the reverent and stately worship of the Church, loyalty to the Holy See, these are the things which will eventually win for Catholics the respect of Englishmen at large, as they have won that of certain classes in the country already. But new nostrums, such as vernacular "Evensongs," and mediæval millinery, will hardly attract a single soul from among those who neither know nor care anything about vestments or liturgical services, or the mediæval Church, but who are agitated by the questions whether there is a God Who has revealed Himself; and whether there is or is not any authority on earth capable of saying what it is that God has revealed. Such minds cannot rest in Ritualism, though they may make trial of it; and they will be the more attracted to the Church when they know something of her, if she is found, as she is now to be found, quietly intent first of all on promoting the welfare of her own children by those methods which experience has so far proved to be effective.

SYDNEY H. LITTLE, M.A.

ART. VII.—THE CHRISTIAN BROTHERS AT THE HEALTH EXHIBITION.

DURING the past three months the Christian Brothers* have received from the English press and public an amount of congratulation and praise, greater probably than has in recent times been extended to any other Catholic institution. This is very creditable to the Brothers, and when it is learned that the flattering outburst has been occasioned by their marked excel-

* Thus popularly called; but their full title is "Brothers of Christian Schools." They are quite distinct from the "Christian Brothers" of Ireland.

lence—not to say superiority—in both elementary, middle-class, technical, and art schools, one cannot help feeling also some surprise. Doubtless it is also surprise which has given warmth and even enthusiasm to the expressions used towards the Brothers by so many who were previously strangers even to their name. For, when one inquired, who are these “Christian Brothers,” now, perhaps, first heard of, it was learned that they are a religious Institute or Order in the Catholic Church, and that the Institute was founded two hundred years ago in France. Two hundred years ago! In the matter of elementary education is not that in the pre-historic past, before the Three R.’s, and Education Codes, and School Boards? And then, too, in France! If it were but Germany now, or at least England; but France—two hundred years before M. Jules Ferry! And then, finally, when it is added that the school methods of the Brethren were originated by a man who was a priest and a saint, and that these rules have been approved by the Pope, and that the Institute is considered by the Catholic Church to be an honour to her and a powerful means of keeping her hold on the peoples, and that the Brethren in France were turned out of their schools by the present enlightened Government, and that their companions in Belgium were to have shared the same fate, the intending visitor thinks that now at last he sees what it all signifies—the Christian Brothers have surely been brought as an old-time set-off to our present advanced methods; doubtless they are introduced, like the “Old London Street” into another part of the Health Exhibition, on the *non lucendo* principle! Well, the visitor will certainly find that the Christian Brothers are put in juxtaposition, in the one case, with the large and well-arranged exhibition of the Belgian governmental system (sent before the recent change of Ministry), and, in the other case, with the scarcely less attractive room filled by the French Ministry of Instruction. Thus far the visitor’s anticipations prove correct, but no farther. How the Brothers have stood the comparison in the judgment of Englishmen, we shall tell in the language of the public press, which in this instance has spoken in the same tone as the countless private visitors to the Exhibition rooms. No apology need be offered for here reproducing so much from public print, since eulogy from ourselves or from the Catholic press might easily be attributed to partiality. The *Times* of August 25 devoted a column and a half to the Brothers. Those who visited the Exhibition any time in July or August will have seen the Brother Noah to whom it makes reference. He came over from America to superintend and explain the American exhibits, other Brothers, English, Belgian and French, doing like duty for their respective collections. Of all alike it has been publicly

repeated that by their uniform courtesy and painstaking attention they won the gratitude of visitors, and did much to make their rooms known and appreciated. We cull only a sentence or two from the *Times*:—

Of all the rooms in this annexe [Technical Institute] there is certainly none more interesting than No. 5—"Noah's Ark," as the Brothers facetiously call it, after the religious (or scholastic) name of the ever-obliging and intelligent Brother in charge. In this room is contained the multifarious and well-packed collection of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Until the present exhibition, probably not above a score or two of people in England ever heard of these Brothers. . . . The distinctive features of the teaching of the Christian Brothers are its practicality and adaptability to circumstances. While the character of the education is mainly such as we call elementary and middle-class, at its best it is not surpassed by the most advanced Realschulen in Germany, and certainly not equalled all round by the most advanced middle-class schools in this country. . . . The precision and intelligence shown by the Brothers in adapting their education to the special circumstances of the pupils are unsurpassed. . . . They have, long ago, solved the problem of technical education. . . . Although in some of its characteristics the system might not commend itself to robust English Protestantism, there can be no doubt that, so far as real education goes, the Brotherhood, as a whole, are not surpassed, and in few cases equalled, as educationists.

The wonder is (says the *Pall Mall Gazette*) that the "Institute of the Christian Brothers" is not better known in this country; for it is not merely an ancient institution—it has representatives labouring in every part of the globe; while its constitution, polity, and general policy are marked by several features which, despite its denominational character, ought to commend itself to the warm sympathy of Englishmen. . . . La Salle's great aspiration was to organize a body of teachers who would labour as apostles and not as mere mercenaries; and though the stigma of "mercenary" can, by no stretch of phrase, be applied to the great mass of British teachers in the present day, it must be confessed that the almost unique self-sacrifice of the brethren in the cause of education entitles them to an exceptional place in the regard of all men and women, whatever their creed, who aim at the elevation of humanity.

The *Athenæum* wrote no less eulogistically. Only two or three sentences can here be added to our already long extract. On July 5 it spoke of the "special and most interesting collection arranged by the Brothers," calling it "a superb collection." A month later it said:—

By the side of the collection framed under the direction of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts (of France) the Christian Brothers contribute a remarkable and valuable collection, and it is to be hoped that our School Boards and school managers will do their

utmost to help their teachers to visit these most interesting and suggestive collections. . . . Of course nearly all depends on the qualifications and fitness of the teacher, and here the ideas of La Salle, who founded the Institute in 1680, have a marked influence on all the elementary schools of France. It is true that while the Brothers' schools teach the Catholic religion (providing for the withdrawal of objectors and for the relegation of such instruction to the opening and close of school), the State communal schools are secular; but the cardinal doctrine of La Salle, that the teacher should be trained for his work, that he should be peculiarly fitted to teach and animate the young, and that he should be regarded with respect and honour, has been adopted by the State.

In similar strain wrote most of the London press; but further quotation is unnecessary. Of course we have taken the words of praise; but there are no words of disparagement to be quoted that we can remember, and the facts relating to the Brothers we prefer to tell presently in our own way. We may be permitted, however, to add a line or two from the *Saturday Review's* critique of Mrs. R. F. Wilson's volume, "The Christian Brothers: their Origin and Work," which was noticed in the DUBLIN REVIEW of last April.

The problems attacked and solved by La Salle are at last agitating the minds of Englishmen with a late-born zeal for elementary education. The strong points in their system were insisted on by La Salle two hundred years ago. . . . Before his time, even class-teaching was unknown, and ninety-nine children played at learning a lesson while the hundredth said it. . . . He laid down rules for the height of the desks, the situation of windows, the pictures to be hung on the walls. . . . In fact, he may be considered to have anticipated nearly all the vaunted wisdom of the School Boards, except the conscience clause.

We cannot think that after reading these specimen quotations any Catholic will feel otherwise than glad that the Christian Brothers overcame the reluctance which they as religious and men of retired lives would naturally feel to being placed in such a gathering as the present Health Exhibition; and one cannot but feel grateful to the individual Brothers who have cheerfully made a sacrifice of their time and inclinations to remain during these months at the service of all comers to their departments. The public owe the presence of the Brothers and their collections of school apparatus to the earnest requests of both His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. In acceding to such illustrious and weighty entreaty the Brotherhood has not only rendered the educational interest in this country a service, but has incidentally been the means of doing other very good and not unimportant

work. Since the day in July last, when the Prince of Wales opened the City and Guilds of London Annexe, and paid a lengthened visit to Room No. 5—accompanied, amongst others, by Mr. Mundella, who is no stranger to the work and methods of the Brothers—the stream of visitors has not ceased. Not a few naturally have come in the merest routine, the room being part of what they had paid to see, but not a few came with more serious motive, and with more or less of ability to judge critically of what was shown them. Many too—and some of these conspicuous for their high social position and influence—came purposely to study the exhibits of the Brothers. There may have been to many visitors a somewhat attractive novelty in seeing two or three Brothers in somewhat priest-like dress attending in the rooms in the character of exhibitors; but there can be no doubt that interest of a better sort has led many, or has been evoked by their visit. One instance is all we can mention here, but it is typical of countless ones which have transpired. “We have been told,” exclaimed a gentleman who had made a careful study of Room 5, “that the Romish Church strives to keep people in a state of ignorance. This room is the best refutation of that statement.”

It is well, perhaps, that, however briefly, some description of the contents of these Exhibition collections of the Christian Brothers should here be put on record. First, however, it will be useful to learn more particularly what was the origin of this educational religious Brotherhood, and what manner of man was its founder. There is probably not so much generally known among Catholic readers in this country about the Venerable John Baptist de la Salle as may dispense us from these references to his biographies. And perhaps still less is known concerning his children and their wide-spread and varied labours. Before our own visit to South Kensington, candour impels us to say that we fancied they were a band of very devoted—but exclusively—primary teachers: a very inadequate and mistaken idea, as soon became apparent.

At the present time the number of La Salle's spiritual sons teaching in various parts of the world makes a grand total of over 11,200 Brothers. They possess nearly twelve hundred houses of residence (in stricter figures, 1,175), and their united pupils are reckoned to amount to 328,800 boys and young men. Two-thirds of this total of scholars are in France or the French Colonies, where, as is natural—for the Institute is of French origin—the Brothers are most numerous. Their headquarters are in Paris, where resides their Superior General. He is elected by the suffrages of his brethren, and, once elected, holds office for life. At this moment the Institute is without a General; the

last one, the saintly and talented Frère Irlide died in Paris at the end of last July, and his successor is to be chosen in this present October. The composition of the Chapter which is to open on the 15th may be taken as a good illustration of the extent to which the Institute is spread over the world. The electors will be composed partly of delegates from the Home provinces—*i.e.*, into which France is divided, and partly of delegates from the "Foreign" provinces. Of these last, there will be two from the province of Algeria with Tunis, one from Cochin China, two from Réunion, Mauritius, and the Seychelles Islands, two from Rome, and two from the province of Turin, three from Belgium, and one each from the provinces of Austria, Egypt, the Levant, the East Indies, England, Montreal, New York, Saint Louis, and lastly New Mexico with California. This proportion of delegates may be taken as telling approximately the proportion of Brothers at work in the above countries. Thus there are some 550 Brothers resident in Belgium, and 700 in the United States, nearly 300 in Canada, and quite 300 in Italy, about eighty in both Spain, South America, the Levant and Austria, sixty-two in England, and over 120 in Egypt. These are statistics which gain in interest by comparison with the extent to which the Institute had grown at the time when its Venerable founder died in the year 1719. A hundred and sixty years ago, then, we find that there were altogether twenty-seven houses of residence, 270 Brothers, and a total of 9,880 scholars; figures which, singularly enough, represent the statistics of the Institute in Canada alone at the present time. The Belgium province by itself now counts twice the numbers which represented the whole strength of the Institute in 1719; yet there were no Brothers in Belgium at the date of the founder's death, and the likelihood that they would ever go so far away as to Egypt or India, North or South America, Pagan China or even to Protestant England, would at that time have appeared improbable to the last degree.

It need hardly be remarked that the body of men in whom we are here interested is not the only Institution or Order of laymen in the Catholic Church expressly consecrated to teaching the young—quite otherwise. In France alone they are numerous, and we believe have long been, in various degrees and lines of action, successful workers. But the Christian Brothers are certainly the typical, and we fancy are the most numerous and wide-spread of such institutions, and they have the honour of being the pioneers in the work. Their founder might deservedly be entitled the Father of Elementary Education; to him, in fact, we are indebted for our system of teaching, and for, at least, the chief and most radical ideas which distinguish modern school as

distinct from University education. His pedagogic rules and maxims are full of wisdom, and remarkably in advance of his age; his organized and well-defined system serves the Brothers as effectually nowadays in their competition with Board and Communal schools as it served their forerunners in the old pre-Revolution schools of St. Sulpice. His method lends itself readily and efficiently to new demands and to varieties of national character. And in adopting their mode of action and standards of efficiency to the most recent requirements, whether of France, England, or America, the Brothers are only acting in his own spirit and the sense of his written guidance. He was ever ready to change and to invent new methods to meet new needs. Boarding-schools, reformatory schools, Sunday-schools, training colleges, night-schools—these are his innovations. He was likewise beforehand with us in the conception of those technical schools which are considered to mark such a large stride forward in English public training of to-day. He even anticipated us on another matter by starting an agricultural school, where the pupils were taught farming on a scientific basis, and to which he attached a botanical garden for growth of seeds, &c. An Inspector-General of Education in France said of him with truth, that he was "the pioneer of popular education, not only in France, but in Europe;" and, to our minds, his famous institution of St. Yon—long the mother-house of the Institute—is the cradle of "popular" education. Here, with a touch of genius, La Salle—innovating again—began the instruction of the children of the rich commercial middle-class by omitting Latin from the course. He had already omitted it from the teaching of poor children; he saw that they wanted their own mother tongue, and it only. But to omit it from the training of respectable youths, this, to the sentiment and conviction of his time, was to play Hamlet without the Prince. Latin was the beginning and middle of all culture. Even poor children had hitherto learned Latin before they were permitted to descend to French. Hence, no doubt, originated the name of *Frères Ignorantins* (*Frères Yontains*), the familiar name by which the Brothers were long known in France, for it must be remembered that these newly established religious were not only not priests, but their founder had forbidden even them, the teachers of youth, to learn Latin, as an efficacious means of preventing any of them aspiring to the priesthood. This prohibitory rule, by which the Brothers remain laymen, has great advantages. It leaves them unburdened with the daily recital of "Office," the work of preaching, and other sacerdotal duties, free to spend their days in that to which they consecrate their talents and their strength, the drudgery and routine of school and college work.

The life of the venerable La Salle is a life full of interest for the student of educational methods; for the Catholic it is even more interesting, as being, in addition to this, the life of a mortified and saintly man. To the serious student, of whatever creed or however creedless, his life presents a distinct and momentous problem, for any solution of which, save the Catholic one, it will be difficult to find reasonable data. We can here only give a mere passing sketch of that life; but, therefrom, we expect the problem will be sufficiently manifest. The reading of any of the complete published lives will well repay perusal.* The cathedral city of Rheims has the honour of being his birth-place. He was born there on April 30, 1651, and was baptized on the same day, his grandfather and grandmother, singularly enough, standing his sponsors. The house in which he was born still stands. Mrs. Wilson thus describes it:—

* Of Lives written in English, that of Mrs. Wilson, already referred to, is the most recent, and it contains, too, as its title would suggest, just enough concerning the career of the Institute subsequently to La Salle's death, to put the reader in possession of the chief facts concerning the Christian Brothers. It is written by a Protestant lady, but one of that class, now familiar to us, whose sympathies and language are almost as Catholic as our own could be, but always with certain reserves. Mrs. Wilson's volume is written so that one could hardly even suspect it was not from a Catholic pen, and it is on the whole correct. There is scarcely need to add, that from a literary point of view, it is excellently done. The authoress, we may also note, is an enthusiastic admirer of the Institute and its founder.

A book of similar dimensions and purpose is "The Life and Work of the Ven. J. B. de La Salle" (by F. C. N.; New York: D. & J. Sadlier; 1878), written by a Catholic and apparently by a Christian Brother. This also is well written, and is altogether the most satisfactory book to have. A much smaller sketch, by the same pen, may also be mentioned: "The Ven. J. B. de La Salle, the true Friend of Youth." It is written for boys; or, as the author puts it in his title-page, "specially prepared for American youth." It is beautifully printed and illustrated, and as it is published at the Brothers' Institute in Second Street, New York, those facts are worthy of being noted. Another volume, which, by its excellent set-up, reflects credit still more markedly on the boys trained by the Brothers to printing, &c., is a volume entitled "The Brothers of the Christian Schools during the War of 1870-71." From the French of J. D'Arsac. New York Catholic Protectory.

French Lives, we believe, are abundant; we can speak of but three from personal acquaintance: the "Vie du V. J. B. de La Salle." Par un membre de son Institut. In two volumes. The full life contained in the first volume of the "Annales de l'Institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes," and the much smaller but excellent little volume "Le Fondateur de l'Institut, &c., sa vie, ses principes pédagogiques sa methode, &c." Par un Ancien Directeur d'Ecole normale, Officier de l'Instruction publique. All the French books are alike procurable at Paris from the Messrs. Ponsot Frères, and from the "Procure Générale des Frères," in the Rue Quinot.

The traveller who visits Rheims, and amid the modern buildings of the new town looks out for the far more interesting remains of the ancient city, may observe, in the Rue de l'Arbalète, No. 4, a large old house, which bears, even in its present condition of evident decay, traces of former grandeur. A frieze, decorated with military trophies, and with a shield whose armorial bearings are defaced, runs round the house. Between two of the windows is a deeply carved stone niche, from which the statue has disappeared; on each side of the principal entrance is a half-length stone figure, life size—the one a bearded man, the other a woman. The tradition of the country is that these figures represent Adam and Eve, and were placed there by a certain Adam le Linier, a famous linen merchant of the fourteenth century. The Rue l'Arbalète, then called Rue de la Chauverrie, was the centre of commerce for the linen manufacture of Rheims, which at that time rivalled Flanders. Passing through the archway, which forms the principal or street entrance, the traveller will find a court, which, though now disfigured by workshops, must have formed a handsome quadrangle, with an inner façade and entrance, still in perfect preservation, and approached by a double flight of stone steps. In the right-hand corner of the court may be seen a graceful circular turret, containing a winding staircase, supported by buttresses and decorated with an elaborate frieze, similar to that on the street front. A tablet recently let into the wall records the fact that Jean Baptiste de la Salle was born in this house, and it is interesting to note the size, the richness of decoration, and the general character of the building, as showing plainly the worldly position to which he was born.

His parents were both of noble descent, and, on the father's side, the line had long been distinguished by military renown. It was in keeping with the custom of the age into which La Salle was born that the boy should receive the tonsure when he was not quite eleven years old; and it merely testifies to the social position and influence of his family that he became a canon of the cathedral before he was sixteen. In this instance, however, the abuse of juvenile election brought to the ancient and illustrious Chapter of Rheims one of its greatest glories.* The young de la Salle was already filled with the ecclesiastical spirit in a measure far beyond his years. The old man, who was both his grandfather and godfather, appears to have imbued the mind of his young grandson with his own strong piety, one would almost

* The cathedral of Rheims, where for so many centuries the Kings of France were crowned, is one of the finest, and its Chapter was then one of the most highly honoured in France. The Stalls of Rheims were stepping-stones to the highest dignities in the Church. They had furnished countless bishops, no less than twenty-one cardinals, and four Popes. In La Salle's days Rheims was proudest of all, perhaps, of its St. Bruno.

think also with his aged wisdom. The young La Salle was soon a model canon, as he was afterwards a model priest. He was before long to resign his canonry for the higher life to which God was to call him, following in this, perhaps unthinkingly, the footsteps of another canon, the great St. Bruno, who left the wealth and honour attached to a stall at Rheims for the austerities and solitude of the Chartreuse. Meanwhile, young La Salle advanced steadily in his own education, taking first his degree of M.A. at Rheims, and then pursuing his theological studies, first at St. Sulpice, and afterwards as a priest in his own house, altogether for about eleven years, until, in 1681, he took his degree of D.D. with conspicuous honour. He was the eldest son, and the death of his father and mother, when he was only twenty, burdened him with the care of his younger brothers, but also left him free to follow unrestrainedly the dictates of his own piety. He loved study and quietude; and, though remarkable for his charity, love of the poor, spirit of prayer, and virtue generally, there was as yet no indication in events, nor suspicion in his own mind, of any higher or more arduous future. On the contrary, he felt neither attraction nor even inclination to the teaching of the young, if indeed the thought of himself teaching them ever suggested itself to his imagination. It may be noted that La Salle's life (he died in 1719) is nearly contemporaneous with the reign of Louis XIV.—the age of the Grand Monarque, illustrious for its great names in the Camp, the Court and the Church, the age of many glories, in which, however, the State was perhaps too truly the King. Conspicuous at such an epoch, for greater than human love of the poor and the neglected, stand St. Vincent de Paul and the Venerable La Salle, the fathers and friends of the people. St. Vincent had been the apostle of charity to the countless forms of bodily affliction, La Salle was destined to labour for the mind, to banish that ignorance, which, said Benedict XIII. in the Bull of approbation, "is the source of all evils, particularly in the working and poorer classes." This expression of the Pope is often quoted, and is noteworthy. It should also be borne in mind that La Salle, in his efforts for elementary education, only lent himself to a movement to improve the condition and extend the action of parochial schools which was manifesting itself and had long manifested itself in many ways and places, and which had long had the sympathy and co-operation of popes, bishops, and synods, as well as of good people in general. The State, indeed, would appear to have troubled itself little if at all about the gross ignorance of the "great unwashed;" but certainly the Church then was, and long had been, zealous in her efforts to remedy the evil. As far as she had power it may be almost said

that education was compulsory centuries ago. The Church is too often, even at the present day, mistakenly believed to have been opposed to the spread of popular education, and to be now no sincere and thorough friend of modern enlightenment. Of enlightenment and education for the people the Church was the advocate when the philosophers and philanthropists held them in horror, and it is well to remember that in States now hotly zealous for the education of the masses and against the Christian Brothers (and other similar religious teachers), the anti-clericals of a hundred years ago were equally zealous against both Brothers and the enlightenment of the masses which was aimed at in their schools. One of them, indeed, said that these teachers of the working man "were come to ruin everything." "They teach reading and writing," he wrote, "to people who ought only to learn the use of a pencil, and how to handle a file or a plane, but who will not care to work any more. . . . Amongst the working classes hardly any one need know how to read and write except those whose living depends on it."* This liberalism received the "imprimatur," of Voltaire, to whom the writer had sent his manuscript. "I think your views are sound," said the philosopher. "I am thankful that you propose to forbid working men to study. As an agriculturist myself, I beg that I may have labourers and not clerks. You might send me," he characteristically adds, "some of those 'Frères Ignorantins' to drive my ploughs or to draw them." The zealots for primary education abroad should at least respect the Brothers, and not forget that they themselves are not the first to have the people's welfare at heart. They ought, indeed, modestly to remember that they have not yet suffered for the people; the Brothers have.

But to return to La Salle. The mustard-seed of his great work came to be sown in this way. A certain charitable lady of Rouen desired to establish a school for boys in her native Rheims, and besides providing for its support she secured the services of a devout layman named Ryal to go to Rheims and teach the school. It chanced that with his customary kindness, La Salle lodged Ryal at his own house, encouraged his efforts, and occasionally also he gave his advice as to the course to be pursued. He sympathized with the effort, but also he sympathized at that time and substantially helped many good works, while his own objects in life were the care of his orphaned brothers at home,

* La Chatolais, quoted by Mrs. Wilson (at p. 5 of her "Christian Brothers"). For full details of the constant efforts of the Church for the education of the poor and working classes see Mrs. Wilson's fourth chapter, as also F. C. N.'s "Life and Work," and the large French Life.

and the duties of his canonry. Success attended Ryal's first efforts, and demands for schools came from every side. There was a crying need of good schools. Soon afterwards, however, it became apparent that this attempt was likely to fail from the very defect which had blighted countless other efforts in the same direction. The crucial difficulty in attempts at popular instruction of a more satisfactory sort had everywhere been for generations back, the procuring of good teachers. The Church in synod and council had often urgently recommended the clergy themselves to undertake the work, but for many easily understood reasons the attempt, when made, had ended in mere and ineffectual ecclesiastical supervision. The attempt to substitute laymen had, strange as it may seem to us of the present day, mostly failed. There appear to have been two chief causes of this failure. The clergy were, even if prevented or disinclined to teach a poor school, at least competent for the task by virtue of their education; but there was no provision for the training of lay teachers. The other chief cause would appear to have been the disesteem in which the drudgery of juvenile education in parochial and poor schools was held; so that when masters found they had talents for teaching and were respectable men, they went off to better themselves in private undertakings, leaving the parish children to such unfitted and strange pedagogues as surpass our present powers of conception.

The clergy were obliged to take (as masters) those who offered themselves. Sometimes it was a young fellow who had failed in his examination for holy orders; sometimes a stray lawyer, *manqué* also in his profession; or it may be a peasant with a little more learning than his neighbours, who undertook to teach the rising generation the little he knew, or the parish fiddler, who would leave his school from time to time to play at weddings or village feasts.

It is evident that, under these circumstances, there could be no security as to the personal character of the teachers, and, in fact, complaints on this head are rife all through the seventeenth century. How bad they were may be gathered from the Acts of the Synod of the Diocese of Toul in 1686, in which the bishop accuses the schoolmasters of his diocese of being "gamesters, drunkards, profligates, ignorant, and brutal. They spend their time in the public-houses or playing the violin in places of amusement or village feasts. In the churches they are not suitably dressed, and instead of studying Church music, they sing during the service anything that comes into their heads."*

This, doubtless, was a bad state of affairs, but need not be taken as a faithful picture of every locality at the time. But

* Mrs. Wilson's "Christian Brothers," p. 55.

there was much difficulty really felt in obtaining satisfactory masters. La Salle began, but at first quite as an outside observer, to give some attention to the young men who had been gathered together by M. Ryal, or Brother Gabriel, as he was also called. A little later on, during the frequent absences of the latter, La Salle was led by degrees to take a deeper and more sympathetic interest and part in their life, until finally the question of his own personal and intimate connection with them became a critical one. He became convinced that if he was to influence these young teachers, and cultivate a religious spirit in them, he must live with them and be one of them. He felt all the difficulties in the way of this—from family, from friends, and from his own tastes and inclinations; but having prayed long, added penance to prayer, and finally taken counsel—as was his wont all through life—he boldly crossed the Rubicon, and on St. John Baptist's Day of 1681 he took the whole company of young men into his own house. We have only to remember the period in which he lived, the position of his family, and his dignity as Canon, to understand the storm which greeted this step. A doctor of divinity, a man of birth, and a prominent member of the Cathedral Chapter to admit a lot of unlettered, poor, coarsely-clad, plebeian schoolmasters to live with him; it was slighting learning and decency, his family, and his own good name! So thought the wise ones of Rheims. But La Salle, who never explained, went on in his resolve; he did more, he resigned his stall and, bidding adieu to honours, joined himself, in dress and in fact, to the schoolmasters. It was no half measure. He made a complete dedication of himself, of his talents and life, his strength and affections, to the masters he had set himself to encourage and train, and to the advancement of their humble purpose. Then Rheims stood aghast; the good people were uneasy; his relatives stormed indignantly, while busy friends began to circulate explanations. Some said he was mad; others spitefully suggested that, Diogenes like, his assumption of poverty was only a more subtle form of pride; he wanted notoriety at any price. But once La Salle had entered on any path he was not the man to be frightened easily from it. One incident will sufficiently illustrate this. He had been delicately nurtured, fed and clad, and when he entered with the young Brothers on the severe life they were to follow in common, his more aristocratic taste entirely rebelled against the coarse dishes. The repugnance was greater than merely this: his stomach simply revolted, and ordinary efforts failed to conquer it. Many men would have given up the attempt, but La Salle literally starved himself into submission, going without any food

until the cravings of hunger made him glad to take even the coarsest dish. He conquered his inclination to sleep by a process scarcely less heroically determined. What it cost him to give up refinement and the elegant circle of friends at home, the pursuit of his favourite studies, his own privacy, his home and his family, may be more easily imagined than here described.

Schools were now opened in various localities, and they prospered; the reputation of La Salle's schoolmasters spread abroad, and the demand for them grew. Having been trained by himself both to solid virtues and to sound methods of teaching, they well deserved the high reputation which they quickly won. He was not carried away by success; he preferred that the work should be thorough rather than that it should be widespread. His dearest and highest aim was to convert the masters into men of deep religious convictions, and he saw that he must lead by example as well as by precept. He proceeded, therefore, to put the finishing touch to his own complete transformation into one of themselves, and this he did by the deliberate distribution of his entire fortune to the poor. Not a penny of it would he give to their and his joint work, that this last might be entirely built upon faith. Leaving his own home, they took a hired residence, and with no funds for building purposes or for their sustenance, and with no anxiety as to what they should eat or drink or wherewith they should be clothed, they went forward to do what work God should give their hands to do, consecrated to the service of the fatherless, and the poor and mainly solicitous, to keep themselves unspotted from the world. Nothing of all this was done precipitately. Distrustful of his own lights and feelings, La Salle, before any serious decision, would pray long and earnestly, fast and afflict himself, then invariably would he seek the guidance of enlightened and holy men; but all that having been done, he followed the course dictated to him, unconscious of hesitation or fear. It has been said that no monastic institution has ever failed which had for its corner-stone faith, for its walls poverty, and for its roof modesty.* With these three virtues, La Salle was able to build up, in the teeth of a multitude of obstacles and trials, a strongly knit and (to the Catholic eye) fair-shaped institution, which, mindful of his spirit and lessons, still lives and flourishes. That his work might be sorely tried, but that it would not fail, such seems to have been his conviction when first, in 1691, with two of the brothers, and again, in 1694, with twelve companions, each one of them took the usual vows of religion, adding the consecration of himself "to teach schools gratuitously, in any place whatever, even if in order to do

* Life, by F. C. N., p. 73.

it he should be driven to beg, and to live on nothing but bread."

It will be anticipated that such men as these were not likely to fail in their purpose. And yet they came often enough very near to failure; they had to encounter many avowed enemies and some false friends. Jealousy of their superior teaching and success, strange to say, often sprung up in the minds of those who had brought them to a locality; a warm welcome was more than once followed by cold expulsion; often enough, too, individual brothers lost courage and departed from the ranks. Or, at other times, the venerable founder would have, at cost of much labour, brought a house into a satisfactory and even flourishing condition, but, having left it for a similar task elsewhere, would soon hear of its collapse. Or, again, death would rob him of his most able and saintly disciples. In a multitude of other ways, beyond reckoning in this place, were the founder and his work tried during nearly forty years. It seems, indeed, as one reads his life, that faith a little less marvellous or zeal but a little less apostolic than his, would have certainly faltered and failed. But steadily and with unruffled calmness did he pursue the rugged and painful path of duty. With fluctuating fortune the work still steadily advanced; slowly but surely the little seed struck root, took shape, grew apace, until at last he left it a goodly and flourishing tree. In and around Rheims the Institute first spread; and it was here that La Salle established the first training-college for ordinary secular masters. This he did to meet, in the first instance, a demand for masters in small country places which could not support two Brothers; for he would not expose one Brother to the dangers attending a solitary charge. Soon, however, the fame of his schools led him further abroad, and the year 1688 is to be marked as the date of the first establishment in Paris, in the parish of St. Sulpice. In Paris he was often bitterly tried; indeed, the story of the sufferings, rebuffs, and opposition met in the French capital are a most critical and interesting portion of his educational career. Yet his ultimate success there was great and widespread. Here it was he started a Sunday-school for young artisan lads under twenty, for their instruction not only in the three R's, but in drawing, mathematics, and other branches calculated to increase their efficiency, and advance them in their various trades. From Paris, at various times and by slow steps, did his children spread themselves from one end of France to the other, northwards as far as Calais, southwards as far as Marseilles. We have said that it was not only elementary schools which La Salle founded; he was ready to start any branch of educational work that was needed. Thus, for example, our English James II., driven by the revolution of 1688 to take

refuge in France, was followed by a number of Catholic gentlemen. La Salle was asked and accepted the task of educating some fifty of their sons, chiefly Irish youths. Of course they needed a course of studies different from that of a parochial school; he selected Brothers to give them the instruction which he marked out as suited to their age and position.* James visited the school at Notre Dame des Vertus and expressed to La Salle his gratitude and admiration.

In 1703 La Salle moved his novitiate from Paris to Rouen, and thus began at the house of St. Yon, outside the city, the most famous of his many works. It afforded also a house of retreat and rest for his overworked disciples. Here he opened a boarding school for sons of the principal families of the city, giving them a course of studies, at that period, as we have already said, quite new to France; there was to be no Latin, the time was to be devoted to useful studies. They were to be taught, besides the usual groundwork matters, and a thorough religious training, subjects connected with each pupil's future career—history, geography, natural history, hydrography, science, &c. He furnished the students with a botanical garden and a large free library. To these departments was soon added another new and separate one, a disciplinary school for refractory boys. In this he achieved such signal success that he was persuaded to add a reformatory for boys of a vicious or weak character. Thus was there established at St. Yon a novitiate, a college, a reformatory (*pension de force*), workshops, and a free school for poor children—almost everything one can think of in a modern programme, except the normal schools which he had already founded elsewhere. In so many things was his gifted mind far ahead of the times in which he lived.

More admirable, however, than his intellectual acuteness, and the touch of genius which marks all his great designs, are his spiritual gifts and heroic virtues. Or it would be more correct to say that what constitutes the characteristic and charm of La Salle's life, as one reads it, is the conspicuous union in him of many of Nature's highest gifts, with some of the rarest adornments of Grace. In him the spirit of modern activity and the spirit of the ancient Thebaid meet and blend. He is pre-eminently a man of action, a practical, far-seeing man, prudent, brave; shrewd also and discerning—it once escaped from him, we are told by one who knew him, that he only needed half a dozen words to judge what sort of man he was dealing with. This was one side of him only; the other shows us the medita-

* Not, as Mrs. Wilson, following some authorities, says, taking sole charge of them himself.

tive and unworldly mind of an ascetic. As a young man his preparation for receiving Holy Orders included rigorous austerities. To spend a great part of the nights in meditation, to take his short sleep on the wooden floor, and to fast absolutely from Holy Thursday to Easter Sunday—such were among his youthful practices. Such was his manner. Whatever he did, fasting or study, school-work or prayer, he did it thoroughly. This ascetic feature cannot escape notice. It puzzles a non-Catholic reader. The *Times*, for instance, good-naturedly hopes that, after all, his life was not so miserable as his biographers would make out; and this because “his genial and benevolent countenance is not that of an ascetic!” Perhaps La Salle’s views about the duty of chastising or “keeping under” his body, were very like those of St. Paul; but, in any case, *are* ascetics miserable? The thing would be to make the acquaintance of a sufficient number of ascetics, and then make an induction! A stubborn fact might reveal itself quite at variance with prejudices, and in opposition to very satisfactory *à priori* reasoning.

In the days in which La Salle lived there were of course no railroads—whether or not he would with saintly Father Ignatius Spencer have used the “third class” because there was no fourth, cannot be decided—but it is part of the record of his life that he left aside such conveyances as there were at the disposal of travellers and made his numerous journeys, apostle like, on foot and with staff in hand. These journeys were neither few nor over short distances; and, moreover, were oftener than not undertaken in sickness and bodily weakness. His great expedition, from Paris to Avignon and through Provence—a long journey, and in those days not without danger—was made like the rest, on foot, as was also his return home, although he was then infirm and over sixty years of age. Such an ascetic as this it will perhaps be suspected must have been a hard taskmaster, or at least too severe by his very nature, for the kindly guidance of hard-working schoolmasters. But the true ascetic is softened and sweetened, not hardened and soured, by visitations or inflictions of penance and pain. And La Salle was as tender to others as he was rigid to himself. His disciples were, however, so warmed with his own fire that he had to check and restrain their love for austerities, whilst into his rule he admitted few penitential practices which tax physical strength: for he was ever as prudent as zealous, and he was not likely to forget that he was founding not anchorets but men devoted to the labour of daily teaching. In this matter, as in so many others, he was remarkably prudent and considerate. He would not even impose on the Brothers, off-hand, the rules which he had at cost of much labour, thought, and prayer, drawn out for their guidance as well

in their domestic and spiritual lives as in their school duties. These latter rules, whether for master or pupil, continue in our day to excite the admiration of educationists and others for their wisdom, sagacity, and prudence, and because in so much they anticipate the best developments of pedagogy. He would only propose the rules as suggestions; let them have a trial; let the Brothers offer comment or correction after having given them a fair trial! This was not a man to be harsh or dogmatic, or even autocratic in tone. What wonder that he was beloved by all; that his disciples were enthusiastically devoted to him, that few even of those who met him casually could resist the charm of his personal influence!

For himself, however, there was nothing but suffering; trials and troubles changed their shape, but ceased never. Had he been indulgent to himself, he doubtless could never have weathered the storm from without. Once indeed he acknowledged that had God revealed the amount of suffering that was inevitably to come with the foundation of the Institute, his courage would have failed, or, to use his own expressive words, he would not have dared to touch it with the tips of his fingers. Not that he regretted it—far otherwise, but at the fore-vision of such a chalice human nature would have shrunk. It was very appropriate surely that this sorely-tried man, spent with labours and full of infirmities, should end the battle, as it were, with his Lord. He died on the Good Friday of 1719. He was sixty-eight—not an old man in years, but prematurely old with the long days of work and struggle and painful illness. He had laboured to the end; to the end also was he rigid with himself; to the end humble and childlike in his obedience. When Lent set in, the last Lent of his life, as was apparent enough then, he could not be induced to accept dispensations. “The victim will soon be immolated,” said he, “let it be as pure as may be.” But when the superior (the venerable man had sometime before this, and to his great joy, resigned superiorship), when the superior returned home and forbade penances and fast, the order was quietly, humbly, at once obeyed. Certainly it is not astonishing to find miracles attributed to a man of this stamp. One little incident of his stay at Marseilles* may not indeed deserve the name of miracle, but is very touching. He wished to send to Chartres a certain Brother Timothy, whose knee, recently operated on by the surgeon, gave little hope of ever healing. Said Brother Timothy, in simplicity: “Bless my knee and then

* At Marseilles, La Salle, bitterly persecuted by the Jansenists, enjoyed the affection and esteem of the saintly Mgr. de Belzunce, the “Marseilles’ good bishop” of Pope’s “Essay on Man.”

I can go." Confused enough, La Salle blessed the knee ; and his obedient son started for Chartres. Arrived there, Brother Timothy removed the bandages in order to dress the wound, when lo! there was neither place nor trace of wound any longer to be seen. Brother Timothy was cured and felt no doubt that his ailment had disappeared at the old man's blessing. We have only to change the setting of a scene like this, and we are easily carried away to mistake it for a picture from Egypt of the far-off fourth century, illustrating some of the quaint stories handed down to us, of the simple-minded sage of the desert, Anthony or Abbot Pachomius, and their childlike disciples.

The double spirit of the prophet has descended to his disciples. A very significant indication of this truth is to be found in the character of the men who, from La Salle's death down to the quite recent death of Frère Irlide, have governed the Institute as its highest superiors. The reader who turns to their lives will be struck with the uniform combination in them of the ascetic and the practical man. One of them, the far-famed Frère Philippe, was in point of fact a second La Salle. Under his rule the Institute spread over the world with wonderful rapidity of growth. At home he multiplied schools industrial and commercial, and founded clubs for boys who had left school ; under his electrical influence, in fact, all the capabilities of La Salle's organization seems to expand with heightened vigour. But it should perhaps be said that the superiors who preceded him backwards to the great Revolution, had had no easy task to merely bring the Institute back again from that almost fatal crisis. After the wreck and ruin of that time the work of reparation was slow ; it was regrowth in a less friendly soil. The Brotherhood had many friends, but they had also many enemies. The first Napoleon who called them back again, had to say : "I cannot understand the kind of fanaticism with which some people are possessed against the Brothers. It is really prejudice. Petitions come to me from all quarters for their re-establishment. This general demand is a sufficient proof of their utility"—words which might appropriately be transferred from 1804 to 1884.

The conduct of the Christian Brothers in the war of 1870-71 deserves also a word of mention. The Brothers then, as one of their friends observed, won the veneration of the French soldiers : their love they had always had.* When the war was declared by France, Frère Philippe, the superior, was an infirm octogena-

* General the Baron Ambert. See his "brochure" "*Les Frères des Ecoles Chrésiennes*," for a brief but touching notice of their deeds during the wars. A much longer account fills M. D'Arsac's interesting but ill-arranged volume, already named.

rian : at once, however, his patriotism and Christian charity warmed him into an activity almost youthful. He offered the Minister for War all the residences and buildings of his Institute for hospital purposes and the services of his Religious ; for his sagacious mind foreboded evil. His offer was seriously made, and events caused to be accepted, unfortunately, but too literally. The whole body of Brothers offered themselves for service—they became infirmarians, or they went to the battle-fields to bear away the wounded. In one house, as they could do nothing else, they worked for the cause by manufacturing cartridges ; in other places they kept the accounts and military rolls ; in a word their service took whatever form occasion demanded. Sometimes again a band of Brothers would pass the night after a battle digging, in the frozen fields, those deep mouthed pits into which the dead were heaped and buried. At Sedan, as elsewhere, the Brothers were under fire, and as cool as if trained to it. In many cases large numbers of wounded men, packed off from the field, owed everything to the Brothers—food, clothing, care, a bed, their recovery. The most trying service, perhaps, was one of which they had a large share—the care of dysentery, typhus, and small-pox patients. One incident alone can find place in this very hurried survey ; four days before Christmas of 1870, Paris at early morn heard the terrible noise of battle beginning at Le Bourget. A hundred and fifty Brothers pass the barrier of La Villette and make for the scene of blood, two Dominican fathers marching in their midst. They carry stretchers, bags of lint, gourds of coffee and reviving drinks, rugs and whatever is likely to be useful. They march quickly, and in silence : praying no doubt for strength. They are soon amidst the fire, the balls whistle, and one of the leading Brothers falls. He is quickly lifted on the stretcher, and another Brother takes his place. Frère Néthelme had fallen mortally wounded ; he died three days after. In Paris too the schools remained open, and each Brother took these duties in turn : one day he taught in class, the next he hastened to the battle-field. Frère Philippe was the promoter and support of every work. The French soldiers and people held the Brothers in veneration, officers on the field praised them for their bravery, the Prussians no less acknowledged their devotedness, the press all the world over lauded them.* Frère Philippe was decorated with the Cross of Honour in that very ambulance of the Rue Oudinot which had been the scene of his glorious exploits : but only when it was urged upon him that France desired to honour all his Institute in honouring him, would the humble

* We need not say that other religious bodies merited well of their country during those months of bloodshed.

man allow it to be pinned to his breast. When the officials had been bowed out, the cross had disappeared from his dress. It was never seen again.

When the English reader puts a narrative such as this side by side with the fact of the educational efficiency of such brave men, a fact now in course of solemn public acknowledgement in England, it will be hard for him, whatever his religious prejudices, to understand the ingratitude and persecution shown them during the years since 1870, by the leaders and politicians of France. If one referred to their sufferings under the Commune in Paris, it would be objected: "but the Commune was a monster, drunk if not mad; it burned even the architectural glories of the city." Yes, but the enemies of the teaching and other religious orders are only doing slow time, and with outward pretence of legality the work which when enthusiastic and thorough is branded as madness. It remains to be seen, as even English papers have pointed out, if even the material glories of society will not some day soon come to ruin in the hands of M. Paul Bert's scholars. The brothers are the *true* democrats, and ever hated by the pseudo-friends of the people. Voltaire hated them, as we have seen, because they taught the people, which is just the reason why the public men of to-day in France ought to honour them. But instead, the public men of to-day turn them out of the schools, and teach the rising generations of little Frenchmen that Voltaire was the "John the Baptist of the Revolution." Of course the religion of the Brothers is their enduring sin. It is useless to speculate as to the motives or mental complexion of men who can turn out the best masters, the crucifixes, the very name of God, and together with them all solid sanction for their own laws and for any Government, in the belief that young Republicans can be brought up to respect Nature or the State—either of which, with a capital letter, is better than God. We have the fact—and may accept it as we will—that, since the laws of 1880, from many of the "communal" schools the Brothers have already been dismissed, and that they are ultimately sure to have to go from the others. The State aid to these schools has gone to secular teachers, and a truly godless system of education, with a difference of cost to the ratepayers, which is simply enormous. The process of "laicization" of the schools, which means un-Christianizing of the scholars, is costly, as recent Budgets show.* It is costly; and so far, it has failed. Turned out of Communal Schools the Brothers have opened new free schools, supported by funds administered by Catholic Com-

* See the instructive and striking statistics in note at the end of Mrs. Wilson's volume.

mittees. The Brothers have lost very few of their scholars by the change: most parents have sent their boys after the religious instruction and training.

The visitor to the Health Exhibition Rooms will be struck with evidences there gathered of the flourishing condition of the Christian Brothers' Schools all over the world. In the Belgian collection, the most marked and interesting feature of the Brothers' exhibit is the really splendid specimens from their Art Schools at Ghent, Tournai, Liège, and Brussels. The elevations, plans, views, working drawings, &c., which fill tables and cover walls, are of surprising excellence. Their drawing method is peculiar, and is their own invention. The results are its best praise. Drawing, architecture, sculpture, modelling are included in their plan. Their free evening schools for drawing are largely attended—400 boys, we understand, attend that of St. Luke, at Ghent. The Belgian province has also three Boarding Schools, where the course is arranged to meet the various public examinations; two Training Colleges, and eighty Primary Schools. The success of their primary scholars in the competitive examinations begun in Belgium in 1849 has been very marked. They also exhibit a fine collection of textbooks of their own composition, models of machinery, numerous maps, constructed on the original system of Brother Alexis—so highly lauded by all competent judges*—also a large show of school-work, exercises, and a school-museum from Verviers, showing the stages of wool-carding and its manufacture into textile fabrics.

The Exhibits in Room No. 5 are equally interesting and illustrative of the wide-spread success of the Brothers' schools. Many of their schools in France, Egypt, Canada, and the United States are represented. There are Arabic exercises, done by the little fellows in Alexandria and Cairo, a museum from one of the schools of the Institute at Rome, and specimens of tailoring, shoemaking, chair-caning, printing and bookbinding from the Catholic Protector of New York, founded twenty-one years ago for training destitute children to various trades. But there would be no ending if we began to enumerate the multifarious gathering in "Noah's Ark." Everywhere are evidences that the Brothers stick to no stereo-

* We may mention—as significant—the distinctions awarded at various Exhibitions to the textbooks and educational methods of the Brothers of the Belgian Province and to the work of their pupils:—1871, LONDON, four diplomas of honour; 1872, PARIS, a silver medal; 1872, ANNECY, a silver medal; 1873, VIENNA, a medal of progress and a medal of merit; 1875, PARIS (Geog. Congress), a medal of the first class; 1876, PHILADELPHIA, a medal of merit; 1878, PARIS, three gold medals, a silver medal, and a bronze medal; 1879, BEAUVAIS, a medal of merit; 1880, LYONS, a silver medal; 1881, TERMONDE, two diplomas of honour; 1882, BRUSSELS, six silver medals; 1883, RIO JANEIRO, seven first-class diplomas, three second-class diplomas, and two honourable mentions.

typed system of ancient days, and that they are everywhere quick to adapt their system to actual needs. They have also been very successful in their Technical Schools—in those, for instance, at New York, Lyons, and Paris. At Lyons the pupils acquire such a practical knowledge of silk-weaving as enables them, on leaving school, to enter manufactories as skilled hands. In America an almost indispensable element of success, in commerce, is knowledge of shorthand, type-writing, which are now part of the Brothers' curriculum. Their agricultural school at Beauvais has a model farm attached, of 325 acres.*

Their boarding-schools and higher colleges are apparently in an equally prosperous condition. In Europe and America together the schools of this description taught by them are attended by some 23,000 students. The two American colleges, one at Manhattanville on the Hudson, and the other at Ellicott City, Maryland, may be taken as excellent specimens of their higher class colleges. Here the curriculum is framed to qualify for academical degrees and honours. At Manhattan the department of natural science receives more attention than is usual in general colleges. Its catalogue for 1882-3, now before us, shows an imposing list of alumni who have taken M.A., B.Sc., LL.D., and other degrees. Two characteristics, we may venture to say, strike one here, and seem to mark the work of this Institute in every grade of teaching, from the village school upwards, and in every land: its thoroughness and its practicalness. In this last they only follow faithfully La Salle himself. The very essence of his innovation was: instruct and train boys with a view to their position, their ability, and their future occupations. It is interesting to find that the Brothers teach every branch of their educational curricula themselves; they do not trust to hired assistance. All the Brothers therefore in France, Belgium, and England, hold certificates,—it is the *sine quâ non* of their usefulness. But there is also no doubt a movement among them, initiated by their late Superior, Frère Irlide, towards higher studies, without neglecting their more elementary ones, *e.g.*, the pursuit of science, philosophy, rhetoric, literature, is spreading. But they must move with the time, if they would keep up their influence for good. La Salle moved before the time. Several of the Brothers in the College at Clapham, we notice, are London graduates or undergraduates. One of them, Brother Potamian, is a Doctor of Science of London, and is not unknown as an electrician. He has been much before the public lately, as Dr. O'Reilly, in connection with the Educational Conferences held at the Exhibition. Lord Reay, the able chairman of the Conferences, called on three of the Brothers to

* See favourable report on it in vol. ii. p. 117, of "Report of Royal Commissioners on Technical Education."

speak, whom he placed near him—Brothers Potamian, Noah, and Alexis. We wish we could close this rapid sketch by putting on record in our pages the extent to which the collections of the Christian Brothers are to be officially honoured, but the jury awards are not yet published. That they will receive some, even of the highest awards, may almost be predicted from the nature of the case.

It should go without the saying in a Catholic Review that the first and most essential point in the educational efforts of the Christian Brothers is religion. To this great object they could not be faithless, either as enlightened Catholics or sons of La Salle. Their saintly founder understood well the difference between instruction and education. His aim was a complete training, physical, intellectual, and moral. He liked to see boys play and romp; he enjoyed their laughter and noise. "Where there is plenty of noise," he once said, "there is not much sin." He recognized the advantages of physical training. As to intellectual acquirements we have seen that he had liberal notions. But it was in his eyes of equal, nay, of vastly greater moment, to educate the moral side of a boy, to instruct him too in that religion which alone is the highest philosophy of this life, and the presage and earnest of a better; which is the only basis of happiness, the only bond of society and the State. On this topic, if there was here either need or place, much might easily be said. Nothing need be said in the face of the fact, that in the present day the struggle of the world against the Church, whether it be the struggle of force or of diplomacy, is everywhere on the battleground of education. In reading over the reports of the Educational Conferences, just alluded to, we note one sentence of the excellent paper by Miss Manning on "What Froebel did for Young Children," which we may be permitted to quote. "Froebel," she remarks, "saw that life was an indissoluble chain, and the first few years of that life became invested in his eyes with an importance, a dignity, and a value which, regarded in an isolated way, they cannot possess." True this, and applicable to our own case. It gives the key to the value and importance attached by the Catholic Church to her own rightful share in a child's training. Many good English people think the Church attaches an exaggerated importance to it, who, at the same time, have no sympathy with the godless blasphemies of continental pedagogues. Froebel's glance was retrospective, the Church's prospective. She sees the links of that indissoluble chain reach onwards into the space beyond the grave. The love of God (Who is still honoured and blessed in the mass of schools in England) and the conviction of her own special election to be the supreme teacher, invests the impressionable years of childhood and youth, in her eyes, with a

value that can be fully appreciated only by faith. The problem which is offered to Englishmen by the lives of La Salle and his children, and by that signal and abiding success now praised on every hand, is the query why such success as they and he achieved could be achieved only in the Catholic Church, and in her bosom, only by a Religious Order like theirs; and it is certain that such is the case. The secret of success is not even La Salle's wisdom and his splendid system of school conduct, nor the wisdom and energy of Frère Philippe; it is the spirit of sacrifice which makes a holocaust of every brother, from the least to the highest, and the enthusiasm which flows perennially in each heart, from the hidden springs of the life of grace and from the consciousness, the proud heritage of every Catholic, of belonging to the ancient and everlasting and indefectible Church of Christ. The Brothers' class-books and manuals and methods, have been honoured by gold and other medals, and praised as they ought to be. They are an element in their success. But no class-books will make the school. Many of the Brothers are gifted and educated men, and this also conduces to success; but it would be poor flattery to pretend that they have any monopoly of such gifts. What gives them a power which no money can buy? It is their faith—their Catholic faith—their asceticism, if you will. You may not dissociate their philanthropy from their "peculiar religious views;" the one grows on the other. And they would give up anything in their system rather than jeopardize their freedom to teach the Catholic religion—as they have ever taught it—thoroughly, and as the foundation, the soul of everything else. The Christian Brother makes himself poor, cuts off all domestic ties and joys, lives at the disposition of a superior all his life, may never aim at the priesthood, lives daily before the eyes of his scholars as an example of the Christian life—and when he dies, the real secret of his influence is symbolized by the three things which in life were the sole personal property that the rule of La Salle allowed him—a crucifix, a New Testament, and an Imitation of Christ.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII.
ORDERING THE ROSARY DURING OCTOBER.

*Venerabilibus Fratribus Patriarchis Primatibus Archiepiscopis et
Episcopis Catholici orbis Universis Gratiam et Communionem
cum Apostolica sede Habentibus.*

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

SUPERIORE anno, quod singuli novistis, per litteras Nostras Encyclicas decrevimus, ut in omnibus catholici orbis partibus, ad caeleste praesidium laboranti Ecclesiae impetrandum, magna Dei Mater sanctissimo Rosarii ritu, Octobri toto, coleretur. In quo et iudicium Nostrum et exempla sequuti sumus Decessorum Nostrorum, qui difficillimis Ecclesiae temporibus aucto pietatis studio ad augustam Virginem confugere, opemque eius summis precibus implorare consueverunt. Voluntati vero illi Nostrae tanta animorum alacritate et concordia ubique locorum obtemperatum est, ut luculenter apparuerit quantus religionis et pietatis ardor exstet in populo christiano, et quantum in caelesti Mariae Virginis patrocinio spem universi reponant. Quem quidem declaratae pietatis et fidei fervorem Nos, tanta molestiarum et malorum mole gravatos, non mediocri consolatione leniisse profitemur, imo animum addidisse ad graviora quoque, si ita Deo placeat preferenda. Donec enim spiritus precum effunditur super domum David et super habitatores Ierusalem, in spem certam adducimur, fore ut aliquando propitiatur Deus, Ecclesiaeque suae miseratus vicem, audiat tandem preces obsecrantium per Eam, quam ipse caelestium gratiarum voluit esse administratam.

Quapropter insidentibus causis, quae Nos ad publicam pietatem excitandam uti diximus, anno superiore impulerunt, officii Nostri duximus, Venerabiles Fratres, hoc quoque anno hortari populos christianos, ut in huiusmodi precandi ratione et formula, quae *Rosarium Mariale* dicitur, perseverantes, sibi validum magnae Dei Genitricis patrocinium demereantur. Cum enim in oppugnatoribus christiani nominis tanta sit obstinatio propositi, in propugnatoribus non minorem esse oportet constantiam voluntatis, quum praesertim caeleste auxilium et collata nobis a Deo beneficia, perseverantiae nostrae saepe soleant esse fructus. Ac revocare iuvat in mentem magnae illius Iudith exemplum, quae almae Virginis typum exhibens stultam Iudeorum repressit impatentiam, constituere Deo volentium arbitrio suo diem ad subveniendum oppressae civitati. Intuendum item in exemplum Apostolorum, qui maximum Spiritus Paracliti donum sibi promissum expectaverunt, perseverantes unanimiter in oratione cum Maria Matre Iesu. Agitur enim et nunc de ardua ac magni momenti re, de inimico antiquo et vaferri-
mo in elata potentiae suae acie humiliando; de Ecclesiae eiusque Capitis

libertate vindicanda; de iis conservandis tuendisque praesidiis in quibus conquiescere oportet securitatem et salutem humanae societatis. Curandum est igitur, ut luctuosis hisce Ecclesiae temporibus Marialis Rosarii sanctissima consuetudo studiose pieque servetur, eo praecipue quod huiusmodi preces cum ita sint compositae ut omnia ex ordine salutis nostrae mysteria recolant, maxime sunt ad fovendum pietatis spiritum comparatae.

Et ad Italiam quod attinet, potentissimae Virginis praesidium nunc maxime per Rosarii preces implorare necesse est, quum nobis adsit potius, quam impendeat, nec opinata calamitas. Asiana enim lues terminos, quos natura posuisse videbatur, Deo volente, praetervecta, portus Gallici sinus celeberrimos, ac finitimas exinde Italiae regiones pervasit. Ad Mariam igitur confugiendum est, ad eam, quam iure meritoque salutiferam, opiferam, sospitatricem appellat Ecclesia, uti volens propitia opem acceptissimis sibi precibus imploratam afferat impuramque luem a nobis longe depellat.

Quapropter adventante iam mense Octobri, quo mense sacra solemnia Mariae Virginis a Rosario in orbe catholico aguntur, omnia ea, quae praeterito anno praecepimus, hoc anno iterum praecipere statuimus. Decernimus itaque et mandamus, ut a prima die Octobris ad secundam consequentis Novembris in omnibus curialibus templis, sacrariisve publicis Deiparae dicatis, aut in aliis etiam arbitrio Ordinarii eligendis, quinque saltem Rosarii decades, adiectis Litanis, quotidie recitentur: quod si mane fiat, sacrum inter preces peragatur; si pomeridianis horis, Sacramentum augustum ad adorandum proponatur, deinde qui intersunt rite lustrentur. Optamus autem, ut Sodalitates Sanctissimi Rosarii solemnem pompam, ubicunque per civiles leges id sinitur, vocatione publicae religionis causa ducant.

Ut vero christianae pietati caelestes Ecclesiae thesauri recludantur, Indulgentias singulas, quas superiore anno largiti sumus, renovamus. Omnibus videlicet qui statis diebus publicae Rosarii recitationi interfuerint, et ad mentem Nostram oraverint, et his pariter qui legitima causa impediti privatim haec egerint, septem annorum itemque septem quadragenarum apud Deum indulgentiam singulis vicibus concedimus. Eis vero qui supra dicto tempore decies saltem vel publice in templis, vel iustis de causis inter domesticos parietes eadem peregerint, et criminum confessione expiati sancta de altari libaverint, plenariam admissorum veniam de Ecclesiae thesauro impertimus. Plenissimam hanc admissorum veniam et poenarum remissionem his omnibus etiam largimur, qui vel ipso beatae Virginis a Rosario die festo, vel quolibet ex octo insequentibus, animi sordes eluerint et divina convivia sancte celebraverint, et pariter ad mentem Nostram in aliqua sacra aede Deo et sanctissimae eius Matri supplicaverint.

Iis denique consultum volentes qui ruri vivunt et agri cultione, praecipue octobri mense, distinentur, concedimus ut singula, quae supra decrevimus, cum sacris etiam indulgentiis octobri mense lucrandis, ad insequentem vel novembris vel decembris menses, prudenti Ordinarii arbitrio differri valeant.

Non dubitamus, Venerabiles Fratres, quin curis hisce Nostris uberes

et copiosi fructus respondeant, praesertim si quae Nos plantamus, et vestra sollicitudo rigaverit, iis Deus gratiarum suarum largitione de caelo afferat incrementum. Pro certo quidem habemus populum christianum futurum dicto audientem Apostolicae auctoritati Nostrae eo fidei et pietatis fervore, cuius praeterito anno amplissimum dedit documentum. Caelestis autem Patrona per Rosarii preces invocata adsit propitia, efficiatque, ut sublatis opinionum dissidiis et re christiana in universis orbis terrarum partibus restituta, optatam Ecclesiae tranquillitatem a Deo impetremus. Cuius auspiciem beneficii, Vobis et Clero vestro, et populis vestrae curae concreditae Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxx Augusti MDCCCLXXXIV, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Septimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

Science Notices.

The British Association.—The meeting of 1884 will long be remembered in the annals of the Association. When the Committee in 1883 decided to hold their next meeting in Montreal, there were not a few voices raised in remonstrance against such a decision. It is pleasant to find that the grumblers have been thoroughly out of their reckoning. The Canadian meeting has been a great success, a success so striking as to mark the fifty-fourth meeting of the Association with a red letter in the calendar. It is not to be denied that the social side of the affair has had much to do with making things pass off so pleasantly. The Canadians are a warm-hearted race, and amongst our colonists are distinguished for their attachment to the mother country. It is only natural that a warm and enthusiastic welcome should greet the first meeting of the Association outside the boundaries of Great Britain. On the other hand, no one calculated on 800 members facing the discomforts and perils of waters to be present at the meeting. Nor could the presence of such veteran scientists as Professor Adams, the discoverer of Neptune, Professor Asa Gray, the great botanist of America, Lieut. Greely, fresh from his Arctic dangers, fail to give more than usual interest to the sections they patronized. It was only natural, therefore, that Lord Lansdowne in his warm speech of welcome should declare:—"We feel that one more step has been taken towards the establishment of that closer intimacy between the mother country and her offspring, which both here and at home all good citizens of the empire are determined to promote."

The Association has been slowly but steadily departing from its original object—the advancement of science. Cynics are only too ready to point it out, and urge the happy despatch. But there is no need to complain. The earlier functions of the Society have now been taken up by hundreds of special societies, who are holding their meetings all the year round. Granted that the Association is now popularizing science "by picnic," it is doing very meritorious work. The Society continues to grow steadily in popular favour, and that shows it is responding to some real demand.

Lord Rayleigh in his address dealt at considerable length on the ultimate constitution and interaction of atoms, and both he and Sir W. Thompson are of opinion that we are on the eve of some important discoveries concerning those mysterious molecules that baffle all chemical analysis. Professor Lodge read a paper on his researches on "Dust," to which we drew the attention of our readers in the July number of this REVIEW. The lecture was warmly received; but the

Canadians must have been edified to learn that in the investigations of pure science there are such charms that many English scientists cheerfully forego a fortune that they could easily make by turning their researches to practical account.

The Biological Section was greatly excited by the announcement of a discovery by a Mr. Caldwell from America. In simple English it amounts to this—that evolutionists in future must trace the pedigree of man and the mammals, not through the amphibians as heretofore, but through the reptiles. The Geological Section was again fortunate in securing a lion in the person of Lieut. Greely. It must have been a disappointment to many that the explorer declined to say a word on the thrilling and terrible hardships he had gone through. His paper was a mere record of his scientific observations and discoveries. As we shall refer to it later on, there is no need to make any remarks on it at present. We looked forward with no little interest to the newly created section of Anthropology, and to the address of one who bears so honoured a name as the President, Mr. Tylor. It was, however, a little disappointing. His thoughts naturally turned to the complicated question of the ancestry of the North American Indian. He had no difficulty in pointing out the numerous relations between the Aztecs and the Hindoos. But he told us little that we had not learned years ago from Cardinal Wiseman's Lectures on the Relation between Science and Religion.

The meeting has broken up amidst the warmest expressions of regret from the Canadians. In fact, the whole Dominion has been not a little excited by the presence of the Association in their midst, and their cities are vying with each other in courtesies to their guests. The happiest social, if not scientific, results are likely to flow from the meeting of 1884.

Arctic Exploration.—In our April number we drew attention to the relief expedition that was being equipped for the rescue of Lieut. Greely and his party. For two years no news had been received of the American Expedition, and we feared that the Polar Moloch had claimed another batch of victims. It is pleasant to relate that the relieving party were just in the nick of time to save the twenty-five brave explorers from a horrible death. No sensational writer could have planned a more timely succour than really and actually took place when the crews of the *Bear* and the *Thetis* discovered Lieutenant Greely reading the burial service over his companions. Nineteen had already perished, and the remaining six had given up all earthly hope and were preparing for death. According to Commander Schley, who deserves the highest praise for the determination with which he pushed onwards, "forty-eight hours' delay in reaching them would have been fatal to them all." There remains an ugly charge of cannibalism against the survivors. So far Lieut. Greely has not deigned to notice the accusation; he evidently considers that such a charge in the minds of scientific men falls by its own inherent gravity. We readily believe it, but the terrible privations and sufferings of the crew will not be readily effaced from the public mind.

And now what is the sum total of the results to science from this expedition, commonly reputed to be one of the most successful? A warm current from the direction of the Pole, a little more extended knowledge of the glaciers that choke the fjords of Greenland. Lieut. Lockwood saw the dim outline of a cape not previously explored, and geographers will be able to throw into their maps a few shadowy lines of regions which for the general purposes of mankind are utterly useless. "The distinguishing work of the expedition," says the *Scientific American*, "that which will perhaps give it most fame, is thus announced by Lieut. Greely. For the first time for three centuries England yields the honour of farthest North." The question may surely be admitted: Is the loss of nineteen lives and the loss of health to six others worth these flimsy discoveries? We cannot but repeat our opinion: Most certainly not. The Greely expedition is the last of those planned by the International Polar Association, to whose proceedings we drew attention in this REVIEW in April 1883. We could not but animadvert then on the mad and almost criminal risks that the Association was preparing for brave men. We hardly expected our anticipations would be so tragically fulfilled, and that so valuable a treasure of lives would be sacrificed to the high-sounding project. In the meantime it is some little comfort to hear from America that the people are so disgusted with the fate of their last expedition, that they are determined that no more shall sail from American shores.

Aeronautics.—If we are to believe the French newspapers, MM. Renards and Krebs have succeeded in the task of navigating a balloon. A successful ascent was made, and the *aéronauts* seemed to have the machine under control. It should be remembered that this was done in calm weather. It is surely physically impossible that so large and so fragile a surface as a balloon could make head against a strong breeze without immediate danger of being torn to pieces. It is pretty well agreed that if man is to solve the problem of flying, it will not be upon any application of the principle of the balloon. There are generally given four conditions for *aërial* flight—buoyancy, extent of supporting surface, propulsion, and ascending power. Although the balloon fulfils two of the conditions, and those apparently the most difficult—viz., buoyancy and power of ascent—the perfect hopelessness of propelling the balloon in the teeth of a wind renders it useless for the purpose in hand. Borelli in his treatise *De Motu Animantium* endeavours to prove that it is a physical impossibility for man to fly. He compares the breast muscles of man with those of birds, and finds man in this department relatively so weak as to render it impossible that he should ever flap wings like a bird, or the popular idea of an angel. But it is not impossible that man might bring into play other muscles than those of the breast to work his wings. Besnier contrived an arrangement by which both arms and legs were engaged in agitating his wings. He was so far successful that though he could not raise himself in the air, he could by taking a run succeed in supporting himself for a time. He is even said to

have crossed by this means a river of considerable breadth. Mr. Spenser, the great gymnast, is able, by running sharply down an incline, to leap into the air and support himself for a distance of about 120 feet. But aeronauts are now devoting themselves to experiments and observations. The time for machine construction has not yet arrived. At present the Aëronautical Society is engaged in observing the supporting power of air on bodies of different shape and weight propelled at varying velocities. They are by no means without hope that a flying machine may some day be constructed.

Meteorology.—The most important discovery in this branch that has occurred for many years has just been published by M. Montigny, of Belgium. He has been for some time studying the question of the scintillation of the fixed stars, and his results enabled him to prophesy at the beginning of the present year that the rainfall would be below the average during the summer. He has constructed a beautiful instrument called the scintillometer, which has enabled him to formulate some very remarkable laws, both astronomical and meteorological. With the latter we are only concerned at present. The appearance of the stars in the scintillometer is a very accurate indication of the coming weather. In calm settled weather the trace of the star is sharp and regular. In storms of wind and rain it becomes fringed and broken, and the scintillation changes on the approach of atmospheric disturbances. The aurora produces the same effect as a storm, while violent scintillations and magnetic storms are quite coincident in point of time.

It is curious that certain colours appear in the scintillometer with varying degrees of intensity. During the five seasons that preceded the year 1876 *green* was the predominant tint. For the last seven years *blue* has taken the lead. When M. Montigny saw the *green* reappear in 1883 he ventured to forecast the return of better weather. This year the green tint has been most characteristic and more persistent than in any former year. Moreover, the *violet*—another colour that accompanied the fine seasons—has this year reappeared. M. Montigny wrote in the spring of this year :—

The return of the same indications authorizes me to renew the same forecast for the present year that I published last year, that rain will be less frequent and copious than in the six years preceding 1883. I think I may venture to extend this conjecture to the coming seasons, and believe that we have now happily passed out of the rainy years that commenced in 1876, and that we have returned into a series of fine seasons, or at least more regular in the matter of rainfall.

We have hopes that many important results will be derived from the labours of the Belgian astronomer.

Prehistoric Finds.—The existence of crannoges in the south of Scotland has been ascertained for some time past, but recent researches by Mr. Wood and others has brought to light a number of these lake-dwellings strewn profusely in the counties of Wigtownshire, Kirkcudbright, and Ayrshire. The number is quite extraordinary, and wherever a marsh or loch has been drained these knolls or islands are sure to

make their appearance. The researches hitherto conducted do not seem to have resulted in the finding of any great treasures. The Ayrshire folk seem to have been most prosperous and advanced, for the crannoges of this district have not only yielded weapons of iron and bronze but ornaments of gold. The number of piles used in the construction of these islets is something extraordinary. A very small one will require at least three thousand piles of wood. The surface of the land must have undergone much change since their construction, for the district around is now a bare plain where a tree of any importance is an exception. These piles when taken from the soil were soft and easy to cut away, with the exception of the oak beams, which are as tough now as when they were sunk. As to their age, we should say, judging from the nature of the finds, that they date from the neolithic times down to the early dawn of Christianity in Scotland. For in the Ayrshire crannoges there were found, not only stone celts but ornamental crosses of jet, the relics of the Christian faith.

A remarkable discovery of ancient cave-dwelling has been made near Royal Tara in Ireland. Some workmen were digging for gravel, and having laid bare the side of a hill they suddenly uncovered what was evidently an old cave-dwelling. It was shaped like a beehive, about ten feet in height, with the roughest and rudest of masonry around the walls. This communicated with another chamber of smaller dimensions but of similar construction, and there is no doubt that other chambers will be discovered when some of the abundant *débris* is removed. The strangest part of these holes is their distance beneath the soil, for above them lie undisturbed layers of fine sand, gravel, loose gravel sand, and finally the sod. The deposit of these layers would require a very large period of time to effect. It is not safe, however, to venture upon any conjecture of this kind until we learn a little more of the surface of the surrounding country.

Asimilar series of caves, the Penn Pits, on the confines of Somersetshire and Wiltshire, has long been a bone of contention among archæologists. Some profess to see nothing more in them than old gravel-pits; others regard them as ancient British dwellings. The latter theory has lately received confirmation from the ingenious discovery of Mr. Kerslake. He had long been puzzled to find the site of the city mentioned in the old Nennian Catalogue as *Caer Pensauelcoit*. The "Caer" was simple enough, and the final syllable "coit," he argued, must surely be the equivalent of the Welsh "coed," a wood. The next step was to find a place bearing a name resembling Pensauelwood. This, after all, was not so difficult, as the village hard by the Penn Pitts has been known from time immemorial as Penselwood. It would seem almost certain, then, that the Penn Pitts is the site of the old British fortress of *Caer Pensauelcoit*.

Notices of Catholic Continental Periodicals.

FRENCH PERIODICALS.

Revue des Questions Historiques. Juillet, 1884.

"ROME in the Fourth Century, from the Poems of Prudentius." This article is a sequel to the one by the same author, M. Paul Allard, of which we gave a brief *résumé* last quarter. "To complete that picture," we here read, "it remains for us to ask the poet to show us the frame, as it were, of it—that is to say, to describe, from his clear personal reminiscences, that strange Rome of the fourth century, in which the monuments of the two religions that still divided men's worship rivalled each other in grandeur and beauty. The writings of Prudentius contain numerous details valuable to both artist and archæologist. Indeed, it is easy to draw from them a picture, perhaps not complete, but living and picturesque, of Pagan, Christian, and subterranean Rome of that date." This is the theme of M. Allard's pleasant and instructive study, the working out of which is so dependent on extracts from Prudentius, that though intensely interesting, it scarcely lends itself to a *précis*.

We can anticipate how the Christian poet will regard the paganism of the city; yet he was not insensible to the beauties of that art towards which the Christian Emperors were so tolerant; and the magnificence of the city had deeply impressed him. He was enthusiastic about "aurea Roma," "pulcherrima Roma," so that his style is imbued with his impressions, and, like those Venetian painters, who mixed their doges and patricians into Bible and Gospel scenes, he introduces everywhere something Roman! Even when he describes Sodom we have the tribunal and forum, the baths, shops, temples, theatres, "madidasque popinas" of Rome; and his Pharaoh's soldiers marching to the Red Sea are legionaries from Trajan's column! We need scarcely add that the second and third portions of this article, which are concerned with the Christian city (churches, art decoration, &c.) and its catacombs, coming from the pen of M. Allard, are well done, full of minute detail, and easy, pleasant reading.

"The more Ancient Greek MSS. of the New Testament: their Origin and true Character," the next article in this number of the *Revue*, well deserves mention. It is by the Abbé Martin, the well-known learned professor in the theological "Ecole Supérieure," as one must now say, at Paris. The Abbé puts forth in this article a theory regarding the ancient codices which, if it should prevail among scholars, will certainly make an epoch—perhaps rather a counter-revolution—in "textual criticism." He pulls down the idols of codices N, A, B, C, and D from their present high places, and restores

to the "textus receptus" its former pre-eminence, even re-claiming for it the title of greater antiquity.

It is well known, he says, that from Beza to Griesbach all that critics dared do was to give the readings of the codices Ephrem, Paris, Rome and the rest, as variations on the received text. Now, the traditional text is placed on one side and preference given to those anonymous codices just named, by all the great textual critics—Lachmann, Tregelles, Tischendorf, and Hort and Westcott. Hence it comes to pass that on the one hand are ranged the great mass of biblical documents, Fathers, versions, and manuscripts; and on the other a small group of dissidents, but a group made up of the most ancient known MSS., A, B, C, D, and the Sinaitic, and together with these five uncials, some fifteen cursives. One is a minority, the other an overwhelming majority as to quantity: does the great difference in quality reverse the balance? The Abbé Martin emphatically answers no. He has several preliminary reasons for thus going, in this reply, in the teeth of such scholars as have just been named. Why should the traditional text, being, as it is, so copiously supported by MSS. which differ so slightly, if at all, from one another, and further confirmed on the whole by the Fathers and the versions, be set aside for a few codices which, however ancient, are marked by great differences, even by contradictions of one another? Perhaps, if the mere age of the codex were the only thing, this consideration would prevail, but—and this complicates matters—the smaller group are not only the most ancient known manuscripts, but they are patronized by Origen. Their readings may vary, but curiously enough these readings are to be found in Origen. And if Origen in the third century knew the readings of these MSS., and accepted their text, that text is more ancient than Origen, and it is difficult not to push its antiquity into apostolic times. This union of Origen with these ancient MSS. should not destroy the authority of the traditional text for scholars—that is, on merely critical grounds: the Abbé shows why. But he acknowledges that, if accepted, it would deal that text a serious blow. He then proceeds to point out the difficult problems which the "partisans of Origen and the ancient MSS." have to solve; how, namely, their text, supported by Origen, could have become fifty or a hundred years later the traditional text—a text essentially *one*, and continuing one from the fourth century till now. How—and here the difficulty grows—explain the way in which from the third to the fourth centuries the Church substituted, or accepted the substitution of, one text for the other. Where is the record or the fame of it? Further, however, the partisans of the traditional text have their problem, and that not an easy one, to solve. How came it to pass, if the Church used the traditional text in the second and third centuries, that such recensions as that of the Alexandrian, &c. (A, B, C, D, &c.), were current in the Church in Origen's day? The author notes here that the problems on either side are indeed difficult, but not to the same extent; and on the supposition that no solution were forthcoming, yet he who knows the Church (not of course by faith in her divine custody

of the Scriptures, but merely as a student of history, having learned her spirit, laws, and *modus agendi*), would not hesitate to conclude the absolute impossibility of one text having been substituted for another. So that he would not hesitate to side with the traditional text and the Church of the fourth century, with its Eusebius, Cyril, Basil, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Epiphanius.

Now, the Abbé passes on to give an explanation, a new one, at which he has arrived after long and tedious labour, of the agreement between Origen and the few oldest MSS. Origen quotes the recensions represented by these five oldest uncials; such has been the contention hitherto. The Abbé Martin denies it; on the contrary, he contends, the Vatican, Sinaitic, &c., have been corrected or revised on Origen (*revus sur Origène*)—quite another matter. That is, in other words, their text is after Origen, not Origen after them. The older hypothesis, he acknowledges, seems the more natural, indeed he began and continued his researches with it, and relates how the contrary opinion forced itself on him. When Origen wrote he had no such MS. as the Vatican or Sinaitic in his hand, but the editors of the Vatican and Sinaitic copied Origen. And these much famed codices (N, A, B, C, D) contain a text that were knowingly fabricated, and are of small critical worth. How Origen can be made responsible for a variety of readings is shown; it is well known that he, like so many of the Greeks, quoted loosely and in a way we should consider unpardonable. The few codices which have been the support of the textual critics, contain an "eclectic text," the elements having been gathered from the writings of the Fathers. "It is certain that the editor (*éditeur*) of the *Codex Beza* knew the writings of Eusebius of Cesarea, and made use of them; but it is possible also that he consulted passages of S. Cyril of Jerusalem and S. Epiphanius. It may be suspected that the Vatican, and still more the Sinaitic, have taken some of their readings from Eusebius, Cyril, and Epiphanius, and we do not despair of one day being able to establish clearly this important point." Further, the Abbé shows that these "most ancient MSS." are, without any doubt, not earlier than the end of the fourth century, and that they originated in the movement marked by the sudden and prodigious development of the religious life, the mixture in religious houses of Latins, Greeks, Syrians, and Egyptians, and that passionate study of the Holy Scripture which led to a comparison of versions and criticism of texts; they are in fact merely *collectanea* of variant readings, which probably owe their preservation to the fact that they got stuck aside in libraries because they could not be used in church offices, since they did not contain a church or official text, but "un texte eclectique, fabriqué de pièces de rapport:" they rarely if ever got on to the pulpit or lectern, "precisely the thing which rapidly wears a manuscript." For the same reason these MSS. contain no liturgical notation. The Abbé suspects Rufinus—one of Origen's "traducteurs infidèles"—of being one of those critics to whom we owe these eclectic recensions, the Sinaitic, Vatican, and the rest: nay, he is not without hope that further researches may justify this conjecture. For details and

proofs of all these points the article must be consulted. The Abbé Martin, we are glad to see, promises that a volume shall shortly appear, treating his theory at length.

ITALIAN PERIODICALS.

La Civiltà Cattolica, 16 Agosto.

Modern Parliamentaryism.

NO sooner had the "Onorevoli" of Montecitorio returned to their homes for the summer vacation than the journals of every shade of political opinion began to raise an outcry against them, not to speak of the mutual reproaches which have been heard from some members of their own body. A correspondent of the *Perseveranza* writes, on the last day of their sitting, that there is a general persuasion that neither Deputies nor Ministry have done or are in a position to do their duty towards the country, and that the decadence of political institutions, whether its causes be temporary or permanent, is itself undeniable. The *Tribuno* draws the darkest picture of the National Representation, which it considers has for two years past been dragging on a weak and anæmic existence, and it intimates to the adherents of Depretis, that the sole remedy for all evils is to pull down from top to bottom what they have hitherto built up, to discard those judgments which experience has already shown to be erroneous, to break through every tie of personal government, and restore the Chamber and parties to their normal functions; otherwise, it says, "our Parliamentaryism cannot be saved from total ruin;" nor will the discredit be avoided which in the eyes of superficial observers of political phenomena will redound to those popular institutions which are sacred to all. The *Diritto* even, which is reckoned an official journal, has recently said that striking symptoms of the bad state of the Parliament are of such frequent occurrence that it is not worth the trouble of counting them, but that they all point to a future full of grave warnings for the Government, if not for the country. With regard to the Senate, which has to pass in an undignified hurry and without discussion the most important laws at the close of the session, it observes that the people will be led to ask what office that body discharges in the mechanical constitution of the kingdom, if it so cheaply estimates its own prerogatives and decorum.

It can but be distasteful to the men of the Revolution that disenchanted populations should begin to rail at those precious *Institutions* which were created for their own special use, institutions which may be summed up in the machinery of the Parliamentary system, or, in other words, in *Parliamentaryism*. In the present day this system, which is their palladium, is working very ill, and producing very bad effects; this they do not deny. Nevertheless, they must still perforce laud the system itself up to the skies, as the *ne plus ultra* of political wisdom. Not all Liberals, however, will endorse such a palpable contradiction,

and the reviewer congratulates Signor Bonghi for having lately come out in the *Nuova Antologia* with an article of searching examination into the merits of the Parliamentary régime, though he says that more reliance could have been placed on him had he not appeared so late in the field. The decadence of Parliamentarianism is now so generally felt and confessed throughout Europe, that it does not require heroic courage to stand up and do battle with it. However, Bonghi says much that is worth noting. He begins by remarking that the defects of the Parliamentary system, which have been gradually discovered, are clearly not accidental but essential to it. They are, he says, its "necessary shadow." It belongs evidently to this form of government, that the half, *plus* one, of the elected deputies can change its direction. This premised, he considers it under its two chief aspects: first, in the body of its electors, and afterwards in that of the elected. Whatever may be the conditions of the electoral suffrage, it will follow that a considerable minority of the electors who belong to the losing party, to whom may be added the multitude of those who for one reason or another, often for very good reasons, abstain from voting at all (this is peculiarly the case in Italy), will regard the elected deputies as incapable of representing their interests or those of the nation, as understood by them. Moreover, the majority itself which sends the deputies to the Chamber is, thanks to electoral manœuvring, the mere tool of a few agitators, voting for it knows not whom, and would not like if it did know. A profound moral servitude has thus sprung from liberty, and the worst of tyrannies through the means taken to destroy tyranny. In consequence of all this, Bonghi says that not only do the elected deputies not represent the totality of voters, but not even the totality of those who voted for them; in fact, only a part of them, probably only those who managed the election.

In the Chamber things fare no better. The first object is to form a Government, and this necessitates the members grouping themselves together so as to insure the half *plus* one needful for keeping any Government on its legs. It is in the nature of the Parliamentary régime, then, to form parties, one of which is the governing party, but it must not be inferred that that party actually commands the majority of the Chamber. It would be more correct to say that it governs the majority of the majority, that is, in very truth, the minor portion of the whole Chamber; for although, as Bonghi says, the governing party has a majority of supporters, it by no means follows that they all represent it, nay, it is often more than probable that they do not, and in these cases, the governing party, so far from representing the majority of the Chamber—that is, representing what it thinks, supposing it thinks anything—represents the very contrary. And this, he adds, is often seen, and has been seen quite recently. Some Liberals would lay the blame chiefly on the country, but Bonghi will not agree to this, but holds the Parliamentary régime as mainly, though not wholly, responsible for this vicious state of things. Presuming itself to be representative, while in fact precluding all genuine representation, it has placed society as regards its rulers in a position at once

contradictory and hostile. But why, asks the reviewer, has Bonghi so long delayed saying what Catholic writers—those of the *Civiltà Cattolica* included—have been drawing attention to for years? And why, when they said the same things in far more moderate terms, were they denounced by the Liberals as enemies of their country, traitors, parricides? Now, when these very men, deputies, senators, journalists, break forth in the most unmeasured and contumelious attacks upon Parliamentaryism such as Catholics never indulged in, they are applauded as sincere patriots and lovers of the truth.

And here the reviewer desires to draw attention to the important fact that, while severely criticising modern Parliamentary forms, they have always been careful to add that *in themselves* these forms might be turned to good account by Catholic Governments, and their evil tendencies counteracted, since the spirit of the governors rather than the system of government was in all times the cause of the prosperity or misery of subjects. The Catholic Church has accordingly accommodated itself to all forms of government which have prevailed, requiring no more from rulers than the recognition of its authority, and of the supernatural order revealed by God and committed to its keeping. Catholics, then, are not moved to oppose modern Parliamentaryism either from political antipathy or from party motives, still less from sectarian animosity; the real reason of their opposition is to be sought in the anti-Christian origin of this modern Parliamentaryism, sprung as it is from a revolt against revealed faith, and also in the principle upon which it is based and turns, viz., man's absolute independence of God, and consequently of all authority. In this principle, which was laid down in 1879, constituting as it does the negation, not of Christianity alone, but of natural reason, we Catholics perceive the fatal root whence are necessarily derived the social disorders resulting from Parliamentaryism, now deplored by Bonghi and other Liberals. Bonghi says, indeed, that modern Parliamentaryism leads to lying, injustice, and tyranny; but he either does not see, or has not the courage to confess, that all this is owing to the fundamental principle both of Parliamentaryism and, in general, of so-called modern civilization; this principle being man's entire independence. The moment the principle is laid down that men may think and judge as they please, act according to their own notions, do good just as they understand it, and indulge all the tastes and inclinations to which their nature disposes them, there is an end, properly speaking, of human society. Society, in fact, resolves itself into atoms; and, in order to impart to them such unity as is essentially constitutive of order and life, it is necessary to compel these atoms to cohere, not through their own nature, but by some mechanism of art and by an arbitrary act of man's will. Human society thus held together has the name without the reality. Civil society itself is reduced to being a juridical fiction: *factio juris*. Parliament, which is reckoned to represent such a society, is another similar fiction, or, rather, it is worse; for, as Bonghi proves, it does not represent the country which is supposed to elect it, and it is therefore not only a fiction but a lie.

Injustice necessarily follows. To instance one mode in which it manifests itself, and which presupposes numberless others : every benefit, every interest, is sacrificed to the benefit and interest of the ruling party, which is holding office and desires to keep it ; in other words, political utility holds the place of everything in the Parliamentary system. That is made the measure of all things—religion, virtue, public faith and credit, loyalty. In accordance with this political utility, the laws are made and unmade, justice administered, and the ears are opened or closed, as it may be, to the complaints of the governed. Hence opportunism, as it is called, rules instead of truth and right. In the stagnant and pestilential quagmire of politics all that is great, good, energetic, noble dies. Political utilitarianism corrupts and suffocates all. Since, however, every Government is esteemed by the people in proportion to the moral and material prosperity which it promotes, nations in the long run become wearied of this Parliamentary *régime*, and the better portion of the community abstain from exercising the valueless rights of which it seems prodigal to them, and support with ill-will and continual murmurs the real and heavy burdens it lays upon them. Tyranny accompanies and follows on injustice, and irresponsible oligarchies establish their undisputed sway over millions of men ; and because practically irresponsible, they are more oppressive than despots, who are for the most part held in some check by the very consciousness of the personality of their power. These oligarchies are therefore greater foes to individual and collective liberty than were the most absolute monarchs. They are ever making laws, and each law is a new restriction on freedom ; for ever draining the people of their life-blood by onerous taxes which no despotic Government would have ventured to impose ; persecuting whole classes of citizens, dispersing them, confiscating their property, harassing and thwarting them without intermission, by every fiscal and legal subtlety which they can devise.

Finally—and here is the refinement of this unexampled tyranny—they pretend to do all under the authority of law, thus subjecting entire nations to forms of government universally hated, but which they affect to demonstrate by legal vouchers to be universally accepted. Take France as an example, which is certainly at heart anything but Republican, but which yet has a Republican Government ready to prove, as clearly as that two and two make four, that the country is devoted to it and prepared to maintain the Republic at any cost. The reviewer marvels how any Catholics can be found, and they are by no means rare, who place all their hopes in Parliamentary forms. He readily acknowledges, nay, is forward in asserting, that where these exist, Catholics should endeavour to reap every advantage they can from them, and strive to counteract all the evil they would produce, by taking an active part in political affairs, and not by their withdrawal allowing the workers of mischief and instruments of Satan to have it all their own way in their impious enterprises against religion, to the utter ruin of the nation. But never, he adds, will the *Civiltà Cattolica* cease to denounce the folly and illusion of those who trust

to Parliamentary forms as to a plank of salvation, and are so enamoured of them as to hold it to be the ruin of the Church in any nation where, for the very highest reasons and by the highest authority, Catholics are forbidden to give them their support. (The reviewer, it will be seen, is here alluding to the Holy Father having enjoined upon Catholics in Italy abstention from co-operation in political affairs.) Now that acknowledged Liberals are on all sides proclaiming the rottenness of the Parliamentary edifice, shame indeed it would be if any Catholics should undertake its panegyric by word or by writing. After all that has been suffered, after all that experience has taught them, and all the authoritative instruction they have received, they ought to lay aside dreams and fantasies which, if excusable once, are assuredly no longer so.

GERMAN PERIODICALS.

By Dr. BELLESHEIM, Cologne.

1. *Katholik*.

CANON STÖCKL contributes two learned dissertations comparing the theory of the origin of our ideas as put forward by Plato and Aristotle with that of S. Thomas. Plato, laying undue stress on ideas, went so far as to separate them from God himself, thus dissolving the reality of beings. On the other side, Aristotle was indeed successful in correcting his master's one-sidedness and proceeding in his system from the reality of the visible world, but he brought the realities so far into prominence as to deny the prototypes without which no visible beings can be duly conceived. But S. Thomas, combining what was true in the Greek systems, produces a philosophy which satisfies every mental requirement in the search after truth. The capital tenets which he has fully established are—firstly, that there is no general or common nature, but only individuals; secondly, that our general ideas are not mere *flatus vocis*, but supported by “*fundamentum in re*.” Far more striking is the gulf separating the doctrine of the Greek philosophers about the origin of the world from S. Thomas's system. The idea of creation “*ex nihilo sui et subjecti*” is sought for in vain in their writings. Canon Stöckl concludes by asking—Is there no progress in mediæval philosophy; can S. Thomas and the other celebrated doctors of the Church justly be pronounced to be only repeaters of the Greek? Modern non-Christian philosophers, who wage war against S. Thomas and taunt him with only echoing Plato or Aristotle, are totally defeated by Canon Stöckl's masterly articles.

Dr. Schmitz, the author of the “*Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*,” which I noticed last year, has an article on a kindred question lately much agitated among German divines, viz., whether during the first seven centuries the Church possessed jails and sentenced culprits to imprisonment. He first of all refers to

Gregory II.'s letter to the Emperor Leo, in which the Pope emphatically insists on the great difference between Church and State both in matter of power and means of punishment. The same Pope goes on to refer to imprisonment in the "Diaconica" and "Catechumenica," meaning by these terms such parts of the Church as were used for harbouring delinquents previously to their reconciliation to the Church. But in the six preceding centuries the Church neither possessed jails nor did she sentence any culprit to imprisonment. From the time of Gregory II., however, we meet with imprisonment as a part of ecclesiastical penance tending to bring back the culprit to the Church. A striking difference may here be referred to between the Anglo-Saxon and Roman discipline. To the former the punishment of imprisonment was unknown, whilst, on the contrary, it regularly occurs in the Roman books of penance.

Another and a very appropriate contribution is one treating of the "Gospel in the Liturgy." If I am not mistaken, we are indebted for it to a disciple of the late learned Dom Guéranger, of Solesmes. The author treats of the honours paid to the Evangelium as containing Holy Writ. It is kissed and incensed. There are certain solemnities employed in reading the martyrology in the vigils of Christmas and Annunciation. In the Eastern rites are still performed the *μικρὰ εἰσόδος*—viz., the solemn procession with the Book of Gospels. A peculiar honour has been paid to the Book of the Gospels in the General Councils; sometimes a special throne was prepared on which the volume was placed. From this time-honoured custom the last General Council of the Vatican did not depart. One of the most venerable and ancient rites, and still observed in the bishop's consecration, is the placing of the Book of Gospels upon his shoulders and head.

In the August number the same author continues his dissertation, commenting on the lection taken from the Gospels and on the office of deacon to whose lot it falls to be the official reader of the Gospel. Whilst the Eastern Church in its solemn liturgy reads the whole Gospels, the Roman Church happily adapted the biblical lessons to the spirit of the liturgy, which is continually occupied in representing the life of Christ. In the times of persecution the Gospel was considered to be a part of the "disciplina arcani," and therefore only after the departure of the catechumens did the priest or bishop begin to explain it. Immediately before they were baptized, the four Gospels were made known to them. In concluding, our author reminds the reader of the imposing ceremonies observed whilst the German Emperor at Christmas sang the Gospel "*Exiit edictum a Cesare Augusto.*"

Lastly, but not least, we are presented with two essays on Wyclif as a translator of the Bible. The subject is grasped with great ability and extensive knowledge of English literature. The English Church, before Wyclif made his sad appearance, enjoyed at least three translations of the entire Bible, whilst Wyclif can only be credited with having translated the four Gospels.

2. *Historisch-politische Blätter*.—Professor Hettinger, of Wurzburg University, the learned author of the "*Apologie des Christenthums,*"

contributes two pleasantly written articles on "Siena and Fra Bernardino Occhino." In noble language he traces a comparison between S. Francis of Assisi, the devout son of the Church, the great founder of the Franciscan Order and sublime poet, and Fra Occhino, the unfortunate apostate who, owing to his eloquence being praised, or rather adored, soon fell a prey to pride and heresy. Paul III. had him warned and rebuked; but Occhino obstinately refused to retrace his steps, went over to Protestantism, fled to England, thence proceeded to Zurich, and at last, after having undergone not a few persecutions from his new co-religionists, died of the plague in a small Moravian village. These learned articles are well worth reading, and are remarkable chiefly for the author's ability in tracing the development of Occhino's defection. The downfall of the miserable General of the Capuchins could only be described by one like Professor Hettinger, who, besides being familiar with Italian life, history, art, and feeling, ranks high as a philosopher and theologian.

In the August issue I have a rather lengthened critique on a book which should possess a great interest for English Catholics. The keeper of the Belgian State Archives has just published a work bearing the title "*Lettres de Philippe II. à ses filles les infantes Isabelle et Catherine pendant son voyage en Portugal (1581-1583).*" Mr. Garhard found these precious monuments in the Turin Archives, and now presents them to the public. Historians who would be inclined to describe the husband of Queen Mary as a stern, unmerciful politician, will henceforth be obliged to take another view of Philippe II. From these letters he appears to be a most loving father, taking the utmost care of his children, and unrelenting in the discharge of his religious duties. This remarkable book, enlarged by a learned introduction, will bring about a complete revolution in people's estimate of the Spanish monarch. Let it be further remembered that the Infanta Isabella, afterwards married to the Archduke Albert, was intrusted with the government of Spanish Belgium. During her reign this pious princess did not cease to bestow benefits on English missionaries and intercede on the behalf of English Catholics with the Court of London.

The same number contains a laudatory criticism on the "*Æsthetik*" of F. Jungmann, S.J., professor in the University of Innsbruck; a work deserving high praise, since it fully and energetically emphasizes the views of the greatest doctors of the Church as to the "*pulchrum*."

3. *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*.—Mr. Wilfrid Ward is now the great champion against Agnosticism. But on a minor scale a good deal is done against it also in Germany. To F. Langhorst, S.J., we are now indebted for two solid articles on the Religion of Agnosticism. On hearing the word "religion," no reader ought to be taken by surprise, since no man can spare religion altogether; and Agnosticism too, the outcome of Comte's Positivism, is only a new effort to establish a mock religion. A splendid essay is contributed by F. Baumgartner, S.J., who describes Copenhagen and his journey to the Faroe Islands.

There are nowadays not many writers in Germany who could boast of handling our language in so masterly a manner as does F. Baumgartner. Splendour of style, breadth of view, keen apprehension of men, lands and customs, happily combine with solid theological knowledge to make these essays attractive. They have brought the *Stimmen* into great favour. In the present paper the writer carries us through Denmark, and then proceeds to the Faroe Islands, where he consoles a poor Catholic family totally deprived of the sacraments of the Church.

4. *Historisches Jahrbuch der Goerres-Gesellschaft*.—The July number contains a rather extended essay, written by Professor Dittrich of Braunsberg, on the history of the Catholic Reformation. Starting from the fifteenth century, he describes the exertions made at that time in Italy for reforming the Benedictines. Whilst Lodovico Barbo brought out a strong reform, the "Congregatio Vallisoletana" was engaged on the same work in Spain. Coming to Leo X., he dwells on the decrees of the fifth Council of the Lateran under this Pope. I am glad to see that, according to Dr. Dittrich, the noble publication of Cardinal Hergenroether on that Pope (Regesta Leonis X.) will greatly contribute towards establishing a fairer judgment on Leo X. We would dwell with gratification on the unrelenting exertions of Bishop Caraffa (afterwards Paul IV.) for promoting piety and science, and abolishing the manifold abuses which then disfigured the Church, from the Curia to the simple incumbent.

Notices of Books.

A Philosophical Catechism for Beginners. By ST. GEORGE MIVART, Ph.D., M.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1884.

IN a small *brochure* of less than fifty pages Mr. St. George Mivart has carried out an idea on which we most warmly congratulate him. He has endeavoured to "state in clear and simple language," as he tells us, "answers to new, deep, and widely discussed questions, which have for many years occupied" his mind. The little work is in ten sections, of varying length. It begins, as was to be expected, with the discussion of Consciousness, Certitude, and Self-evident Truth. Then comes a chapter on the External World. The Faculties of Man come next, and the essential difference between the higher and the lower faculties is admirably shown. Following this, we have the elements of ethics laid down in a section on Moral Goodness, leading to a demonstration of the difference between Man and the Brutes. The First Cause, Free-will, and the Existence of God (with a corollary on

Religion), bring us to the concluding section, which briefly sums up the advantages of the "true philosophy."

It is profoundly satisfactory to have to welcome and notice a book like this. The most wearisome of all tasks is to have to teach truth through the medium of controversy; unless, perhaps, there be a more wearisome duty still, and that is, to learn truth through the same medium. There will always be discussion and polemic more or less fierce. There will always be tracts and corners of the great human field where the erring must be convinced at the expense of wading through the marshes which their errors have encompassed them with. Moreover, there will always be men powerful enough to do harm and wrong enough to require refuting. But the multitude must have knowledge of a positive quality and in compact shape. Real knowledge, real truth, will always, to a very great extent, if it be presented to an unprejudiced mind, prove itself. Therefore, whether we speak of Christianity, or Catholicism, or the true philosophy, there is a large work to be done by simple but adequate compendiums, statements, and catechisms. In religious matters we are not altogether without such helps; in philosophy we have had nothing—at least in English—until now.

It will not be expected that Mr. Mivart should go into questions of scholasticism, or develop any new or old theories of the *how* and the *why* of mental or moral laws. He begins before all the discussions of the schools. He is busy in a region where, in the days from St. Anselm to Descartes, there was no fighting. His inquiry is, whether we know anything at all—whether there is such a thing as truth? He establishes objective knowledge and the reality of the world outside. He places in a clear light the difference between the reasoning man and the sentient brute. He proves God, free-will, and morality. In a word, he speaks in the presence of modern "Agnosticism," and his Catechism of Philosophy is framed to meet the questions, or the ignorance, of a world whose teachers are chiefly teaching it that it cannot know anything—not even that with which it comes into physical collision. He is, in these pages, neither a Thomist nor an anti-Thomist, except so far as truth and Thomism are synonymous.

Without asserting—as the learned author would be the last to assert—that this little work can supersede a course of philosophic study, or that it will enable students to dispense with other and longer books, we unhesitatingly say that it will be a very great boon and treasure to hundreds and thousands. This is perfectly evident from half a dozen different points of view. What is it, for instance, that checks and paralyzes the advances of hundreds of educated men towards Catholicism? It is not that they cannot discern the hollowness of every other form of religion; neither is it that they cannot get over their "objections" to the Real Presence, the Pope, or the Blessed Virgin. It is simply the spirit of cold scepticism, doubt, and atheism which they have had breathed into them in the very atmosphere which surrounds them. If there is a God, they tell you—if there is such a thing as religion, virtue, or free-will—if one could be sure of *anything*,

then we could be Catholics; we can never be anything else. There is no need to say that educated Catholics also are affected by the unbelief and doubt that so strongly characterize the times in which we live. Many of them can neither prove the truths which they know they ought to cling to, nor answer the objections so flippantly made by the prophets of desolation. To such minds as these no greater service could be done than to provide short but decisive "proofs" or expositions of grand fundamental facts and truths. They want to be sure, for instance, that we can "know." Mr. Mivart proves to them, not by mere declamation, or rhetorical figures, or abuse of the opposite side, that we do know. Omitting the positive part of the proof, which necessarily is little more than an exposition, we quote the negative side—that is to say, his demolition of scepticism. It will serve at once as a specimen of his method and a sample of his matter:—

Inquirer. What sort of a man would he be who asserted the faculty of memory to be altogether untrustworthy?

Teacher. An absolute sceptic; for if memory is untrustworthy, every other faculty must be untrustworthy also, so that such a man must affirm that we can be certain of nothing.

I. Is the state of an absolute sceptic an exceptionally intellectual state?

T. On the contrary, it is an exceptionally foolish state, since the absolute sceptic must refute himself by asserting the certainty of uncertainty.

I. How should we treat a sceptic?

T. We cannot refute him by argument, because he does not admit the truth of anything to which we can appeal. He is in a mentally diseased condition.

I. Can he defend his own position?

T. No, he cannot logically do so, since he doubts whether there is such a thing as rational speech, whether words can be used twice over in the same sense, and whether any process of reasoning is valid. But any attempt on his part to show he is right, would show his real confidence in reason, language, and even truth, and imply his belief in the very thing he professes to doubt.

I. What practical deduction do you draw from this fact?

T. The deduction that since nothing can be true, the inevitable consequences of which are absurd and self-contradictory, therefore no system which inevitably leads to absolute scepticism can be true. (Pp. 5-6.)

It may be noted in regard to this passage, which is expressed with admirable condensation and yet with a perfectly idiomatic intelligibility, that it insists mainly on the fact of "memory" as an absolute refutation of scepticism. Our philosophical readers will remember that this is the argument which the late Dr. W. G. Ward so powerfully used against Mill—an argument which Mill more or less admitted to be impregnable. It is a little curious that this particular turn of the argument against scepticism is not to be found in the ordinary philosophical text-books. Turning, for instance, to Father Lepidi's "*Elementa Philosophiæ Christianæ*," and to his refutation of scepticism at p. 347 of the first volume, we find that learned author mentioning a variety of things which he asserts that every rational being, whatever his profession of scepticism, must hold as truth, but

he nowhere speaks of "memory." The truth is, that if a man is a consistent sceptic, he must of course be a sceptic as to the avouchments of his memory as well as of every other impression. To refute this sceptic—or rather, to get rid of him, for he cannot be refuted—it is just as strong to refer to the existence of "thought" as of "memory." In fact, memory, except the memory of what has occurred a minute or two back, is no demonstration whatever of anything except a present "thought" or impression. The foe against whom Dr. Ward used "memory" was not the sceptic, but the phenomenist. He proved, by the phenomena of "memory," not that every man really held something as true, but that no one could accept the avouchments of his memory without accepting *intuition*; for to assert that your present impression corresponds with a past fact is to act as an intuitionist. But no doubt "memory" is a good, round, tangible matter, and at least as good an impression as any other; and therefore it is very proper to be insisted upon in a catechism for beginners. Dr. Mivart says: "If memory be untrustworthy, every other faculty must be untrustworthy also." Perhaps the distinction we have already adverted to should have been explicitly made here, in order to strengthen the position. Memory, in one sense, is decidedly untrustworthy. It is only when we advert to what has occurred a very short time ago that we are infallibly certain of a past impression, and that, therefore, we can use such a certainty to prove the existence of an intuition in every one who believes his memory.

Section III. of Dr. Mivart's Catechism, entitled "The External World," is one of the most important as well as one of the largest chapters in the book. The eminent writer is convinced, as he has indicated elsewhere, that it is possible to prove that we do know an external world. His argument is, to a certain extent, his own. He begins by distinguishing the dreaming state from the waking:—

T. In my waking state, my will has influence over my thoughts, and can test the consistency of my apparent perceptions, as to which I can have recourse to a special set of feelings I call the testimony of others. In the same state I can note the superior distinctness and coherence of my apparent perceptions to those of my dreaming state, and can use simultaneously and on purpose different faculties, and reflect on the fact of my so using them. In my dreaming state also, appearances often come suddenly to an end, and while the successive periods of my dreaming state are disconnected, the successive periods of my waking state are distinctly connected, and form a consistent serial whole. Finally, I know very well, when awake, that my ideas have an objective origin; I have no such knowledge as to my impressions while sleeping.

He goes on to show the distinction between "sensations" and "ideas." The former are permanent; the will has no control over the "facts of the external world." He then draws out an elaborate argument from physical science to show that our knowing or not knowing bodies is a mere accident of their existence, which is independent of our own:—

T. All physical science reposes on a belief in really existing, independent, extended, material bodies with certain powers, and it supports itself by

predictions which are again and again verified by the event; moreover, it not only does this, but it explains how phenomena are thus caused, and this conception of the causal interaction of bodies is so essential that without it all physical science would collapse. Moreover, modern science tells us that there was a time when there were no minds to perceive, and that yet the interaction of physical causes went on till first organic matter, and ultimately sentient matter, was evolved. This whole system is profoundly inconsistent with idealism.

The argument, that unless we can really know the world outside, "physical science would collapse," is a useful one, as it puts in a nutshell the wide generalization that idealism leads to absurdity. After all, human nature must be taken as it is. If human faculties present an external world, the external world is there, or else human nature is absurdly fashioned; and as we cannot go behind human nature, we cannot argue with any one who lands us in a conclusion so disparaging to it. And here we are standing on the most solid ground; for a conviction of this sort is so luminous and clear, so unvarying and so universal, that it is a fact rather than a judgment. But Mr. Mivart, in the preceding section, has a few lines which are really a supplement to his argument as just now quoted, and they will remind the reader of a passage in his recent "Nature and Thought":—

I. Can you give an instance of this perception of ours of such concordance between objective and subjective relations?

T. Yes; such a concordance is implied in every proposition about external things known to us. Thus when I say "a negro is black," I affirm a conformity between the external thing "a negro" and the external quality "blackness;" I also affirm a conformity between those two external entities and my two corresponding internal concepts—that is to say, I affirm that there is really an external thing corresponding to the term "negro" and an external quality corresponding to the term "black." Besides these assertions, I also implicitly affirm a correspondence between my mental judgments and the corresponding objective co-existence.

I. But can we be sure of the reality of this correspondence?

T. Yes; for without it all physical science and even all reasoning must come to an end. We recognize this correspondence every time we use external things, according to our judgment of their actions or utility, and it is brought home to us by the fulfilment of every expectation and especially every scientific prediction. (Pp. 9, 10.)

In other words, as the author pointed out so well in "Nature and Thought," a strong proof—nay, an irrefragable proof—of our possession of "objective certainty is furnished by the fact that, given two or more external objects, these objects are found to affect each in the precise way in which our subjective impressions of them would lead us to expect. It is not an easy position to make quite clear, and we miss the admirable illustrations which made the larger work such entertaining and instructive reading. But the limits of a "Catechism" forbid the introduction of anything more than explanations and arguments.

Many readers will find the author's chapters on the higher and lower faculties, and on the difference between man and the brute, the most

useful part of this work. His two catalogues, one of the lower powers we share with animals, the other of the higher power which man alone possesses (pp. 22, 23), will be found helpful and interesting. Nothing is more necessary at this moment than that ordinary thinkers should be clearly informed as to the essential difference between the mind of a man and that of a brute. Immense consequences, as to spirituality, responsibility, and immortality, are involved in this distinction. This is how Dr. Mivart proves that "goodness" in an action is not an idea which is derived from accumulated pressure of utility, but a simple idea, incapable of analysis, having its root in intuition:—

All our knowledge is either self-evident or is legitimately deduced from what is self-evident, and this of course applies to our ideas of right and wrong, as well as to all the rest of our knowledge. Now if we wish to prove any action to be right (the proposition which asserts it to be so not being self-evident), we must do it by the aid of propositions about goodness, one of which must be self-evident. In other words, the general propositions which lie at the root of any ethical system must themselves be ethical, and therefore could never possibly have been evolved from any feelings of preference for tribal instincts over individual ones. (P. 30.)

His proof of the great difference, intellectually, between man and the lower animals is chiefly taken from the consideration of human speech:—

T. Every race of men possesses language; and that the power of speech is innate in infants is shown by the rapidity and ease with which they acquire language. We must judge of latent capacity by outcome. Savages and infants can be taught to understand our ideas, and to exchange ideas with us, but no brute can be thus taught. Nevertheless, just as brain disease or deformity may hinder all intellectual manifestations, so it is conceivable that very unfavourable conditions might render some families of men incapable of exhibiting their essentially intellectual nature. Still no such cases have been discovered. If brutes possessed such mental powers, the fact would soon become inconveniently evident to us. (P. 32.)

All human language (apart from mere emotional manifestation) necessarily implies and gives expression to a number of abstract ideas. It is impossible for any savage to speak the simplest sentence without having first formed for himself abstract ideas. Abstraction is as universal as language. All our words, except proper names, pronouns, and certain determining adjectives and participles, express abstract ideas. Universal abstract terms are made use of spontaneously by children, who begin by giving very wide meanings to terms which they subsequently learn to restrict. (P. 33.)

The section on Free-will is very good and effective. Here is a capital example of a popular and true answer to a most captious objection:—

I. How, then, can God know our future actions if they are quite free?

T. Because He may know them quite otherwise than by the law of causation. (P. 41.)

We call this an excellent and true answer, because, without denying that the first cause does, in an important sense, influence all human

activity, even such as is free, being, in truth, the mainspring of its very freedom, yet it repels the vulgar conception that our future actions are known to God formally because he intends to make us do them.

Perhaps the "question and answer" form of this little book may not be quite the best that could have been chosen. The strength of the "question and answer" is that a definite issue may be easily put before the learner; its weakness is that it interferes with statement and development. Hence it is most useful in cases where very short and simple expositions are required, and least useful when there must be argument, proof, and illustration. Dr. Mivart has shown in "Nature and Thought" how well he can handle philosophic argument, and how beautiful and appropriate is the language in which he can clothe his abstract thought. If we find a certain obscurity, jerkiness, and harshness here, the difference must in part be put down to the limits in which he has to work, but in part also, we think, to the catechetical form. But this, after all, is a slight matter. The book ought to be widely circulated, as a correction to the "agnosticism" of the day, and as a help to those young men who have drifted into the sea of modern thought without having furnished themselves with a rudder or a compass.

The Virgin Mother of Good Counsel. A History of the Ancient Sanctuary of Our Lady of Good Counsel in Genezzano. By Monsignor GEORGE F. DILLON, D.D. Rome: Propaganda Press. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

IN a very handsome volume of over 600 pages, printed with extreme clearness and wonderful correctness at the Propaganda Press in Rome, Monsignor Dillon, of Sydney, sets forth in great detail and with pious warmth the history of the miraculous image of Our Lady at Genezzano. Many of our readers will know that this widely venerated effigy is said to have appeared suddenly on the wall of an unfinished church at Genezzano, now more than four centuries ago. A short time afterwards there came to the sanctuary two strangers from Albania, who declared that the image was no other than one which had been venerated from time immemorial in Scutari (not Scutari on the Bosphorus, but the Albanian town), and which had disappeared precisely at the time they left their native land. This double tradition Monsignor Dillon undertakes to substantiate. That there is a celebrated Madonna at Genezzano, and that many graces and miraculous favours have been received there, no Catholic would think of disputing. And whoever goes carefully through this elaborate work, will easily convince himself that there was a miraculous apparition in 1467. There is no contemporary account of what is said to have occurred on St. Mark's Day of that year; but there is no doubt that Pope Paul II. sent a commission of two Bishops to Genezzano about the following July. That this commission related to the miracles wrought by the holy image is asserted by

Calesius, who wrote the life of Pope Paul II. We wish Dr. Dillon had been a little more explicit about Calesius, and also about a Cardinal Quirino who vouches for Calesius. It would have been useful to know the exact name of Calesius's work, and the edition. More satisfactory is the extract from Ambrosius Coriolanus, a General of the Augustinians, who, writing some fourteen years after 1467, alludes in plain and express terms to the miraculous apparition of the Image. Yet here also the full and exact name of the work quoted would have given greater confidence. "Defens, p. 11, c. 3" is not satisfactory; if Monsignor Dillon quotes at first hand, he might have given us the chance of verifying his quotations. The third authority on which he relies is a contemporary record of miracles, or rather a very early copy of the official report of about one hundred and sixty miracles wrought within a few months of the apparition. It has disappeared, having apparently been lost during the French occupation of the country in the beginning of the present century; but there seems no reason whatever to doubt the evidence of writers who examined it as late as 1747. The immemorial tradition of the apparition is proved by the proper Mass and Office, granted in 1789, after a searching examination by the Congregation of Rites. In referring to the apparition itself, the third lesson of the second Nocturn says that it is established by pontifical documents and similar evidence that Our Lady did miraculously appear—"mirabiliter apparuisse comprobatur." The two commissaries employed in this investigation have left a most valuable monument of their labours, and at the same time a most complete collection of evidence in the case, in a printed volume, fully used by Dr. Dillon, entitled "*Esame critico di alcuni monumenti spettanti all' apparizione della Madonna di Buon Consiglio, fatto d'ordine della sacra Congregazione de' Riti, 1779.*"

The evidence for the other part of the tradition, that is to say, for the belief that the image at Genezzano was miraculously transported from Scutari, is not so clearly established. There is no reference to it in the Office or the Mass. It is certain that the people of Genezzano at first, and long after the appearance of the Albanian "pilgrims," called the image "*la Madonna di Paradiso,*" and held that it had come from heaven. As far as we can make out from Monsignor Dillon's pages, there is absolutely no documentary proof for nearly 200 years after the date of the apparition which can be quoted in favour of the miraculous translation, or of the existence of the "Albanian pilgrims." That a pious belief existed so far back at least as 1630 seems, however, certain. The interesting proofs, collected by Monsignor Dillon and now published, many of them for the first time, of the existence of a sanctuary of the Madonna at Scutari, can hardly be considered as evidences of the tradition in question.

As to the sacred image itself, as now venerated, it is a fresco, painted (if it be painted) on thin hard mortar, as if it had been detached from the surface of a wall. It is stated by those who have seen it to be still altogether detached from any wall or backing. Its existence in this state for upwards of 400 years is by itself a wonder-

ful fact. Representations of the sacred image are not uncommon, and there are probably few who have not looked on the most characteristic face of Mary, and on the Divine Infant, lovingly leaning His cheek against hers, with one little arm round her neck and the hand of the other grasping her robe at the throat. We have no space here to enter into the devotional details given by Dr. Dillon. His book is a worthy monument of devout labour, and must have cost him many long days of investigation and work. Genezzano is not far from Rome, in a land rich with Christian shrines and memories of the past. We cannot doubt that this charming book, written with the leisure of an antiquarian and the piety of a true Catholic, will not only send many pilgrims to Our Lady of Good Counsel, but will increase her glory and promote devotion to her in all English-speaking lands.

La Messe. Études archéologiques sur ses monuments. Par CH. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, continuées par son fils (GEORGES ROHAULT DE FLEURY). Vol. II. Paris: Morel & Cie. 1883.

THE second volume of this magnificent contribution to Catholic archæology is not behind the first in interest. Several of the plates, such as the side chapel in St. Mark's (pl. civ.), and the canopy at Milan (cx.), are particularly artistic, embracing, as they do, some perspective, and not being confined, like most of the engravings, to details.

The subjects comprised in the present volume are the baldachino, or canopy above the altar, anciently called ciborium; the altar screen, the tabernacle, the confession, called also crypt or martyrion—i.e., "Locum qui in plerisque ecclesiis sub altare majori esse solet, ubi SS. martyrum corpora requiescunt qui martyrion seu confessio appellatur"—and episcopal chairs. For the altar canopy, which M. de Fleury designates "ciboire," he unhesitatingly adopts the etymology *κίβωριον*, as conveying the idea of covering. The learned are by no means agreed upon the etymology of ciborium, but the author does not discuss the question. We may mention, however, that besides the derivation from *cibus*, the word has been held to be connected with *κίβωρος*. *Κίβωριον* is by some said to be an Egyptian word, signifying the cup-shaped outer husk of a kind of fruit grown in the East. The canopy over the altar was suggested, according to M. de Fleury, by the solicitude to protect the altar from the possibility of anything falling upon it; and in support of this opinion he quotes a canon of the Council of Cologne in 1280, which orders a white linen veil or awning to be stretched above the altar to protect it from dust or impurities which might fall upon it. Of course, in the catacombs, where the *arcosoli* generally served as altars, a protection of this kind over the plane of the altar was afforded by the very construction. It is not suggested, however, that this is in any way the origin of the canopies which were erected over the altars when the Church emerged from underground confinement, and its rites began to be celebrated in spacious edifices. M. de Fleury considers it necessary to seek in the

Bible an explanation of the origin of many ritual monuments, and dwells upon the care of the Evangelists to preserve an attachment between the Old Law and the New, and to maintain the material connections between the New Rite and the Old, for which there had been Divine legislation. The passage of Exodus xl. 16, &c., is, indeed, singularly apposite and significant, when considered in relation to the altar canopy. "Erexit Moyses illud, et posuit tabulas ac bases ac vectes, statuitque columnas. Et expandit tectum super tabernaculum, imposito desuper operimento, sicut Dominus imperaverat. Cumque intulisset arcam in tabernaculum appendit ante eam velum, ut expleret Domini jussionem."

Where all is of such deep interest it is hard to say what may first rivet attention. The thoughts naturally, however, centre round the tabernacle. The word "tabernaculum" was not much employed before the Middle Ages; previously "repositorium," "sacrarium," "oblationarium," "paratorium," "diaconicum," "episcopium," were in use to designate the reposing place of the Blessed Eucharist. An inventory of the Sainte Chapelle, in 1376, mentions a tabernaculum of silver gilt suspended by three chains. The term repositorium is found used in the fifth century. St. Clement borrowed the word sacrarium from the pagans, when he cautions the deacons to take care "ne qua putredo in sacrario inveniatur."

The form of these early sacraria, M. de Fleury thinks, was probably derived from the niche which was constructed in the sacrarium of pagan temples to receive a statue of the god or goddess there worshipped. And this is supported by numerous architectural analogies.

"Jesus Christ has realized," writes M. de Fleury, "the great thought of Plato, who says that the gods dwelt in the temples, and there held converse with mortals. The Eucharist, the living God, is the host of the new tabernacle."

One of the most interesting questions in connection with the history of the tabernacle is the subject of the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick. There is very early evidence of this practice of the Church, perhaps even as early as A.D. 167, and certainly before A.D. 250. We have not space, however, to follow M. de Fleury, who cites a valuable body of testimony on this point. If there is one thing more than another that impresses us generally as we progress with the author through the fertile field of Christian archæology, it is the early development of the Church's doctrine and sentiment in the ritual monuments and their ornament. The thought to which the pious sculptor or painter gives utterance serves often to indicate the belief and tradition of the Christian Church long before it has been formally registered and consigned as part of the deposit of the Faith by the Church's official pronouncements. However remote the epoch, the manner, the material, the state of knowledge, and the conditions of life from those of the artist and artificer of the present time, we find the worker's chisel or his brush guided by the same thoughts as the Catholic of to-day is taught to ponder. The same emblems reappear, the same interpretations of the Scripture parables or allusions, bear a thousand

testimonies to the unity and continuity of the Church. That great principle of authority without which a house cannot stand, and which, at the present epoch of the world's existence, more perhaps than at any other, has become a mark so eminently distinctive of the Catholic Church, found especial manifestation in the respect for the episcopal office, and the veneration paid to the chairs of the early bishops, particularly those such as the chair of St. Peter at the Vatican, of St. Mark at Venice and others of remote date, which tradition assigns to Apostolic times, and portions of which are undoubtedly of the highest antiquity. Both in the sculpture of the chairs themselves and in the representation of them on other objects, this recognition of a central inspired authority acting through the pastors of the Church finds abundant expression. Accordingly we see these chairs decorated with the symbols of the Evangelists, a hand blessing the Dove, &c.

On a chair depicted on one of the early gilt glass cups is seen the monogram of Christ's name and the rock whence springs the fountain of mystical waters. This is here evidently a symbol, not of Christ as judge, but as the rock and source of the living water. In the correspondence of Pope Innocent I. with the African bishops, the stone chair is called "*natalis fons unde aquæ cunctæ procedunt, et per diversas totius mundi regiones puri latices capitibus incorrupti manant.*"

The same thought of the mission and jurisdiction of the Church flowing from its supreme source, its Divine Pastor, through the bishops of his flock, is again beautifully represented upon another of these gold-ornamented cups of glass, where our Divine Saviour is represented seated upon a chair with a footstool in the midst of eight martyrs who are seated in chairs at his feet.

To realize the idea of the olden bishop seated in his chair and preaching, one must fall back upon the sarcophagi of the Lateran, or of the cities of Provence. We find on these monuments Christ represented seated upon a raised throne, in the midst of his apostles, that is his priests, opening with one hand a volume of the Sacred Scriptures, expounding them, and accompanying his words by a gesture of his right hand. His feet are supported by a footstool, or by the allegorical drapery swollen by the breath of heaven. The picture is vivid, and the artist must have been inspired by the ceremonies he witnessed in the Basilicas.

In the sculptured ornaments of the episcopal seats, the lion's head and claws are sometimes introduced, M. de Fleury is disposed to consider that even these were perhaps not mere conventional decoration, but like much more that we see in the efforts of the early Christians of the catacombs to beautify the hidden home of the Faith, were pregnant with symbolism.

For ourselves we think that the wish is often father to the thought of finding an emblem in everything. It seems natural enough to suppose that the architectural and decorative forms, such, for instance, as the various developments of the acanthus, the fleurons and rinceaux, as well as the heads and claws of animals, &c., which were in vogue in Roman heathen art and had no distinctively pagan significance,

were often employed, in early Christian art, without any ulterior thought, by artificers to whom such details were familiar, and who would most readily introduce them into their work. Indeed, as the decoration which was most esteemed and patronized by their patrician employers, they would naturally dedicate it to the embellishment of the rites of Christianity as the highest offering of his skill the workman could make to the Faith he had embraced. These remarks we intend chiefly to apply to the art which is purely subordinate and decorative, and not so much to the ornamentation of large surfaces where the work becomes pictorial and claims the attention for the story it has to tell—a story which in early Christian art is so constantly an allegory or a symbolism often deeply veiled beneath pagan traditions or ambiguous delineations.

We do not think, therefore, that there are very strong reasons for attributing an emblematic significance to decorative expedients when so purely subordinate and constructive, and so probably derived from the ordinary forms of gentile art, as, for instance, in the throne sculptured on the well known Junius Bassus sarcophagus (pl. cxlviii. of M. Rohault de Fleury), where the seat is supported by lions. As, however, the custom of decorating the *cathedræ* of the early Church with lion-heads and claws was very general, M. de. Fleury's remarks on the subject will be read with interest. They are reserved and judicious:—

It has been supposed [he says] that this ornamental form was imported from Africa, Saint Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage in 399, having converted into a church a temple of the goddess Celeste, who was represented seated upon a lion: the prelate had his seat placed upon the animal's back, to signify the triumph of the cross over idolatry. We do not believe this to be the real origin, for the tomb of Bassus is of earlier date than this supposed occurrence. Besides, we know that the claw of a lion surmounted by its head was commonly met with in antique art. It is possible, however, that in borrowing this emblem from the Pagans the Christians had in mind a passage in the Biblical description of Solomon's throne—"et duæ manus hinc atque inde tenentes sedile; et duo leones stabant juxta manus singulas."

Works on archæology are too often apt to be mere amassments of erudition, bewildering through an injudicious copiousness, without method in arrangement or perspicuity in exposition. These faults are perhaps more peculiarly characteristic of German writing. M. de Fleury at any rate is singularly free from such defects. He never wastes words or makes irrelevant displays of learning. His style is lucid, concise, connected and interesting. He does not crowd the text with references to authorities, but reserves them for the most part to the footnotes, which alone would form a valuable bibliography. As a mine of historical information upon the greatest rite of worship, these volumes will be welcome in the library of the Catholic household, showing as they do how rich in significance, in association, in antiquity are the utensils and accessories of the August Sacrifice.

1. Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ἐκ ἱεροσολυμιτικοῦ χειρογράφου νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδιδομένη μετὰ προλεγομένων καὶ σημειώσεων ὑπὸ Φ. Βρυεννίου μητροπολίτου Νικομηδείας. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. 1883. τύποις Σ. Ι. Βουτυρά.
2. *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel* nach der Ausgabe des METROPOLITEN BRYENNIOΣ mit Beifügung des Urtextes, nebst Einleitung und Noten. Ins Deutsche übertragen von Dr. A. WÜNSCHE. Leipzig: Schulze. 1884.
3. *Lehre der Zwölf Apostel*, nebst Untersuchungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts. Von A. HARNACK. Leipzig: Hindrichs. 1884.
4. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.* Text, Translation, and Notes. By R. D. HITCHCOCK and F. BROWN, Professors in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: Scribners. 1884.
5. The same translated, with Notes. *Contemporary Review.* By Archdeacon FARRAR. May 1884.
6. *Doctrina XII. Apostolorum.* Edited, among other ancient Fragments, with Latin Notes, by A. HILGENFELD. Lipsiæ: Weigel. 1884.
7. Articles on the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." By Dr. BICKELL, *Zeitschrift f. Kathol. Theol.* viii. p. 400, seq.; and by Professor WORDSWORTH, *Guardian*, March 19, 1884.*

WE are always apt to exaggerate the importance of a discovery while it is still recent; and this is true especially if such discoveries as are connected with the early history of the Christian religion, for the simple reason that they are so few and far between. Tischendorf's good fortune in finding the Sinaitic MS. supplies us with an illustration: the value of the new witness to the true text of the New Testament was very high, and yet, as we suppose every textual critic would now admit, not quite so high as Tischendorf himself believed. We must be on our guard, therefore, and take care to moderate our language when we try to state the worth of the document entitled the "Teaching of the Apostles. Yet it may be safely said that for the last two centuries and more, nothing in the same line of research has been brought to light which can for one moment compete with the newly found treatise either in interest or importance. So much can be asserted with confidence, for beyond all doubt a new and clear light has been thrown on a period of Church history when light was most needed and will always be most welcome. But an enthusiastic reader might be forgiven, and might perhaps be justified, if he went further. He might deliberately prefer the book before us, small though its compass be, to all other remains of the age which followed that of the Apostles. It ought to have, moreover, a special attraction for the general reader. Knowledge and study are needed for those who wish to read and understand some of the primitive fathers, because they are hedged round with disputes about

* Articles which I have not seen have also appeared, of which the most important are by Duchesne, *Bulletin Critique*; Funk, *Lit. Rundschau*.

authenticity, or date, or authorship, which only a professed scholar can penetrate. The document before us is almost uniformly clear and simple in style; it treats methodically the ethics and ritual of the Christians in the former half of the second century; it expounds the ecclesiastical discipline and constitution which prevailed amongst them; indirectly at least it exhibits their doctrinal belief, while no shadow of doubt can rest upon the perfect accuracy of the picture which it gives. The more the picture is studied, the more we shall marvel at its completeness, in spite of the narrow dimensions of the canvas on which it is drawn. The account which will be given must needs be short, and therefore imperfect, but will, it is hoped, direct attention to the chief points, and serve as a summary, useful so far as it goes, of the results obtained.

Eusebius (H. E. iii. 25) gives a famous list of books which had a certain or doubtful, or, again, a quite unfounded claim to a place in the canon or list of New Testament writings. First he names the books acknowledged as canonical by the whole Christian world. Such were, *e.g.*, the four Gospels, the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, &c. &c. In the third and last class he places heretical forgeries, like the Gospels of Thomas, Peter, &c. His second class consists of books whose claim to be reckoned in the canon was disputed in the Church, and here he makes a subdivision. He sets by themselves books generally known, and generally, though not universally, recognized—viz., the Epistles of James, Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John; and enumerates next works which were indeed orthodox, which did not even differ in “style” (*ὁ τῆς φράσεως χαρακτήρ*) from the “Apostolic manner” (*τὸ ἥθος τὸ ἀποστολικόν*), which were mentioned by very early writers, which had obtained some local recognition as canonical, but which, nevertheless, in the judgment of Eusebius himself, had no solid claim to be so considered. This second division of the second class comprises the following books in the following order:—The Acts of Paul, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Apocalypse of Peter, the Epistles of Barnabas and “the so-called Teachings of the Apostles” (*τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδοχαί*). He concludes by adding, with great doubt and hesitation, the Apocalypse of John and the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Forty years later Athanasius (39th Festal Letter, A.D. 367) mentions the “so-called Teaching of the Apostles” (*διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν ἀποστόλων*), with Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith, and Tobias, as works which were not canonical, but had been approved by the Fathers as proper for the instruction of catechumens. The “Teaching of the Apostles” (*διδαχὴ*) is mentioned once more by Nicephorus (died 828), and classed with the Epistles of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, &c., among the “Apocrypha.”

So far as was known, no fragment of this “Teaching” survived, though the notices of it just given led scholars to various conjectures on its contents and character. But in 1875 a learned Greek, Bryennios, then Metropolitan of Serdes, published for the first time a complete text of Clement’s Epistles from a MS. dated A.D. 1056, and announced

that the same MS. contained a treatise entitled the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (διδασχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων) between Clement's Epistles on the one side, and spurious letters to and from Ignatius of Antioch, on the other. At the close of last year Bryennios actually published the "Teaching," enriched with valuable notes. At once the authenticity of the treatise, with a reservation to be mentioned later, became evident to every competent judge. Skill of man could not have forged a work so perfectly simple and natural, which is in such absolute harmony with all that is known from other sources, which fits in so exactly with the knowledge which it completes and perfects. Nor would any party, Catholic or heretical, at any later period have had the slightest motive for imposing such a work on the Church. The purposeless self-restraint of the forger would in such a case have been still more remarkable than his genius. Moreover, the moment the "Teaching" appeared, a witness appeared more ancient and weighty than Eusebius himself. Clement of Alexandria (Strom. i. 20, *ad fin.*) quotes from "the Scripture" the following strange sentence:—"Son, be not a liar, for lying leads to theft." Nobody knew where these words came from, but they are now read in the text of the "Teaching." We can therefore fix the latest possible date of the latter. At the end of the second century it was already familiar in the Alexandrian Church, and acknowledged as a sacred book. On the other hand, Harnack has proved that it makes use of the Epistles of Barnabas and of the "Shepherd." Unhappily, the date of these books is in turn uncertain, but the fact of these quotations precludes our placing the "Teaching" with any confidence earlier than 140, though Bryennios (Introduction, p. 30) fixes 120 and 160 as the possible limits. Harnack (p. 159) suggests the period between 135 and 165 as the probable period of its origin. Internal grounds abundantly show that we cannot attribute its authorship to a subsequent time. Clement, we may be sure, would not have adduced a contemporary document as "the Scripture." The absence of any allusion in the "Teaching" to a New Testament canon, to a "rule of faith," to annual feasts, to heretical churches, the treatment of prophetic gifts without allusion to the questions raised by Montanism, the elementary nature of the ritual prescribed, all tend to the same impregnable conclusion. We must remember, too, that the writer is no sectary or eccentric fanatic, but one who secured the highest reputation in the Church. In this connection it is interesting to note that some two centuries and a half later the "Teaching" was altered, elaborated, and expanded in the seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions"—a fact of twofold significance, for it admits us, as it were, behind the scenes, and exhibits the forger of the "Constitutions," with a certain feeling of reverence for the ancient book and a dissatisfaction equally strong with the primitive simplicity which that ancient book exhibits. Nor is the "Teaching" in any way a literary fraud. It professes to give what the Apostles were believed to have taught, but it does not, like so many pious fabrications, put words into their mouths. Again, it is no occasional writing, like Clement's Epistles to the Corinthians, but a compendium

of apostolic teaching—a "Summa" accepted by Christians in A.D. 140. Further still, the mere consideration of date is inadequate to give a true idea of its worth. It represents a state of things which had died out in the greater part of the Church, and it must have been written in some Church—that of Egypt probably—which was tenacious of the old discipline. We may compare it to the Cathedral of St. Magnus in the capital of the Orkneys, which witnesses at this day to the survival of the Norman architecture in that remote district long after Norman churches had ceased to be built in Great Britain.

We may now attempt briefly to determine the position which the writer occupies, but one preliminary objection must be met at the outset. It may be said the "Teaching" was meant for catechumens, as Athanasius declares, and that the "disciplina arcani," should prevent arguments from the silence of the document. Now, it is true St. Athanasius recommends it for some such use, and says "the Fathers" did the same. But it would be a gross anachronism were we to imagine that the writer himself was influenced by discipline of this kind. The beginnings of this discipline cannot be traced beyond 170 or 180 at the furthest. We find it in Tertullian (Praescr. 41) and in Origen (In Jos. Hom. iv.), and the reserve in communicating the more mysterious doctrines of religion to the uninitiated was maintained till the sixth century. But even Clement of Alexandria (Strom. i. 1, pp. 323-4; i. 12, p. 348; iv. 2, p. 565; vii. 14, p. 836) has a very informal notion of such a discipline, and only exhibits it in germ, while there is no trace of it in earlier writers, though of course they are actuated by a natural caution in treating of such matters before heathen. The details given on baptism, the Eucharist, the insertion of the Lord's Prayer warrant the assertion that our author knew nothing of it.

Putting this aside, we consider first his relation to the New Testament. He betrays no knowledge of any canon of sacred books, except those of the old law, and it may be fairly argued that it was the very absence of any New Testament canon which led to the compilation of such a compendium as the "Teaching." Once a maxim is quoted* with the formula *ἐπηραυ* which marks it out as taken from some book esteemed sacred, though it is no part of our Bible, or else as an "unwritten" saying of Christ. There are four references to "the Gospel" as a written source (in ch. viii. 11; 15 [twice]), besides one to a saying of Jesus (ch. xi.) which occurs in Matt. vi. 6, and it is clear that the author either used our Matthew and Luke, or else had before him, as Harnack believes, a mixed text corresponding partly to our first and partly to our third Gospel. There is no proof that he had ever seen our second or fourth Gospel, or the Epistles of St. John, though he employs two phrases,

* "Let thine alms sweat into thy hands until those to whom thou givest" (ch. i. *ad fin.*). Not "so long as thou knowest," which is Archdeacon Farrar's rendering.

"perfect in love" and the "vine of David," which perhaps indicate an acquaintance with theological phraseology first current among Christians and then embodied in the Joannic writings. There is no decisive quotation from St. Paul or from any part of the New Testament not already mentioned.

The first six chapters are devoted to moral precepts, positive and negative, which are set forth as the two ways of life and of death. The morality is pure and high; a very fair reproduction of the highest of all teaching, that of our Saviour in the Sermon on the Mount. Here and there the sublime principles of Jesus are modified into practical rules. Thus, after the command to turn the other cheek, we have (ch. i.) the significant addition, "and thou shalt be perfect." Instead of Christ's injunction to love our enemies, we are told "to hate no man," and "to love some" more than our own souls (ch. ii.). St. Paul's noble freedom with regard to things offered to idols (1 Cor. viii. and x.) is tightened into an absolute prohibition of eating them (ch. vi. cf. Justin. Dial. 34, *ad fin.*). The one sign of lamentable declension from the morality of Jesus occurs incidentally in the later part of the "Teaching" (ch. viii.), when "fasting with the hypocrites" is expounded to mean fasting on the same days as the Pharisees—i.e., on Monday and Thursday. It should be observed, though the point is dogmatic rather than moral, that the Christian is urged to "give with [his] hands, as a ransom for [his] sins" (ch. iv.). The writer probably had Dan. iv. 24, where the Greek version used in the Church (in this case that of Theodotion) has "redeem thy sins with alms-deeds." We may remark in passing that the rendering of the verb in the original Chaldee text by "redeem" is admitted to be correct by all impartial scholars. It was adopted in the LXX., in the Peshitto Syriac and the Latin Vulgate. The translation in the Lutheran and English "authorized" versions ("Mache dich los von deinen Sünden," "Break off thy sins") arose simply from dogmatic prejudice. There is also a striking injunction (ch. iv.) to "confess transgressions in the church." This specification of place is wanting in Barnabas (xix. 12) and Clement of Rome (I. li. 3), though we meet with it later in Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. I. vi. 3 and xiii. 5).

The primary place given to Christian Ethics is of itself instructive. When once heresy, and particularly Gnosticism, in its widespread and organized form, became the great danger which threatened, humanly speaking, the very existence of the Church, such an order would scarcely have been observed, and assuredly something would have been said somewhere on the "rule of the truth" (*κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας*, Iren. Adv. Haer. I. ix. 4, *regula veritatis*; ib. II. xxvii. 1; Clem. Al. Strom. IV. i. p. 564; cf. Hegesipp. apud Euseb. H. E. iii. 32); or the "rule of the Church" (*κανὼν τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, Clem. Al. Strom. I. xix. p. 375), or the "rule of the Gospel" (ib. III. ix. p. 541), or on the preservation of the true dogmatic tradition in the Church, and notably in the Apostolic Sees (Iren. IV. xxxiii. 8; IV. xxvi. 2 et 5; Hippolyt. in Præom. ad Philosophum). All this is conspicuous by its absence here. Directions on a good life are immediately succeeded by rules on public worship,

and dogmatic principles appear incidentally, the law of prayer constituting the law of belief.

Baptism is to be given "into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." The minister and the candidate are to be fasting. Baptism is to be given, if possible, in running water. Warm water may be used if expedient, and, at least in case of necessity, baptism may be given by trine affusion, now first recognized, instead of immersion. Nothing is said of infant baptism.

Wednesday and Friday, afterwards known as the "stations" (Tertull. de Jugun. 2; de Orat. 19) are fasting-days, and here we find the earliest mention of a later rule. There is no reference to annual feasts, or to a Church year at all. The Lord's Prayer is given at length with a peculiar doxology appended, and it is to be recited three times a day (cf. Tertull. de Orat. 10 et 25).

In the ninth and tenth chapters the administration of the Eucharist is described. It still took place after the love-feast, as follows from the words, "after ye are filled give thanks thus," though only the baptized are to partake. First, by a most remarkable order, based on Luc. xxii. 14, thanks is to be made in a liturgical form "for the chalice," then for the broken bread, and thanks is given for "life and knowledge" made known through Jesus, God's "Servant" (*παῖδός*, the same word used just before of David). In a final prayer of thanksgiving, God is praised for having bestowed on us "spiritual food and drink and eternal life." The "prophets" may pray further at their discretion.

This last sentence leads naturally to the concluding section, the most precious record we possess of the early government of the Church. The Church is not complete in a single congregation. The Eucharistic prayers imply its unity all over the world ("Let thy Church be gathered from the ends of the world into thy kingdom," ch. ix.), and this unity is cemented by common rule of life, by common belief in Jesus, and in the life and knowledge He has brought by the rites of baptism and the Eucharist. All this furnishes a test of Church membership, then thought quite sufficient, for immediately after the final Eucharistic prayer we read, "Whosoever comes and teaches you all these things mentioned above (*i.e.*, the rules of life, ch. 1-5, and of worship, ch. 7-10), receive him." But over and above all this, the unity of the Church manifests itself in certain officers, whose labours are not confined to any single city or country.

No hint is given that the administration of baptism and the Eucharist was limited to any class of persons, but even in the fourth chapter the injunction is given "to remember night and day him who speaketh to thee the Word of God."

Three classes of persons who spoke His word possessed œcumenical functions—viz., apostles, prophets, and teachers. St. Paul, as every one remembers, makes just the same enumeration: "God placed some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers" (1 Cor. xii. 28, cf. Acts xiii. 1). St. Paul regards those as holding the highest offices in the Church, and he mentions the other offices in

the feminine or neuter form: "Then powers, then gifts of healing, helps governments, kinds of tongues." The apostles, prophets, and teachers were not elected but owed their rank directly to God, who conferred upon them the gifts of the Spirit. Our author so far testifies that the Church of his time stood on the same ground: he believed that the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were still energizing in her midst, and he sharply distinguishes, as we shall see, the apostles, &c., from the local bishops and deacons "elected" by single congregations (see chapter xv.).

The "apostles" in the "Teaching" must not of course be confused with the Twelve chosen by Jesus. In the New Testament itself, as Dr. Lightfoot has shown (Commentary on Galatians, p. 92, *seq.*), the title has a wider sense. Barnabas is called by that name in the Acts (xiv. 4-14), and by St. Paul (Gal. ii. 9; 1 Cor. ix. 5, 6), and unless the term had been so extended, the pretensions of the false apostles (2 Cor. xi. 13; Apoc. ii. 2) would have been impossible. The Greek Fathers infer from Rom. xvi. 7 that Andronicus and Junius were apostles, and this seems to be the more natural interpretation of the passage. Hermas (Sim. ix. 15, 16) speaks of "thirty-five prophets of the Lord, and ministers, forty apostles and doctors of the preaching of the Son of God. Now at last we are able to understand far better what the office of an apostle was: "Let every apostle who cometh to you be received as the Lord. But he shall not remain, save only one day, or, if need be, the next day also: if he remain three days he is a false prophet. When he goeth forth let him take nothing save a loaf [to serve him] till he reach his night quarters. If he ask money, he is a false prophet" (chapter xi.) With this we may compare the account in Eusebius (H. E. iii. 37) of the way in which the Christian faith was spread. He speaks of evangelists "who held the first rank in succession from the Apostles" (*i.e.*, from the Twelve), gave up worldly goods, "eagerly preached Christ to those who, as yet, had never heard the word of faith," and "having laid the foundations of the faith and appointed others as pastors (*ποιμένας τε καθιστάτες ἐρέπων*)," entrusted them with the care of the flock. This can hardly fail to remind us of the directions to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 5), the latter being at the time neither a presbyter-bishop nor a diocesan bishop, but a wandering evangelist or apostle. An apostle, then, was one who, not by appointment, but in consequence of a Divine call, embraced voluntary poverty, became a wandering missionary, and held the most honourable office in the Church.

Next come the prophets, "who speak in the Spirit"—*i.e.*, in ecstasy, for the Catholic opposition to Montanism had not yet called forth the protective principle "that a prophet must not speak in ecstasy" (see Miltiades apud Euseb. H. E. V. xvii., and cf. on the other side Tertull. de An. 21, contr. Marc. iv. 22). Unlike the apostles, these prophets may settle in a particular church, where they are to be well supported with first-fruits, animal and vegetable, and to be honoured like the "high priests" among the Jews. Christians are denied all right to judge prophetic utterances, though they are

entitled, nay bound, to reject a prophet whose life is unworthy (ch. xi. xiii.).

The teacher or preacher (*διδάσκαλος*) is mentioned twice (ch. xiii. and xv.). He, too, is free from any obligation of poverty; he is worthy of his maintenance and is to be honoured. This third grade, like the other two, depended on special communication of the Spirit (Herm. Sim. ix. 25, 2), and it lasted longest in the Church. Tertullian (*Præscr.* 3), and, even more than a century after the date of the *διδαχή*, Dionysius of Alexandria, distinguish between "presbyters and teachers;" and Origen's history marks the time at which the office of the latter was being finally absorbed in that of the former.

Chapter xiv. passes from the Church at large to the Sunday service of the single congregation, which service consists in the Eucharistic sacrifice. The members are to give thanks, confess their sins, dismiss enmity, that "their sacrifices may not be defiled. For this is that [sacrifice] mentioned by the Lord: 'In every place and time they shall offer me a pure sacrifice: for I am a great king, saith the Lord, and my name is wonderful among the Gentiles.'" Archdeacon Farrar explains the sacrifice intended as a merely metaphorical one of "praise and thanksgiving" and of the "body, soul, and spirit" of the worshipper. There is ground, however, for attaching a much more definite sense to the words. It can hardly be accidental that our author never speaks of "sacrifice" except in direct connection with the Eucharist. And reasonable doubt is excluded by a consideration of contemporary literature. Thus, Ignatius calls the Lord's table *θυσιαστήριον*, "a place of sacrifice" (*Ad Philad.* 4), and the very same passage of Malachi is applied by Justin to the Eucharist in a manner which leaves no uncertainty as to his meaning. He says Malachi speaks "of the sacrifices offered by us—i.e., of the bread of the Eucharist, and likewise of the chalice of the Eucharist" (*Justin. Dial.* 41). Let the candid reader judge which of the two is more reasonable—viz., to illustrate the document before us from Ignatius, who wrote a little earlier, and Justin, who wrote a little later; or, as Archdeacon Farrar has done, from the Anglican communion service. We abstain deliberately from quoting Irenæus or Tertullian, on account not so much of their later date as of their later position. They are really separated by a great gulf from the *Διδαχή* and from Justin. In their time the opposition to Gnosticism had already introduced the dogmatic and hierarchical age.

In chapter xv. the faithful are told to appoint for themselves "bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, meek and uncovetous, and true and approved." Clearly, as in *Philipp.* i. 1, no distinction is made between bishops and presbyters, in itself a mark of ancient date, and they are to be chosen by the Christian people. They "too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers," and deserve like honour. For our author stands between two worlds, the one passing away, the other not yet come to the birth. The old "gifts of the Spirit" were no longer frequent, and churches were left without a

prophet (see chap. xiii.). Moreover, the increasing need of guarding against avaricious impostors betrays itself again and again. The "bishops and deacons" are already beginning to draw to themselves the entire superintendence of doctrine and discipline.

Much of this notice could not have been written had I been able to adopt Hilgenfeld's view, that the later sections of the *Αἰδαχ* have been interpolated in the interests of Montanism. The judgment of this veteran scholar must always command respect, but the more I consider his theory the more incredible I find it. How came the interpolator to proceed with a caution which deprives his fraudulent work of any purpose or meaning? There is not a trace of the new and stricter discipline which the Montanists were so eager to enforce. There is not a word against second marriage (Tertull. de Monog. and Exhort. Cast. *passim*, Adv. Marc. i. 29), against flight in persecution (De Jugun. 6), on the prolonged fasts of the stations (De Jugun. 10), on Xerophagy (ib. 15), against the restoration of sinners (Pudic. 21), against the "psychici" or "natural men," which was the Montanist nickname for Catholics. "After me," said Maximilla (apud Epiphan. Haer. xlviii. 2), "there will be no longer a prophetess, but the consummation." In striking contrast with such fanaticism is the concluding chapter. It is little more than the expansion of the New Testament texts on the second coming of the Lord.*

A word or two before ending on the literature of the subject. The translation of Archdeacon Farrar is far preferable to the most inaccurate and unscholarlike rendering of Hitchcock and Brown. Wünsche has printed the text in a cheap and convenient form; while Hilgenfeld's brief but learned notes are well worth perusal. But he who can, should read and study Harnack's masterly work.

W. E. ADDIS.

Theologia Moralis. Auctore AUGUSTINO LEHMKUHL, Societatis Jesu Sacerdote. 2 vols. Freiburg: Herder. 1883-1884.

F. LEHMKUHL has just brought out the second volume of his Moral Theology, the first of which has been warmly welcomed everywhere. Professors as well as students have long felt the need of a textbook of moral theology which should combine a solid explanation of principles with a moderate amount of casuistry. Viewing F. Lehmkühl's work from this point only, it must be pronounced to be far superior to any textbook we have hitherto possessed in this department of theological studies. Our author first explains the principles of moral theology; the guides whom he follows are, besides S. Thomas and S. Alphonsus, the great doctors who illustrated the Church after the Council of Trent, just at a period, that is, when so many unsound

* It would be much more unreasonable to call the author an Ebionite. He may have been a convert from Judaism, as Wünsche confidently asserts, but the proofs alleged, in the *Hebraism οὐ πᾶς* in ch. ii., and the allusion to Jewish rites in ch. xi., have little worth.

moral systems were started outside the Church, or even within her pale, by men infected with Protestantism or Jansenism. A noteworthy and pleasant feature of Father Lehmkuhl's treatise is the absence of any polemic element; his closely reasoned work is not interrupted by perpetual fighting against adversaries; and, most happily, we are spared the trouble of going once more through the *Vindiciae Alphonsianae*. Again, the author is entitled to our gratitude for his clear elegant Latin, which makes it a real pleasure to read his pages. It is worthy of note that there is perhaps not any burning question in matter of morals which F. Lehmkuhl does not duly examine. As to probabilism, we may safely say: *Acta sunt clausa* (i. 63-89). In Germany, even the most able defenders of *aquiprobabilism* are nowadays giving up their position, and adopting the system insisted on by F. Lehmkuhl. The chapter on "Vows" is especially worth mentioning, from the fact that the author, besides thoroughly discussing so many questions bearing on modern religious congregations, is principally concerned with the difference between simple and solemn vows. It does not consist merely in certain "juridic effects;" since simple vows by a decree of the Pope sometimes may have the effects of solemn vows. Hence it was that Gregory XIII. declared the simple vows of the Jesuits to be a diriment impediment to matrimony, whilst Leo XIII. in 1878 pronounced the members of Belgian religious communities, who had bound themselves by solemn vows, not to have thereby lost the right to their private fortune (i. 315). According to St. Thomas, the solemn vow is a sort of consecration; an idea which F. Lehmkuhl explains at some length (i. 300). His second volume is occupied with the Sacraments. And here our author shows himself to be eminently a practical man. After laying down with admirable lucidity the principles of doctrine, he is able to give solid advice to missionaries and confessors. Specially noteworthy are the paragraphs "*De directione monialium*" (ii. 355), and the explanation of the Papal decree commanding general confession from converts who are conditionally rebaptized in the Catholic Church (ii. 234). For English priests and students this work will have this special advantage, that the author never omits to make due reference to English law and customs; as, for example, in the doctrine on "*Thesaurus*" (i. 552), "*Praescriptio*" (i. 564), the "*Bona-fides*" (i. 651). To the second volume is attached a commentary on the Bull "*Apostolicæ Sedis*," and a good Index.

BELLESHEIM.

Essais d'Exégèse. Exposition, Refutation, Critique, Meurs Juives, &c.
Par M. L. CL. FILLION, Prêtre de Saint Sulpice, Professeur
d'Écriture Sainte au Grand Séminaire de Lyon. Lyon: Del-
homme et Briguet. 1884.

WE have much pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the excellent volume of Scriptural Essays which the Abbé Fillion has just published. The name of the distinguished author is a sufficient recommendation. By his Commentaries on the first three

Gospels he has shown himself a worthy scholar of his great Sulpitian master, the Abbé Le Hir. In this volume he has collected together papers written at different times, some the result of deep study, others of a fugitive character, but all of great interest and charmingly written. That on Isaiah's prophecy of the Virgin-Mother and the Emmanuel, the outcome, as the author tells us, of four months' hard study, strikes us as the gem of the collection. In this the learned author appears at his best, fighting "pro aris et focis" against rationalist and heretic. Nor is he content with a defence of the traditional explanation; he carries the war into the enemy's country, by showing up the contradictions and inconsistencies which necessarily attend the rationalist position. In this and in other essays he does good service by meeting the rationalist objections fully and fairly. He fights them with their own weapons and on their own ground. The result is, to quote his own words, "that rationalist objections which at first sight seem specious fall to pieces when you touch them, like the shining apple of Sodom." Certainly, to such men as MM. Havet and Vernes he does well to apply Pascal's words: "Of a truth, it is a glory to religion to have as its enemies such unreasonable beings, and their opposition, so far from being dangerous, on the contrary tends to establish religious truth." An essay on the Revised Version naturally excites the interest of English readers. It is surprising to find how completely the learned professor has studied the whole literature of this peculiarly English subject. We rejoice to find that his opinions coincide with those already expressed in the DUBLIN REVIEW. After dwelling at length on the total absence of all real authority in the Revision, he remarks: "We must without doubt admire, and even perhaps envy, the enthusiastic love which the English have for the Bible, and the courage with which they undertake in its behalf laborious toil; but it remains none the less true that oftentimes their labours result in pure loss, and that we must apply to them, at least in part, the sad axiom: "*Magni passus sed extra viam!*" To the general reader the essays descriptive of Jewish customs will prove most entertaining and instructive. From our author's "Visit to a Jewish Cemetery," or rather "house of the living," as they style it, we learn that cremation is condemned in the Talmud as idolatrous, and that it is therein prescribed that if a Jew in his will should direct his executors to burn his body, such a clause would be null and void. In rabbinic writings it is even taught that earth has power to purify the human body from moral stains, and to prepare it for the glory of the resurrection! In another paper the learned Abbé gives copious extracts from the Jewish Catechism. Having told how a Catholic Catechism which had been thrown away was picked up by a Jewish child, and led to the conversion of a whole family, he says that he is quite sure that the Jewish Catechism would never lead even the least instructed Catholic to apostasy.

JOSEPHI CORLUI, S. J., in Collegio Lovaniensi Societ. Jesu S. Scripturæ Professoris *Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum*, seu Commentarii in delecta S. Scripturæ loca quæ ad demonstranda dogmata adhiberi solent in usum prælectionum et conferentiarum sacerdotium. Tomus Primus. Gandavi: C. Poelman. 1884.

MOST students of dogmatic theology have felt the want of a fuller treatment of the Scripture texts adduced in support of the thesis. Cardinal Franzelin is one of the few theologians who make it a special point not merely to quote texts, but to prove their relevancy, and give a reply to the critical difficulties which oftentimes surround the texts, and which need to be cleared away before their demonstrative value is apparent. It may perhaps be thought that this belongs rather to the Professor of Scripture than to the Professor of Theology. However that may be, Father Corluy, the Scripture Professor in the Jesuit College at Louvain, has set himself to supply the want in his "*Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum*." And to judge from his first volume, he is doing it exceedingly well. His plan is to take the different treatises in their order, and to discuss very fully all the vital Scripture texts. First he gives the text itself and the context in its original language, Hebrew or Greek, with the Vulgate translation. Then follow a careful grammatical analysis and a complete discussion of all the questions which may arise. A considerable portion of the present volume is occupied with Messianic prophecy, in which the learned Professor shows himself to be thoroughly master of the whole literature of the subject. We may remark, by the way, how frequently he quotes Dr. Pusey on Daniel and the Minor Prophets. In his discussion on the Hexæmeron, Father Corluy gives at some length Dr. Clifford's opinion, lately expressed in the DUBLIN REVIEW, as to the liturgical character of the first chapter in Genesis. Arguments for and against are very fairly stated. But the Professor gives the support of his own authority to the day-period explanation. This opinion, he says, is that held by Pianciani, Palmieri, Reusch, Meignan, Vigouroux, Molloy, Hamard, Pozzy, J. D'Estienne, Delitzsch, and is among Catholics the commonly received opinion. Among the texts quoted in the treatise "*De Deo Uno et Trino*," it is surprising to find that no account is taken of 1 John v. 7, 8—a text which Cardinal Franzelin has done so much to vindicate. Are we to infer that the learned Professor gives up the verse, or that he thinks it so overweighted with textual difficulties as to be of little service against non-Catholic gainsayers? We are convinced that Father Corluy's "*Spicilegium*" will be of the greatest service to our Catholic students both in theology and sacred Scripture.

Stonyhurst Illustrated. By ALFRED RIMMER. London: Burns and Oates. 1884.

IN a very large and handsome volume Mr. Alfred Rimmer has written a history and description of Stonyhurst, illustrated by a great number of full-page etchings. The letterpress, though rather

VOL. XII.—NO. II. [*Third Series.*] H H

rambling, is interesting. The writer quotes no authorities ; and he makes no mention of the recent magnificent additions to the College, no portion of which figures in the illustrations. It is a book which will no doubt be bought and treasured by all who love or revere the great Jesuit College of the North.

The only Reliable Evidence concerning Martin Luther. By HENRY O'CONNOR, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1884. The American Edition has for title—

Luther's own Statements concerning his Teaching and its Results. By HENRY O'CONNOR, S.J. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1884.

WE have here a *brochure* already honoured by the approval of many bishops, which undertakes to set forth the teaching of Martin Luther and its results in the authentic words of Luther himself. There can be no difference of opinion as to the great practical value of such a work. The result of the late centennial commemoration of the so-called reformer's birth has had a result which to its promoters must have been a distinct surprise. Among the many Protestant ministers and others who undertook to panegyryze Luther, the more respectable took the opportunity to examine with some little care his real teaching and work. They found in his teaching much more lawlessness and in his work much more evil than they were prepared for. Very few of them had the clear-sightedness, or perhaps the courage, to set him down as he really is. But a good many were so far influenced as to confine themselves to very vague praises indeed. They admitted he was not all that a decorous Anglican or a respectable chapel member of our own day would have wished him to be; but he was manly, pure, and eloquent; he broke the chains of Rome, and showed men how to come near to Christ. Now, it can be shown that Luther was as despotic as any Pope that ever lived (even in Protestant imagination); that he was intolerant on principle; that he absolutely hated and cursed Protestantism as now understood—that is, private judgment and the absence of sacraments; that he allowed heathenism as to marriage; and that his great doctrine of justification by faith was so dangerous in his own eyes that he absolutely pointed the danger out himself, and that it cannot be preached in any pulpit in the world without glosses and safeguards innumerable. It is very important, therefore, to have Luther's own words. Father O'Connor has given us them under circumstances of care and research which seem absolutely to preclude any possibility of an unfair citation, or of an unauthentic utterance. He gives a very particular account of the sources and editions which he has used. He then shows how Luther rejected the authority of the Pope, how he admitted the authority of the devil, and how he proclaimed his own infallibility and acted upon it. He enters into an examination of his famous translation of Rom. iii. 28 ("By Faith alone"), and shows how vain are the endeavours of some of his apologists to get rid of its antinomian character. And he concludes with describing, still in Luther's own words, the

political and moral results of his teaching. There are only two additional matters we should have liked to see included in Father O'Connor's pamphlet. First, it might have been as well to have indicated as far as possible the chronological relationship of the passages cited; for some of his admirers, such as K  stlin, ascribe to him a gradual awakening to true doctrine and an implied retraction of early crudities. And secondly, an examination of the celebrated passage in which the "pecca fortiter" occurs should perhaps have been introduced, as a great deal of controversy turns upon its wording and context. But Father O'Connor, in what he has given us, has done a great service. The work should be in every priest's library, so as to be at hand for immediate reference.

Occasional Sermons, Addresses, and Essays. By the Right Rev. GEORGE CONROY, late Bishop of Ardagh. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.

THIS volume of Remains will appeal to the wide circle in Ireland and across the Atlantic with whom the late Bishop of Ardagh came in contact. He was a striking figure among Irish bishops, and his premature death has lent an interest as touching as it is melancholy to the remembrance of a man who promised to achieve great things. George Michael Conroy was but forty-five when he died. He had been Bishop of Ardagh seven years, and had spent nearly eighteen months in Canada and the United States, fulfilling the high duties of a delegate of the Holy See. Cardinal Franchi, visiting Ireland in 1876, had noted the rare qualities of the man, and pointed him out as likely to distinguish himself in whatever delicate or difficult negotiation the Church might entrust him with. He seemed made for his peculiar work. At first it was intended that he should travel to Malabar as Apostolic Delegate; but on his arrival in Rome in 1877 the delegation to Malabar was exchanged to that which he exercised in Canada, and which, though no details have as yet been given to the world, did not fail to win him a great reputation.

It is not easy to speak of a man one has never seen, but the impression conveyed by this volume, as by the report of all that enjoyed his intimacy, is that of a typical Church statesman, grave, courteous, full of resources, calm and decided, of winning manners in private life, learned with the learning of his responsible position, and fitted remarkably to govern others. His sweetness of temper, humility, and simple faith are made much of by his friends. They speak too of his eloquence, which was conspicuous in Canada, and his ready wit and command of language. He succeeded in everything he undertook, and wore the honours of after-life with the same ease and gracefulness with which he carried off prizes as a very young man at Propaganda. The Addresses now published bear witness to the marked individuality of the speaker, reserved and dignified as they always are. The Sermons betoken unaffected piety and abound in good feeling; they are earnest and straightforward, and though not in the style to

which we are used in England, would tell on the audiences before which they were delivered. Dr. Conroy was evidently a model bishop. It may be well to add a few dates as a frame to the picture of his life. He was born in Dundalk on New Year's Day 1833; consecrated to the See of Ardagh in 1871; embarked for Canada April 29, 1877; and died at St. John's, Newfoundland, August 4, 1878. During his stay in America he received everywhere the most distinguished welcome, and his countrymen, naturally proud that the Holy See had delighted to honour one of their kith and kin, flocked round him with addresses and congratulations. In San Francisco, as in Quebec and Montreal, his arrival was an occasion of the heartiest enthusiasm; but, much as he entered into the spirit of his labours, he could not bear up against the incessant fatigue. His return to Ireland was delayed, and he died ere it could be accomplished.

On turning to what he has written, I am struck with its sincere, natural tone, its heartiness and gravity, and the sense of pastoral responsibility which seems always to have dwelt with him. Dr. Conroy was not literary by profession; he did not handle questions as a man of letters, but as a priest or bishop, intent on the immediate consequences of things; and it would be misleading to deal with even the Essays in this book as studies in criticism. The good qualities they possess are of another kind. They do not abound in striking aphorisms or in comprehensive views; and among the twenty-five short papers that make up the second half of the volume, I remark only three or four in which the treatment ceases to be practical and becomes in any degree literary. Of these, perhaps the essay on "Positivism" is the best, a well-informed piece of reviewing, strongly and clearly worded, but on the whole more like a recapitulation of the facts than a literary exposition of them. We must bear in mind that the current of modern speculation has hardly touched Ireland; there is no unbelief among Protestants or religious Liberalism among Catholics across the Irish Sea, and the standpoint from which these things are beheld and commented upon is not that of the mixed society of London or Paris. In like manner, "The last Thirty Years in the English Church," and some other sketches bearing on religion in England, are valuable as giving us an account of some things very familiar to English Catholics, from a coign of vantage they have never occupied. But these are neither the most important nor the most individual of the writings collected by the Bishop's friends. To find the man, we must read his Addresses. Their devotion to Ireland and Rome, their tact and dignity, their outspoken defence of such momentous Irish interests as that of education, their recognition of the great part that Irishmen are called on to play as pioneers of religion within and beyond the limits of the British Empire, bring before us the Bishop as he lived and died, and are a token of what he would surely have fulfilled had time been given him.

Let me note also the charming little story of the pilgrimage to Aran-More of St. Enda, and the sermon on St. Kyran of Clonmacnoise. There is much in them of the exquisite freshness, the open heart, and

gentle good humour which breathe from the old Irish songs, from the lives of Irish saints, and even from chronicles dwelling on war and feud like Keating's, and the Annals of the Four Masters. At Aran the Bishop of Ardagh said Mass in the ruined church of Teghlach Enda, and he says:—

We can never forget the scene of that morning: the pure, bright sand covering the graves of unknown and unnumbered saints as with a robe of silver tissue; the delicate green foliage of the wild plants that rose here and there, as if wrought in embroidery on the white expanse. On the one side the swelling hill crowned with the church of Benignus, and on the other the blue sea that almost bathed the foundations of the venerable sanctuary; the soft, balmy air, that hardly stirred the ferns on the old walls; and the fresh, happy, solemn calm that reigned over all. (P. 476.)

This is a pretty picture of Aran in the sunshine; and for such simple people as gathered round to hear Mass that morning St. Carthage's rule might have been prescribed:—

When thou comest in to the Mass—
It is a noble office—
Let there be penitence of heart, shedding of tears,
And throwing up of hands.
There shall be no love lasting in thy heart
But the love of God alone:
Pure is the body thou receivest,
Pure must thou go to receive it.

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

L'Episcopat de Massillon, d'apres des documents inédits. Suivi de sa Correspondance. Par l'Abbé BLAMPIGNON, Docteur en Théologie, &c. &c. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

ONE special recommendation of this volume is that its author writes from an abundance of knowledge: Massillon, his works, the literature and history of his period, must be as "familiar as household words" to the Abbé Blampignon. It is nearly twenty years since he edited and annotated an edition of the "*Œuvres de Massillon*," and much more recently—in 1879—he brought out the "*Vie de Massillon: la jeunesse et la predication*." It is to be noted that this last-named is really the first part of the work which is here concluded, and that it was not only well received, but is "approuvé pour les lycées." We need only further note that among the Abbé's other publications, his study of Malebranche was crowned by the Academy, and we have said enough to recommend both the matter and the manner of the present charming volume from the same pen. Massillon's sermons are perhaps what most English readers think of in connection with Massillon's name; here they may learn that after he had ceased to be a pulpit orator he lived for some twenty-three years the hard-working life of a country bishop. Both these volumes are valuable to the student as being "*d'apres des documents inédits*," and as throwing not a few incidental gleams on the history of the Court, the Jansenists,

and on provincial life of that period ; but as regards Massillon himself this last volume is decidedly the more interesting and valuable. It reveals the once brilliant Parisian preacher living up to his own precepts in the distant diocese of Clermont. And we feel attracted to the gifted and devout-minded man who could not grow acclimatized to the frivolous and worldly atmosphere of Paris and Court, who had long desired to escape it all, and who started gladly for a mountainous and difficult diocese and the simplicity of its people. True, he found other trials in Auvergne, and in leaving Paris, "which a man like him could not regret, he left friends and habits and occupations which no one breaks from without pain ;" but it is pleasant to study a man who never considered his separation from Court and Academy and what not as exile. For that, Massillon was too zealous an ecclesiastic, too humble, too honest, too thorough and practical in his Catholic faith. He took possession of his See in 1719—let the reader go to the Abbé's pages for the quaint old customs attending a bishop's first arrival at Clermont—he was then fifty-six years of age ; for twenty-three years more he unselfishly and zealously devoted talents and energies to the government of his large diocese. Many places in its mountainous recesses were, we read, "*inaccessibles aux voitures*," yet to the end he went on repeating his episcopal visitations. His love of the poor was a distinguishing virtue ; his efforts to help them constant ; his relations with his clergy affectionate and sympathetic ; his zeal for the purity of the faith great, but, as the reader learns from not a few pages, not greater or more alert than was demanded by the stratagems and incessant shufflings and petty plots of the then active Jansenists. At Beauregard, his country residence, Massillon helped his beloved poor to help themselves : "he started a fruitful industry by introducing the art of cotton-spinning, still very backward at that time. He himself gave to each family a spinning-wheel and some pounds of raw material. And, through the long winter evenings and in leisure hours the women or aged who were detained at home had henceforward a useful employment." The book is full of anecdote and incident, and the temptation to quote is great, but must be resisted. We will merely note in passing that the description of scenery, villages, and towns in which the Abbé Blampignon sometimes frames the account of Massillon's visitations are often interesting as they are charming. At Vichy, for example, now prosperous and fashionable, the bishop, as we read, found in the May of 1733 only four Sisters of Charity—one for the school and three for the hospital. Very curious pages indeed are those in which the author describes to us the craze which prevailed early in the eighteenth century for reconstructing the Liturgy according to prevailing ideas of taste and criticism ; re-writing time-honoured hymns on classical models, admitting into saints' lives only, as was pretended, "absolutely contemporary testimony." That craze, like so many others, had to reach ridiculous limits before it died out, and meanwhile everybody was smitten. Finally we must be content to merely mention that the last hundred and forty pages of this volume are occupied with a "*Correspondance Inédite*" of Massillon, and that many of the letters

are of value as showing the character of the writer and the nature of the interests which filled his episcopal life.

Luther. An Historical Portrait. By J. VERRES, D.D. London : Burns & Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society. 1884.

THIS work and Father O'Connor's *brochure* already noticed a page or two back, are much alike in aim, and together they form a serious part of the aftermath of the Luther Centenary. The aim of each author has been to make Luther paint his own portrait, but Dr. Verres has carried out the plan into greater detail, and has, moreover, as frequently as not given in footnotes the Latin or German original of his translated quotations. His work is a volume of four hundred pages, and like Father O'Connor's pamphlet it has this fine recommendation, that it is a study of original sources. To give it the attention it deserves would demand a more lengthened notice than is possible at the late hour at which we get the book. We can only hope that, as its merits are so striking, it may speedily become a classic on the subject for English students. It opens with a good introductory chapter on "The Intellectual, Religious and Social State of Germany before Luther," a subject which ought to be carefully studied. Indeed it seems clear that the more thoroughly it is mastered in exactly that ratio is a student competent to deal with the whole Luther question in the concrete. Another chapter is devoted to "Luther before his 'Apostasy,'" and a third, which we have read with great pleasure, to "Luther and Tetzl." Dr. Verres' warm vindication of the great Dominican's good name is no warmer than it ought to be, and it is acceptable, coming as it does backed up by original documents. We commend the author's remarks in this chapter on the subject of Indulgences as clear and sufficient, yet brief: his tone here, as throughout, is moderate, and he is ready to make many due concessions as to the existence of abuses and the like. The drift of the remaining chapters will be sufficiently seen from their titles, and with that enumeration we must be, at least at present, content:—The Leipzig Disputation; Luther at Worms; Luther and the Bible; The "Evangelium"; Luther on the Priesthood and on Monasticism; The First Fruits of Private Judgment; Charity and Intolerance; "De servo arbitrio"; Luther on Matrimony; Luther and the Peasants; Luther and the Sacramentarians; Pope Luther; The "Confessio Augustana"; Schmalkalden; Fruits of the Reformation; Luther on Bigamy; Luther's Last Years; Luther's Character; Luther's Work at the Present Time. When in November last, the author tells us, the Right Rev. Dr. Bewick applied to Luther the epithets "foul-mouthed" and "scurrilous," the Presbyterians of Newcastle-on-Tyne strongly denounced such "pulpit Billingsgate"; if they had ever, he adds, seen a few pages of Luther's own works (not of the railway bookstall table-talk), they would have known on which side the Billingsgate was. This leads one to repeat with the author that his

book is for students, not for the drawing-room; and to the further remark, that if Dr. Verres' translations are sometimes "strong," and the originals in the footnotes are still stronger, the shame and the blame lie, as he points out, with the would-be Evangelist of God. "I have not," he says, "studiously picked out the worst sayings of Luther. . . . On the contrary, the worst sayings have been excluded, nor have any of the passages quoted been admitted without due deliberation, or without the approbation of friends on whose judgment I can rely."

It may be well to remark that the style in which the volume is written is animated, and as regards English is on the whole correct. The typography has been done in Germany, and the author makes an apology for the misprints, which he would do well, however, to remedy in a second edition; and we hope he will have the pleasure of seeing a second edition called for. With the concluding sentence of his preface we conclude our notice of his book, wishing it a large success in removing fatal prejudices and prevalent misrepresentations.

As a German, I wish to use this opportunity to protest against an assertion which recently has been made *ad nauseam* in English books and pamphlets and newspaper articles—viz., that Luther is the national hero of Germany. He is nothing of the kind. Let it be said that he is the hero of the Protestant part of that nation. But there are 26,000,000 of German Catholics in the German empire and in Austria—i.e., nearly half of the Germans in Europe. Are they so insignificant a fraction, so worthless a lot of pariahs, that a man may be made a "national" hero without their concurrence?

Allocutions to the Clergy, and Pastorals. By the late Right Rev. Dr. MORIARTY, Bishop of Kerry. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

WE may venture to say that any one who had the happiness of knowing the late Bishop Moriarty will be glad to have this memorial of him. We are not surprised at what we read in the dedicatory epistle, where the editors, by permission, place the volume under the patronage of His Eminence Cardinal Newman. We read that in reply to their application to him, His Eminence answered:—

I cannot have a greater favour or a greater pleasure done me than you so kindly propose by dedicating to me the volume of Dr. Moriarty's *Allocutions*. . . . I have ever felt the truest love and gratitude towards him. He was indeed a rare friend, one of ten thousand. He is in Heaven doubtless, but I mention him always in Mass, from the good which I am sure I can get from him.

The volume is composed of the *Allocutions*, seventeen in number, which the Bishop addressed to his clergy in the various Diocesan Synods between the years 1854 and 1876, and of half a dozen *Pastoral Letters*. The *Allocutions* are concerned with the various duties and obligations of the clergy; they are earnest in tone, clear, pointed, and full of theological lore. And yet the simplicity of their earnestness is remarkable; the heart of the humble prelate speaks almost more than

his cultured and devout mind. No less pleasing a feature is the cordial and fraternal manner which pervades them all, the consideration, the affection for his priests, the slowness to lay on them a burden, or to exact from them beyond what he felt he was in duty constrained. One or two of these Synodal addresses appear to us to be particularly happy and forcibly written, for example one on the "Care of the Sick and Dying," another on the "Care of the Dead," a third on "The Holy Sacrifice," and still another, a very excellent one indeed, on "Fraternal Charity;" but we shall refrain from quoting as the treatment is entirely with reference to priestly obligations. The Pastorals are naturally of more general interest. One on "The Church Establishment," written in the March of 1867, read in connection with a letter of the Bishop to Lord Carlingford (then Mr. Fortescue), and which is given in this collection, is even now not without interest. A short quotation from another pastoral, written in 1871, is all we have space for. Its title is "On Papal Infallibility," and it contains *inter alia* one of the most lucid explanations that we have seen of what Infallibility really is.

But was there freedom of debate [at the Vatican Council]? Most certainly. And the plain proof is, that a minority acting throughout with the purest intentions, and urged by a conscientious conviction that it was for the good of the Church to leave the question untouched, prolonged the discussion for eight months. Every difficulty was fully and fearlessly proposed. No man shrank from saying what he believed to be right, no matter how opposed his opinion might be to those of the great body of the assembly; and for that freedom of speech no one suffered displeasure or disgrace. When on a few occasions, the prescribed forms seemed to embarrass the minority, no one feared to protest. . . . Few also were the calls to order by the presidents of the Council; and they were never unreasonable.

There were amongst us, and we were of the number, who believed that the perfect harmony and obedience which prevailed in the Church rendered the decree unnecessary; that it might increase, in some, the difficulty of belief or conversion. . . . The case is now closed for ever. We believe in the decrees of the Vatican for the same reason that we believe in the decrees of Trent. Humanly speaking with more reason, for the Church was more largely represented. Bishops were there from the oldest Churches in Christendom, and from Churches which did not exist, from countries which were not known, when the Council sat at Trent. The result is the most splendid manifestation ever seen of the working of the great principle of Catholic unity (p. 389).

Dissertationes selectae in historiam ecclesiasticam. Auctore BERNARDO JUNGMAN. Ratisbonae: Pustet. Vols. III., IV. 1882, 1884.

THE first two volumes of these dissertations were noticed at the time of their publication. In the next two volumes will be found ten dissertations which cover a period of very nearly three centuries. Professor Jungmann's chief aim in these learned studies is the defence of the Holy See; and he has pursued it thus far with success. The important questions by which the Church was agitated

during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries are of a present as well as historical interest; they were dragged before the public at the time of the Vatican Council and eagerly discussed. On some of the topics, notably that of the donation of Charlemagne and the beginnings of the temporal power of the Holy See, discussion continues even now in Germany. It is, therefore, very creditable to our author that he has selected those controverted topics, and that he has treated them as successfully as would be anticipated from a Louvain professor. The five dissertations contained in the third volume are headed: "The Iconoclast Heresy," "The Temporal Principedom of the Roman Pontiff," "Empire and Church in the Ninth Century," "Some *Causes célèbres* of the Ninth Century, and the Pseudo-Isidoran Decretals," and lastly, "The Photian Schism."

On the controverted point as to whether Gregory II., who had to suffer so much from Constantinople, did release Italy from allegiance to the Emperor and the Italians from payment of tribute, the author sides with those historians who deny the alleged fact. Even Pope Zacharias strenuously enjoined on the Italians their duty towards Constantinople. The discussions on Pope Hadrian II. and the eighth general council to which Mgr. Maret so unhappily set himself in 1869, give occasion to our author of testing that prelate's Gallican opinions. The dissertation on the false Decretals is one of the most important. The decretals were of Gallican origin, and were first appealed to in France. But, on the other hand, they did not bring about a new system of ecclesiastical discipline. What they contended for was only the defence of the clergy against the encroachments of the secular power. The discipline they inculcated is involved in the axiom that "*causæ majores*" are exclusively reserved to the Holy See. But this solemn principle, so far from being an innovation or violent interruption, has been generally held from the very first beginnings of the Church.

The fourth volume opens with a timely statement directed against those historians who are accustomed so to speak of certain "dark ages," as thereby to suggest the utterly false idea of an entire corruption in the Church. The existence of much corruption in the ninth and tenth centuries may readily be admitted. Secular princes reigned over the Church in more than one country of Europe; the Holy See was several times occupied by men whose lives were not altogether spotless, and the law of celibacy was disgracefully neglected. But notwithstanding that, the Church, being God's bride, neither did, nor indeed could, cease to be pure and holy. Starting from this axiom, Professor Jungmann has the following dissertations: "On the Roman Pontiffs of the Tenth Century," "On certain Controversies of the Tenth Century," "On the Condition of the Church in the middle of the Eleventh Century," "On St. Gregory VII.," and lastly, "On the Controversy regarding Investitures." Special interest seems to be attached to the sections of the second dissertation which treat on the question of "Re-ordinations," and the Greek controversy about a fourth marriage (tetragamia). Here Professor Jungmann follows the fine exposition of Cardinal Hergen-

roether in his learned work on Photius (vol. iii., Ratisbon, 1868). Our author, however, searches and judges for himself, treating the question in quite a masterly manner. Morinus's opinion on the reordinations of the ninth century is fully tested and discarded. Special praise is due to him for the vindication of St. Gregory VII., who neither can be proved to have aimed at establishing a universal monarchy, nor wantonly to have usurped the rights of secular princes. An unprejudiced perusal of the official documents of that great Pope show that he never exceeded his power, but, on the contrary, in deposing wicked princes, he appears supported not only by the public law of Christian Europe, but what is to be urged against Gosselin, likewise by Divine law.

BELLESHEIM.

L'Ecole Menaisienne. Montalembert. Par Mgr. RICARD, Professeur de Théologie Dogmatique aux Facultés d'Aix et de Marseille. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie. 1884.

THIS is the fourth and last volume of Mgr. Ricard's series entitled "*L'Ecole Menaisienne*," the former volumes having been devoted respectively to Lamennais, Gerbert et Salinis, and Lacordaire. The present sketch of Montalembert is very pleasantly written, and the author is so thoroughly versed in the details of his period that we can readily recommend his little volume. After all the Montalembert literature, there is an attractive freshness about Mgr. Ricard's pages; they are lively with anecdote, and a frequent use of Montalembert's own words and speeches is so effective as to impart quite a charm, besides giving to the book a character of its own. Many who have read, perhaps, only Mrs. Oliphant's gracefully written volumes on Montalembert will find Mgr. Ricard's an admirable supplement. Naturally it retraces much of the same ground, but it has other details, and it is written from a French and a Catholic point of view. This last fact makes the treatment of some points particularly interesting. The last chapter, headed "*Comment finit Montalembert*," is intensely interesting and is also satisfactory. The details of the Count's last moments are more touchingly related here than we have read elsewhere, and we are glad to see it here put on lasting record that when the news arrived of Montalembert's death, Pius IX. ordered a solemn requiem service to be celebrated at Rome; a fitting tribute to a noble and loyal servant, who (impulsive words notwithstanding) uniformly lived, as he also died, in the spirit of his famous phrase, the motto of his public life, "*L'Eglise c'est une Mère*."

Allocutions, or Short Addresses on Liturgical Observances and Ritual Functions. With Appendices, &c. By the Author of "*Programmes of Sermons and Instructions*," &c. &c. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. 1884.

FROM a letter of Approbation prefixed to this volume, we may extract a sentence, as expressive of our own feelings, and as

having doubtless a wider application than is there given to it by its writer, the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin. His Eminence says:—

All who have experience of the missionary life in Ireland know that a priest who throws himself unreservedly into the work of his sacred ministry will have very little leisure for the study of heavy liturgical books. It may also happen that all who have time for such studies may not have aptitude for selecting the matter which is calculated to instruct or interest their hearers. Therefore I welcome your "Allocutions" as being well suited to supply accessible and accurate information on the subjects to which they refer.

These "Allocutions," or more properly "Short Addresses," have the characteristics of the author's "Programmes of Sermons;" they are devout and earnest in tone, marked by great simplicity of style, and they are hortatory rather than doctrinal, but containing much instructive exposition. But they are not exactly programmes, they are brief but consecutive addresses. They will serve as suggestive foundations for sermons, or they might profitably enough be read as they stand at an early Mass: no one of them would take more than ten minutes to read, and the run of them not more than six. In many families, too, there is a want felt of something appropriate for the festival of the morrow to be read at night prayers, something pertinent and also pious in tone about Ash Wednesday, for example, or Candlemas, Septuagesima or Passion Sunday, Palm Sunday, and Holy Week, or Low Sunday, and other liturgical solemnities; the present will be found to be a suitable book. A second division of this volume contains more short addresses for the occasions of such ritual functions as Infant Baptism and Confirmation, Penance and Communion. These are excellent, and might often be made to do seasonable service. There are also "Words" to be used at a funeral, at a marriage, and at the administration of the last sacraments. The Council of Trent lays stress on the desirability of these short addresses in the administration of the sacraments, when they can be conveniently done: the pastor is to make them "pie, prudenterque, etiam lingua vernaculâ"—these addresses fulfil the requirements. Lastly, the zealous author adds a series of eight appendices, giving rules and most practical suggestions for Christian Doctrine Confraternities, for a Parochial Lending Library, and other parochial and useful organizations.

Auxilium Prædicatorum; or, a Short Gloss upon the Gospels. With Hints as to their use in Sermons. Vol. I. St. Matthew. Vol. II. St. Mark and St. Luke. By the Rev. PIUS DEVINE, Passionist. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.

GOOD and useful books are always welcome, and we think we may safely put F. Pius's "*Auxilium Prædicatorum*" in this category. These volumes will prove useful to hard-worked missionary priests, who have so many sermons to preach and so little time to prepare them. F. Pius, who has had ample experience in the labour of

preaching, and knows well the brain-work implied in it, has published his work as a help in this ever-pressing and difficult task.

In the two volumes before us we have the Gospels of Saints Matthew, Mark, and Luke, with pithy, suggestive, short commentaries, and points for discourses. Each chapter is divided into sections comprising several verses of the sacred text; a short and for the most part excellent practical gloss on each section; and then "sets" of points for sermons on the commented verses. Sometimes there are as many as six sets of points—that is, points for six sermons. There is often an originality and freshness in the points suggested, and we cannot but think that if they were well worked out, striking and fruitful sermons would be the result.

F. Pius seems to think that he has done all the hard work for the preacher by his "Auxilium."

The plan [he says in his preface] pursued in the following work will help a man to prepare a discourse in a short time. The brief gloss upon the text will refresh his memory; and the points of the discourse being set for him, as rising naturally from verses of the sacred Scripture, will enable him without very great trouble to prepare a sermon for his people. He has simply to put an exordium, fill up the points with a little reasoning, an instance or two from the Old Testament, one of the texts of the New amplified somewhat, then add an example. When each point is treated in this manner, and an epilogue added which brings one to the peroration, the thing is done.

Considering that F. Pius has had much to do with young ecclesiastics, he knows well what hard, slow work sermon-making oftentimes is for them; how difficult to make a beginning at all; how slowly ideas come; how hard to clothe them in suitable language; how hard to amplify and find telling illustrations; in fine, what a laborious task it often is to produce a respectable sermon. Hence F. Pius's easy, glib recipe sounds like sarcasm—probably it is so. Of course, "points" or "suggestions," however excellent they may be, will never dispense the preacher from labour. The preacher must think and work a good deal for himself, if he is to furnish even a moderately good sermon. F. Pius offers an "auxilium" in this labour, and for those who know how to think, who have a facility of expression, and a ready command of words, his volumes will no doubt be of great service.

Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata. Edidit JOAN. BAPTISTA CARD. PITRA, Ep. Tusculanus, S. E. R. Bibliothecarius. Tomm. II. et III.

THE great work upon which Cardinal Pitra has been for so many years engaged is at length approaching completion. To ransack the libraries of Europe and the East, to search for the lost writings of the early fathers of the Church, and to annotate, print and publish the result of their labour, was one of the aims which the Benedictines of Solesmes set before themselves at their restoration just half a century ago; and the collection of inedited writings of the patristic period,

published under the title of "*Spicilegium Solesmense*," gave the world a proof that the patience, industry, and research of the old Maurists had revived among their modern representatives. Dom Pitra, the principal contributor to the "*Spicilegium Solesmense*," was in due time called to a more exalted sphere of literary labour than was afforded by the library of Solesmes, and the talent which had done such good work when in comparative obscurity was destined to attain even more excellent results when the library of the Holy Roman Church was entrusted to his care. For a time, as we need hardly remind our readers, Dom Pitra, before his elevation to the Cardinalate in 1863, was engaged by special command of Pío Nono in the preparation of a magnificent work on the Canon Law of the Greek Church ("*Juris Ecclesiastici Græcorum Historia et Monumenta*"); a work, be it remarked, which is still far from complete, though three more volumes are announced as ready for the press. When the approaching completion of his labours in this department of sacred science gave him more leisure, Cardinal Pitra resumed his former occupation of searching for the fragments of patristic writing which had escaped the notice of previous compilers. In 1876 appeared the first volume of his "*Analecta Sacra Spicilio Solesmensi parata*," devoted chiefly to a collection of early Greek hymns and poems on scriptural subjects, and the saints and martyrs of the primitive Church. The prefatory essay, "*De re rhythmica*," will probably long be classical to all who would know what need be known of the system, methods, characteristics and beauties of the Christian hymnologists of the Greek Church. The poems and hymns in this volume, many of them now printed for the first time, were drawn from some twenty of the principal libraries up and down Europe. A Latin translation, frequent notes, and a copious index, increase tenfold the value of the work.

Next in order of publication (1882), though the eighth volume of the series, was a most valuable and welcome addition to the ascetical literature of the Middle Ages. This was a new edition of some of the works of St. Hildegarde, the renowned prophet-saint of Mount St. Rupert, the counsellor of kings and bishops, and the most wonderful woman of her age. Of her writings, the book called "*Vitæ Meritorium*" is here published for the first time; so are one hundred and forty-five letters of the saint, written to men and women of every class, and to all parts of Christendom: a valuable addition to the other hundred and forty-five letters of St. Hildegarde which were already in print in other works. The "*Vitæ Meritorium*," which like all else in the volume is very carefully annotated, is published from a manuscript in possession of the Belgian Benedictines of Termonde. The Cardinal had intended to offer this volume to his monastic brethren on the fourteenth centenary of their patriarch St. Benedict, but the discovery of the aforesaid letters and other matter of interest happily decided him to postpone its publication for a year or two, till justice could be done to the ample store of new material which had meanwhile come to his notice.

The fourth volume of the "*Analecta*," published last year, gave us

the fruits of the laborious collections of the Abbé Martin, a zealous collaborateur of Cardinal Pitra in the field of patristic research. Most of its contents are drawn from the Syriac and Armenian manuscripts of the Ante-Nicene fathers preserved in the British Museum Library, to transcribe which, as the Cardinal delicately puts it, the Abbé "ter quaterque mare emensus, cimmerias Londini nebulas penetravit."

To come at last to the lately published volumes—the second and third—which have suggested this notice. The reader will not fail to read the touching dedication to his long-suffering brethren of Solesmes; * nor will he easily forget the brilliant introduction wherein the eminent editor expatiates on the holiness of life, the stirring eloquence, and the deep knowledge of sacred Scripture of the Ante-Nicene fathers. Especially valuable are his remarks on the great authority of their testimony to apostolic tradition, and his dissertation on the early origin and general use of an allegorical interpretation of sacred Scripture. As this subject is generally misunderstood, we venture to offer our readers an extract which gives the key to the whole question :—

Quaerenti autem quae causa fuerit hujusce consuetudinis altera summa lex occurrit, salus animarum. Quum in costibus publicis verba sacra intercederent, quum ex ambone semper paginae sacrae in quacumque synaxi recitarentur, sane priscis interpretibus non multum erat nudam litteram et jejuna nomina excutere, arida temporum puncta et discrimina ventilare. Sed quum in sacris oraculis evolvendis summopere interesset Christianorum sanctitati prodesse, in hoc potissimum nervos et lacertos intenderunt. Mirum est quanta cum solertia, quanto acumine, quanta varietate, omnia ad sanctitatem augendam et ornandam convertant: etiam diverticula persequi affectant, etiam allegorias et parabolas undecumque accersunt ad animos expergefaciendos. Quot versus, tot monita; quot vocabula, vel Hebraeorum, tot vitae exempla: quot apices, tot morum sacramenta.

The chief interest of these two volumes will be found, we think, in the history of this system of allegorical interpretation and in the light thrown upon it by the publication of the "Clavis," or Key, of St. Melito, Bishop of Sardis (c. A.D. 160). In various parts of the second volume notices of this matter are frequent, and the Cardinal gives a graphic account, by way of supplement, in a French essay (pp. 585–623) of his own early love for this branch of study, and of his long hunt after the "Codex Claromontanus," wherein the "Clavis" of St. Melito was to be found. This famous Codex, formerly in the Jesuit College of Clermont at Paris, had disappeared at the French Revolution, and Cardinal Pitra, after vainly searching for it in London, Oxford, and various parts of Holland, had the good fortune to light upon it in the Barberini Library at Rome. Before this valuable discovery, a transcript of the Bodleian manuscript of the "Clavis" had been made for Dom Pitra's use by the late Father

* "Solesmensibus meis, ex abbazia matre S. Petri ter vi militari expulsis, Deo excubias agentes circum pratis et fratrum sepulchra, anti-nicaeni testes tribus aucti voluminibus solatio spei et victoriae sint."

Dalgairns and Mr. Francis Bowles before their conversion; this he had collated with a codex in the Strasbourg Library, now alas! destroyed, and was beginning to despair of ever finding the Clermont original, when its opportune discovery in Rome enabled him to give an exact edition of what was for centuries a textbook of commentators, preachers and ascetical writers.

Besides acknowledging the services of Father Dalgairns and others of the Littlemore fraternity, Cardinal Pitra puts on record the kind offices which he has received from other Englishmen—the late Mr. Cureton, Father Stevenson, &c.; and is loud in his praises of the English edition of the Apostolic Fathers, published in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh.

As to the contents of these later volumes of the “*Analecta Sacra*,” we would direct attention to the exact edition of so much as has been recovered of Origen’s wonderful Commentary on Job and the Book of Psalms; to the “*Formularies*” of St. Eucherius of Lyons, a work similar in character to the “*Clavis*” of St. Melito; and to the Armenian and Syriac fragments of the writings of St. Papias of Hierapolis, and St. Irenæus, from the archives of the Armenian Benedictines at Venice. The Commentary of Eusebius of Alexandria, on the Psalms and Canticle of Canticles; some small additions to the writings of St. Gregory of Neocæsarea, and St. Methodius; the discovery in an ancient Vatican copy of the works of Denis the Areopagite of the “*Hymnus Divinus*,” attributed to that writer, though sometimes ascribed to St. Gregory Nazianzen; and other matters of considerable interest, will cause these latest proofs of Cardinal Pitra’s learned industry to receive due attention from all who have at heart the promotion of ecclesiastical learning and the defence of Catholic faith.

The Life of Christ. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated by JOHN WALTER HOPE, M.A. 3 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. By ALFRED EDERSHEIM, M.A. Oxon, D.D., Ph.D. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1883.

IT is a matter of surprise to observe the number and success of the various Lives of Christ which are so frequently appearing. The works of Canon Farrar and Dr. Geikie are bulky, and yet they have exhausted many editions. This constant demand on the part of the English public is a proof of the inexhaustible interest of the Life of our lives and of the widespread desire to learn more of Him than the Gospel tells. The general character of the Lives supplied, however inferior when judged by Catholic standards, is at least an evidence that both writers and readers have a firm faith in our Lord’s Divinity. It is, perhaps, more surprising that authors should be found bold

enough to tread such sacred ground at the call of a speculative publisher.

Of the two Lives before us, one is a German importation, the other a home production. Both are exhaustive and learned works, and each can plead a certain justification for its existence. Dr. Weiss has an answer to give to infidel critics, and Dr. Edersheim would present a portrait of our Lord drawn from a special point of view. The work of the former will have attractions to the lovers of German higher criticism, but the work of the latter will be more interesting to the general reader.

Dr. Weiss's book is largely occupied with the discussion of theories about the Gospels and their mutual relation one to another. This, of course, is a very favourite subject with German theologians, who are always wanting to tear our Gospels to pieces, and then construct what they are pleased to call the Primitive Gospel. Dr. Weiss's special view is that the Aramaic Matthew is the original source of the Synoptic Gospels; that the original document is lost, but is in some form preserved in our Greek Matthew. Dr. Weiss treats the Evangelists as "redactors" of this original document, and is not altogether pleased with their performance. As a controversial work, its value is lessened through the peculiar standpoint of the learned author. He is neither orthodox nor infidel; he is not so much concerned to defend the Gospel as it is, but as he thinks it should be; he tries to run with the hare of orthodox belief, and at the same time to hunt with the dogs of destructive criticism. Despite these defects, Dr. Weiss gives many a good answer to the "tendenz-critik" school, and some sound reproof to the followers of Strauss, and Keim, and Renan. Mr. Hope's translation is open to criticism, on account of its affected mannerisms. The translator's only note is not a happy one—that "Mark played Boswell to Peter's Johnson!" (vol. i. p. 44).

The special aim of Dr. Edersheim is to describe our Lord as an Israelite amongst Israelites, speaking their tongue and living their life. Rabbinic literature has been the author's devoted study, as is proved by his previous works. Talmud, Targum, and Midrash are laid under contribution to enable his readers to picture to themselves "the Land" as it was in Christ's time. He takes his readers with him to the Temple, and explains its sacrifices and its ritual; he goes with them to the markets and tells them even the prices of things; he enters with them into the Synagogue, and explains its services. The schools of rival Rabbis are open to him; he is on intimate terms with Pharisee, Sadducee, and Essene. This close acquaintance with the Jewish world enables Dr. Edersheim to throw much side-light on the Gospel narrative, or, in other words, to give a picture of Christ with a Jewish background and in a Jewish setting. The effect which the picture must produce upon all who examine it is to reveal the infinite greatness of our Lord by contrast with the smallness of His local surroundings. Some question may be raised as to the value of Dr. Edersheim's Rabbinic authorities, and how far their statements may be accepted as true in the time of our Lord. For instance, it is clear from Dr.

Edersheim's showing that the strange belief about the two Messiahs—the suffering Messiah of the tribe of Joseph and the glorious Messiah of the House of David—dates only from the second century. Then, again, some of the analogous sayings of Jewish Rabbis which are used to illustrate Christ's words have a suspicious look of having been stolen from Christian Gospels.

One thing we have to thank Dr. Edersheim for, and it is this—that with his overwhelming knowledge he has put to silence some noisy pretenders to Rabbinic science. Canon Farrar had asserted, that the Jews in our Lord's time did not believe in eternal punishment. On the contrary, Dr. Edersheim proves from the schools of Hillel and Shammai that such was the belief in the first century, but that in the second century some Rabbis taught otherwise. The late Dean Stanley, followed by others, talked about the key which was given to Rabbis on their ordination. But Dr. Edersheim assures us there was nothing of the sort. Dr. Geikie, in his "Life of Christ," gave wings to his imagination, and introduced what he called "evening scenes in Nazareth, when friends or neighbours of Joseph's circle would meet for an hour's quiet gossip" (!). As a specimen of this "quiet gossip," Dr. Geikie gives a number of Rabbinic quotations from the German translation in Duke's "Rabbinische Blumenlese." Dr. Edersheim's reply is crushing:—

1. There were no such learned Rabbis in Nazareth. 2. If there had been, they would not have been visitors in the house of Joseph. 3. If they had been visitors there, they would not have spoken what Dr. Geikie quotes from Duke, since some of the extracts are from mediæval books, and only one a proverbial expression. 4. Even if they had so spoken, it would at least have been in the words which Duke has translated, without the changes and additions which Dr. Geikie has introduced in some instances (vol. i. p. 233, note 3).

The learned work of Dr. Edersheim is not without its drawbacks. The style is very cumbrous and overweighted with Hebrew. It is in vain for Dr. Edersheim to attempt to emulate Canon Farrar in sensational writing. On textual points the learned author follows Dr. Westcott too slavishly, and makes very free in rejecting such passages as John v. 4, 5; viii. 1–11. But the worst fault is a weak courting of Protestant praise by not unfrequent allusions to "Roman sensuousness" in worship. Whether Dr. Edersheim is himself a convert from Judaism is not stated, but he ought surely to know that the most learned Jews who have embraced Christianity have, with but few exceptions, become Roman Catholics and not Protestants. Again, to please Protestant prejudice, Dr. Edersheim sets himself the hopeless task of trying to establish from Hebrew writers a distinction between *Πέρπος* and *Πέρπα*. On the other hand, he gives in an Appendix the curious Jewish legend about Simon Kephas, which in its present form he thinks belongs to the eighth century. This tells how Peter went to the metropolis of the Nazarenes and died there; and that after his death the Nazarenes raised a great fabric, "and this tower may be seen in Rome, and they call it Peter, which is the word

for a stone, because he sat on a stone till the day of his death " (vol. ii. p. 787). This at least should prove to Protestants that the Jewish tradition about St. Peter at Rome is the same as the Catholic.

The Gospel according to St. Matthew, from the St. Germain MS. (g.).
 Edited by JOHN WORDSWORTH, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1883.

THE Delegates of the Clarendon Press deserve the best thanks of Scripture scholars for undertaking to edit some of the most valuable of the old-Latin Biblical texts, and for entrusting the work to so competent a critic as Professor Wordsworth. The St. Germain (*g.*), the Bobbio (*k.*), and the Munich (*q.*) MSS. form the first series. Of these the first-named only has appeared. In thus devoting their attention to the old-Latin MSS., the Delegates are continuing a work begun by Bentley, who was the first English scholar to estimate the true value of the old-Latin readings as a guide to the emendation of the Greek text. Bentley spared no pains or expense in obtaining transcripts of the best Latin MSS., and in this he was ably seconded by Dr. John Walker, Archdeacon of Hereford in 1728, "whose uncommon learning and sweetness of temper, joined to all other Christian perfections, and accompanied with a pleasing form of body, justly rendered him the delight and ornament of mankind"—at least so his epitaph says, as quoted by Professor Wordsworth. Clarissimus Walker, as Bentley styled him, met with great kindness and valuable aid from the Maurist Benedictines, who were engaged upon a similar work. They succeeded, but Bentley and Walker failed. This led Professor Wordsworth to make the following very true observation :—

Had Bentley belonged to a religious order, or rather had our colleges fulfilled the intentions of their foundation, his work, like Sabatier's, might have been completed by other hands. It is a melancholy reflection for an Englishman. But probably there are no instances of such unworldly devotion to sacred literature, and such brotherly union in study, in any society of learned men, as were exhibited by the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur.

The St. Germain MS. belongs to the time of Alcuin, and was written by a scribe named Rathbold or Ratboth. Robert Stephens was the first to call attention to it by selecting readings from it for his folio Bible of 1538. The MS. was then entire; it is now sadly mutilated. It is marked by several peculiarities. The Epistles of St. Paul are put last in order in the New Testament Scriptures. St. Matthew's Gospel begins thus: "Deus fecit Adam, Adam genuit Seth," &c., as far as Abraham. Then follows "Liber generationis Jesu Christi." There are also many peculiar readings, spellings, and punctuations. But the question of greatest interest lies in regard to the character of the text followed by the copyist. It has usually been classed among the old-Latin texts. The subscription at the end of the MS.—"Bibliotheca Hieronimi presb. Bethleem secundum Grecum ex emendates mis exemplaribus conlatus"—seems to prove that it is based

on the Vulgate. Dr. Hort classes it with mixed or eclectic texts. Professor Wordsworth says: "I conclude from this examination that the basis of our book was not a Hieronymian text, but a mixture of the Italian and European texts, which was corrected occasionally by the Vulgate, but has a large peculiar element, perhaps drawn from several MSS."

The Origin of Religion and Language. Considered in Five Essays. By F. C. Cook, M.A., Editor of "The Speaker's Commentary," &c. London: J. Murray. 1884.

SPECIALISTS naturally feel gratified when the sciences to which they have consecrated life and strength are becomingly appreciated by the literary world, and serious studies are accepted and read. And such a work as that which we now bring into notice will surely recommend itself to every serious reader. Canon Cook's book is interesting both for its subject and for the manner in which that subject is treated. What, indeed, can be more interesting than the question of the origin of religion and language to any man not exclusively given over to mere material concerns?

The book is divided into two chief parts, sufficiently indicated by the title itself. In the first part, dedicated to Religion, Canon Cook gives his attention chiefly to India and Persia, inquiring into the origin of their beliefs. As regards India, his chapter is of course consecrated to the Vedas, whilst his attention is given to the cuneiform inscriptions, the Avesta, and more especially the Gâthâs, in what concerns Persia. He traces religions back to a primitive monotheism, and finds traces of Biblical influence in the Avesta. At each step we can only say that Canon Cook's erudition is great and thorough. He is completely up in all the great works which have been written on his subject; he has studied them *à fond*, understood, and makes excellent use of them. He gives everywhere token of sound judgment and singular perspicacity. If he will permit me one remark, I would like to say that I do not at all, as he thinks, regard naturalism as the unique source of polytheistic religions. I only think that such is most frequently the case, and that the great part of myths even have that origin. For, in reality, it was not possible to create myths of the divinized elements—Jupiter's marriage, the labours of Hercules, &c.—except after having divinized the elements themselves. To suppose that this last was done by change of language without preceding change of ideas—that certainly does not appear to me rational. I should like also to mention to Canon Cook that Haug never saw the second edition of my translation.

The second part treats of Language: first, in general, and of their divisions and their relations and common origin. In this connection Canon Cook constructs a comparative table of Egyptian, Semitic, Aryan, and Turanian words, and he concludes for a common origin of all these languages. This part of his work has been so fiercely criticized as to throw the merits of the former portions into the shade.

We deem it a duty as critic to point out this injustice. Certainly in the comparative table there are words, and not a few, of very dubious connection. The author himself knows well words of very different origin often descend, by successive degradations, to an almost complete identity, and that even in the same language. What affinity, for example, is there between one French *son* (sonus) and *son* (suum)? In these matters one must be very prudent. Before establishing these affinities, it is of primary necessity to know the phonic laws of the languages, the ancient forms of words, and the system of successive degradations. It is further necessary to be cautious as to deductions drawn from more or less happy affinities. In spite of deficiencies, it would be extremely unjust not to recognize, in the author of this book, sound erudition, wide knowledge, and great clearness. Another merit is his manifest freedom from religious prejudices; every one, Catholics, too, may read him. We can only express our hope that Canon Cook will pursue and perfect this line of study.

CHARLES DE HARLEZ.

Maria Stuart und ihre Ankläger zu York, Westminster und Hampton Court. Von Dr. BERNHARD SEPP. Munich: Lindauer. 1884.

THIS is not a fresh defence of Mary Stuart, but a republication in one volume of certain important items of evidence—viz., an account contained in three letters sent by the English Commissioners to Queen Elizabeth, of the preliminary conference at York, and the minutes in full of the two subsequent conferences at Westminster and Hampton Court, which together make up all the judicial inquiry there ever was into the complicity of Mary in her husband's murder. Dr. Sepp writes a short but full introduction, and adds an occasional commentary, in which he has inserted various other documents of an interesting character. Among these are the so-called Ainsley band, the two marriage contracts between Mary and Bothwell, the depositions at Edinburgh of William Powrie, George Dalgleish, John Hay, and John Hepburn, concerning the plot to blow up the Kirk of Field, and the manner of its execution; and, lastly, the confessions of Hepburn, Tallo, and Dalgleish on the scaffold. A German translation, very close to the original, accompanies each, and is printed in parallel columns with them. The source from which Dr. Sepp has taken his materials, with one small exception, is James Anderson's "Collections relating to the History of Mary Stuart," now a scarce work. But he has occasion to show, as he goes along, that his acquaintance with his subject is minute and faithful. In a previous essay he had undertaken to clear up the mystery of the Casket Letters, which, however we may judge of Queen Mary, have hitherto perplexed every inquirer into their origin, and have disappeared as unaccountably as they first came to light. Dr. Sepp holds that they are partly genuine, but are not letters at all—only fragments of a diary of the Queen during her stay at Glasgow from January 23 to 27, 1567. But this is not the theme of his present little volume. Still, his bias cannot be mistaken; he thinks Mary

innocent, and takes great pains honestly to point out the flaws, discrepancies, and spots of darkness in the evidence brought against her, if evidence it can be called. In the main article, that of her sharing in the plot to murder Darnley, it is of the flimsiest. One important point is clearly proved; the so-called originals of the Casket Letters were never examined by competent persons, nor decided to be in the handwriting of Mary, except on the assertion of her deadliest enemies and accusers. There is no independent witness of any kind to their genuineness, possible and probable though it be, as Dr. Sepp thinks, that fragments of them were really the Queen's. On such evidence it was out of the question for any tribunal to come to a conclusion, and, in fact, the last conference broke up, at Elizabeth's command, without deciding one way or the other. Yet many modern historians, with no other proofs before them, have passed sentence on Mary as a murderess.

In spite of the judicial long-windedness of these letters and minutes, and their astounding hypocrisy and "flunkeyism" towards Elizabeth, they are highly dramatic, interesting, and real. The notes could not be better; Dr. Sepp is very lucid and precise. Apparently he has raised somewhat of a storm in the Fatherland, and his "asides" on the subject of Herr Breslau, who has written with some warmth against Queen Mary, are a not unpleasant relief to the painfulness of Mary's history. Even the unforgiving Puritan, Carlyle, who declares he "must leave her condemned," cannot help adding, "With irresistible sympathy one is tempted to pity this poor sister-soul, involved in such a chaos of contradictions, and hurried down to tragical destruction by them. No Clytemnestra or Medea, when one thinks of that last scene in Fotheringhay, is more essentially a theme of tragedy." It is because Mary the murderess seems so much more tragical than Mary innocent that the late historians are unwilling to acquit her. But the most awful and heart-subduing tragedy the world ever witnessed was the death, not of the guilty, but the innocent; and to those who cannot think of Mary as a Clytemnestra, the record of what was said and done to her by her Scottish subjects, and Elizabeth after them, will be the more painful that they believe she never gave them cause. Dr. Sepp, though indirectly, has made a valuable contribution to her defence.

WILLIAM BARRY, D.D.

Sacred Eloquence; or, the Theory and Practice of Preaching. By Rev. THOMAS J. POTTER. Fourth Edition. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1883.

ANOTHER edition of this excellent students' manual has been called for, and that itself is what we have pleasure in noting. It is the practical and best recommendation of a book which has been largely used and tested since it was written by the late lamented author, who was for so many years Professor of Sacred Eloquence in All Hallows College.

Ireland in the Seventeenth Century ; or, the Irish Massacres of 1641-2, their Causes and Results. Illustrated by extracts from the unpublished State Papers, the unpublished MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Lambeth Library, and the Library of the Royal Dublin Society, relating to the Plantations of 1610-39 ; a selection from the unpublished Depositions relating to the Massacres, with facsimiles ; and the Reports of the Trials in the High Court of Justice in 1652-4, from the unpublished MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin. By MARY HICKSON. With a Preface by J. A. FROUDE, M.A. 2 vols. London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

THE above work, consisting of two octavo volumes, exhibits proof of the patient industry of the authoress. It opens with a Preface of eight pages by Mr. Froude, followed by an Introduction of some 160 pages from the authoress ; while the rest of the work is composed of original extracts accompanied by her annotations. Some two hundred depositions bearing on the rising in 1641 form the staple of the work. Many of the depositions, as attested by their marks, are those of ignorant people ; and therefore their value depends on the honest explanation of their contents to the signatories, not to speak at all of their own credibility. And even when they were made by respectable persons—as, for example, by Edward Saltinghall, Gent.—the depositions are not reliable ; and Miss Hickson had to admit that only *a fifth of it may be reliable*. Besides this, many or most of the depositions are on hearsay evidence, and are evidently absurd, as that of Ellen Matchell, who stated that Manus O'Cahan begged for his breakfast the heads of all the Protestants killed ; and the deposition of Robert Maxwell, rector, whose superstitious allusion to cock-crowing and barking of dogs and preternatural sights, not to speak of the ghost stories of others, excites only pity. Moreover, the depositions are contradictory to Miss Hickson and to each other. In p. 51 (vol. i.) she states that the priests endeavoured to persuade the people “that Charles and his Roman Catholic Queen were the best friends of Ireland ;” yet at p. 25 she represents the priests as hatching a plot to do away with the King. So too Alice Champion stated on oath (p. 169) that the rebels said they did nothing but by orders from the King ; but in the next sentence she represents them as saying that “they would give a sum of money that they had the head of King Charles.” So too Miss Hickson represents the Jesuits as having prepared the rebellion for fourteen years previously, yet the sworn depositions represent the Irish as rising to avenge the wrongs of King Charles and in obedience to his commission ; such, for instance, are the depositions of Jasper Horsey (vol. ii. p. 136) and of Charles Jewell, Gent. (p. 74). And Miss Hickson herself admits (p. 74) that “there was more than one of those mysterious real or forged commissions from the King in circulation in 1641.” If, then, the Irish, in obedience to their legitimate monarch, took up arms to right crying grievances, is it not cruel to trace all the excesses to Jesuistical plotting, and unfair in Mr. Froude to parallel the rising in infamy with the

Sicilian Vespers? While we admit and deplore the excesses committed, we agree with the learned Protestant historian Leland (vol. iii. p. 127) that in their distraction every tale of horror was listened to and every suggestion of phrenzy believed by the Protestants.

Having said this much as to the depositions, a few words now as to their treatment by Miss Hickson. Mr. Froude says that "her work cannot be regarded as a mere counter-statement of opinion against the popular Irish theory;" secondly, that she explains "better than any previous writer the causes which drove them into fury;" thirdly, he pronounces her qualified for her task, "because she has no English prejudices." 1. Firstly, then, her work appears to be a counter-statement, as it particularly refers to the learned works of Messrs. Gilbert, Prendergast, Curry, the Rev. Father Murphy, and of the Most Rev. Dr. Moran; and we would recommend their works as correctives of her one-sided and unfaithful picture. She dwells with vulgar emphasis on a statement differing from her own. For instance, speaking of the relative advantages, accruing to the clansmen, of the old and new system, in the few first pages she half a score of times, and three times in a single page, harps on the view put forward by O'Curry on the "humble clansmen" by italicizing them.

2. Mr. Froude is not correct in stating that Miss Hickson explains better than others the causes of the rebellion. She says, in p. 121, vol. i., that "the two great causes were the ambition and greed of the rival churches." Now, it is foul calumny so to characterize an effort to mitigate the severity of the penal laws. Not to mention but one of the "Graces," for which the Irish offered £120,000, the 7th "Grace" ran thus: "No extraordinary warrants of assistance touching clandestine marriages, christening, and burials, or any other contumacies against the jurisdiction of the established church to be issued by the Lord Deputy or any other governor. Nor are the clergy of the established church to keep private prisons for such delinquencies, but they are to be committed according to the ordinary course of law by the King's officers to the common gaol, and all unlawful exactions of the said clergy to cease."

3. Miss Hickson goes out of her way and loses her footing in a desire to decry the Catholic priest and religion, so that she is not free from prejudice, as Mr. Froude would have us believe. At p. 9 of her Introduction, she, in contradiction to a statement by O'Curry, that the humblest clansmen were cared for under the old system, says "it was the paradise of the chief and priest, who had a share in all the good things going." It was not so: the clan system was a plague and cross to the priest and religion. Her statement is gratuitously and offensively false. At p. 11 she states "that Cromwell and his officers protected the native Irish who were disposed to live in peace and good-will with their Protestant neighbours." I suppose she would explain this as her hero Cromwell did the meaning of toleration in religion—that it did not mean toleration of the Mass, &c. In the year 1613, Sir Charles Cornwallis, who was sent to Ireland to inquire into Irish grievances, after saying that great oppressions were

offered to the people by the soldiery, added: "Those Irish are a scurvy people and scurvily governed." This would refer to the tameness of the people in submitting to the tyranny of the English or Irish government; but Miss Hickson's comment on the judgment of Sir Charles is: "A country governed by ecclesiastical politicians can never be otherwise judged" (p. 35, note). At p. 89, in order to prove that the Catholic Church was supreme in 1628, she quotes Sir John Bingley's statement, among other precious morsels, that "the Catholic Irish have their altars adorned with images and other foolations [*sic*], popish trash, as fully as in Rome, and more, practise Judaism; for every Easter day, in the morning before sunrise, they eat a lamb." This is bad enough, but the commentary of Miss Hickson is worse: "It is likely that some such superstitious practice did prevail at this time, for till lately," &c. It reminds one of the calumny and ignorance of the pagans towards the early Christians as regards the eating of a child. So, too, at p. 101, speaking of the "Graces," she says: "With the usual impatient turbulence of Roman politicians under the control of fanatical priests, they pressed their demands," &c. In one of the depositions (cix.) a parson Goldsmith is represented as urged by his brother, a priest in Antwerp, to go to him with his family and leave Ireland. The letter of invitation was brought by a Jesuit, Father Malone. He had not time to deliver it personally, but requested Father Barrett to do so. On this, parson Goldsmith grounds his evidence that the "Arch-Jesuit," Father Malone, was aware of the contemplated rising of the Irish. But what is worse is that, in acknowledging that Goldsmith subsequently owed his life to the interference of Father Malone, she adds, not words of praise, but that "the Nuncio wrote bitter complaints of Malone, and that the General and Provincial Malone were in full accord on their old scheme for securing the Catholic succession on the English throne, even at the cost of an interregnum of republicanism under Cromwell. The Nuncio had the same object at heart, but he was a silly and vainglorious bungler, and the Order despised while it envied him." What wild and unfair writing! Again (p. 244, vol. ii.), the depositions state "that divers poor English were preserved by Joseph Everard and Redmund English, two Franciscan friars." In a note to this, Miss Hickson says that the only authority for this was the Carte manuscripts, thus raising a doubt as to the services of the friars, though she makes many statements on the authority of the said manuscripts, without speaking at all of the depositions on which all her charges against the Catholics are founded. So again, at p. 57, vol. i., Miss Hickson, speaking of priests, says: "Those whom at all times the Irish people are in their blindness proud to call their natural leaders in their struggles," &c. Mr. Froude asks us to believe that she "has no English prejudices:" she has worse—anti-Catholic ones.

A word on her views of race and religion, and we are done. At p. 165 she says that "Ireland is as British in blood as Great Britain" (we doubt it, though doubtlessly a part may be Cromwellian), and that, "if Ireland were Protestant, all strife would cease between

England and Ireland, as religion is the real cause of strife." The statement is questionable, and traceable to one of those prejudices attributed by the authoress to the English people and English government.

To sum up: the book under review, while it evinces much patient industry on the part of Miss Hickson, exhibits her, also, as deficient in historical breadth as she is strong in narrow prejudice.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

1. *Young and Fair: a Tale for Juveniles.* By VOSSIAN. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co. 1884.
2. *Father Placid; or, the Custodian of the Blessed Sacrament.* By LÆTITIA OLIVER. London: R. Washbourne. 1884.
3. *Rose Fortesque; or, the Devout Client of Our Lady of Dolours.* By LÆTITIA OLIVER. London: R. Washbourne. 1884.
4. *The Village Lily: a Tale of First Communion.* Translated from the French. London: R. Washbourne. 1883.
5. *Maud Hamilton; or, Self-will and its Consequences.* By MARY AGATHA PENNELL. London: Thos. Richardson & Son.

THE "Young and Fair" heroine tells the beginning of her autobiography with great promise; which, however, fades among too rapid events and too numerous characters. The first chapter shows a rare gift of quick observation. What could be better than the child's idea during a long journey from Edinburgh to London that the train that stopped so often must be taking her up and down? Or the little school-girl's anxiety not to be forgotten, but to get up for midnight Mass, when all the things were twice the usual size, so that she knocked against them before she thought they were near—"but this passed away when I was thoroughly awake"? Very amusing too is the glimpse of the old French doctor, Monsieur Chlore, who spends evenings at her grandmother's château in the holidays and is gravely inquisitive about the convent school, and the rules, and the best girls who were children of Mary—

He immediately wanted to know what a best girl was; he had never heard of such a thing. Were not all girls best? I explained that those who were most exact at keeping the rules, who were most pious and charitable, were the best.

"What is being charitable?" asked the old doctor, pretending dense ignorance.

"Why those that are kindest," I said; but he couldn't understand; he was convinced that all young ladies were kindest.

"Well," I said, trying to explain, "suppose that we divided a number of apples and the best one was left——"

"The best one couldn't be left," said the doctor, with much gravity; "it could only be the worst." . . .

I told him that our nuns were not called abbesses, only the superior was so called. He affected profound astonishment, and got from me all their

various grades and titles. At length he said, rising to go: "Well, give my respects to the lady abdess, and the lady cook, and the lady porter, and say that I think their system excellent." I cried out that the cook and doorkeeper were lay-sisters. But he said his poor old head wouldn't hold any more information for one night, and he would try and fathom it all another time.

This must be a sketch from life; but unfortunately Doctor Chlore vanishes, and names march past with no characters to support them. With a very few characters and a regard for probabilities, and narrower limits of time, Vossian ought to produce amusing stories for the young. With so much observation, it is to be regretted when we find eccentricities, such as a girl's study of "the quadration of the circle," "a church crypt of Corinthian architecture," and "a Parthian shaft" that "left yet some balm in Gilead"! With careful self-criticism, and with the changes we have hinted, Vossian's minute observation ought to give us, at another time, a better if a less ambitious story.

The writer of "Father Placid" appears to have forgotten that it would require a new miracle to keep the Blessed Sacrament in an underground hiding-place for centuries—that at the moment when bread, if it were there, would suffer change, the presence of Christ would cease in the Host. But for this fact of the Eucharistic doctrine, the story before us would be in the main idea beautifully conceived. It is written in an earnest spirit of devotion to the English martyrs, and that is a great recommendation; and it boasts a well-described haunted chamber and a ghost, which are magical attractions for young readers.

"Rose Fortesque," by the same author, is intended as an example of devotion to Our Lady of Dolours. We wish it had ended more happily. A great critic and well-known editor of our day has a theory worth thinking over—that, in such a world as ours, a true story is the only one that has an excuse for leaving its reader at a sad ending.

Such a story, true if sad, is "The Village Lily." Truth is always a merit; it changes airy nothings into the reality of life, and children enjoy best the tale that is warranted true. We can only wish that the French writer had hinted that a vow of consecration in religious life made on a first Communion Day is very rare, and is one of the many things that are not to be done "without leave," which in this case means, under ordinary circumstances, not done at all.

"Maud Hamilton; or, Self-will and its Consequences," will be read with avidity by those small folks who do not like the conventional good child best; and such is the perversity of human nature, that we are afraid small folks, and big folks too, are beginning to object to that unnaturally faultless child of fiction as an impostor not belonging to our world. "Maud Hamilton" will pass muster among the many stories that are given as rewards to school-children.

Lost, and other Tales for Children. Adapted from the French. By the Author of "Tyburn." London: Burns & Oates.

Told in the Gloaming; or, Our Novena and How We Made It. By JOSEPHINE HANNAN. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.

Adventures at Sea. New Edition. London: Burns & Oates.

THE little book called "Lost," of the *Granville Popular Library*, contains short stories for children, bright and brisk, and pleasantly printed—a contribution to the simply amusing literature which Catholic children greatly need.

"Told in the Gloaming" is the title of stories supposed to be told on nine evenings of a children's Novena for the Immaculate Conception. There is no lack of tale-books of the religious class; their writers would do well to observe closely from life, and to increase their power of entertaining and amusing.

The new edition of "Adventures at Sea" ought to be welcome to boys; its tales of peril and adventure have the advantage of being true, and are given almost in the words of the original narrators.

For Better, Not for Worse. By Rev. LANGTON GEORGE VERE.
London: R. Washbourne.

OUR notice of this romantic story comes rather late, but we hope not too late to bespeak a kindly reception for it with some who have to supply good light reading in parochial libraries, and the like. Father Vere's story has a complex and well-managed plot which sustains interest to the end; there is only one villain in it, but that is a woman wicked enough to supply any number of good people with occupation; so that it is only when one gets to the end that one can breathe freely, and recognize that "all has been 'for better, not for worse.'" Yet there is no love-making, and even there is no marriage in it—except, indeed, in a way which does not move us, some of the supernumeraries get quietly wedded at the back of the stage. The moral is sufficiently told by the story itself, but the author adds a short postscript to say that his object was to illustrate the truth that all things come round to him that will but wait and pray. We should anticipate that by this time "For Better, Not for Worse," is already a favourite book, and in great demand with young readers.

Lady Glastonbury's Boudoir; or, the History of Two Weeks. By the Author of "The New Utopia." London: Burns & Oates. 1883.

Uriel; or, the Chapel of the Angels. By the Author of "Lady Glastonbury's Boudoir," &c. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.

THE identity of the author of "Lady Glastonbury's Boudoir" is a half-open secret; we can say at least that these two stories are the lighter work of a hand whose more weighty work has taken a permanent place in Catholic literature. "Lady Glastonbury's

Boudoir" is full of surprises; but "Uriel," which the *Irish Monthly* had the honour of first producing, is somehow more captivating. In this fiction there is something far better than the upper surface of a fleeting tale; there is a strong sense of the real worth of things underlying all; and though there is too much tact to make any parade of teaching or edifying in stories that are meant to amuse, one gets glimpses of higher standards than the world uses, and one is lured to admire the bravery of simplicity and reality.

Geoffrey stopped short on the gravel walk along which they were making their way towards the house.

"It's the place," he said; "it suffocates one with its plate-glass and its Dresden china."

"Do you object to old china?" inquired Paxton.

"By no means," replied Geoffrey. "What I mean is, that in a place like this, whatever you look at, if it is but a soap-dish, sets you thinking what it must have cost. That is one thing. Then you see, I don't mean to excuse Julian for trying to look like an ass when he isn't one; but when people are shoving at him to show off as—as—a peacock, so to speak—"

"I see," interrupted Paxton. "But what is the connection with the Dresden soap-dish?"

"It's all of a piece," said Geoffrey, floundering among the *débris* of his own ideas. "Just what Julian don't fit into—expensiveness, show-off, and talk about great people and geniuses."

"Well, Mr. Houghton," replied his companion, "I think I catch your view of the subject. They are only different aspects of one and the same thing—what we call *the world*. Expensiveness means the pride of money by displaying one's money's worth; that is the vulgarest form of worldliness. Then the running after great people and geniuses, and the trying to make everybody stand in an attitude and assume a character—well, all that is worldly too, and quite as unreal, though perhaps it can put on a better show. But you are right in your principle, which, I take it, is this, that *all worldliness is vulgar*."

Geoffrey, who, in his blundering way, "doing his best" as usual, has made this grand discovery unawares, is but one of two heroes; but he has the advantage over many heroes of fiction in being a man—which pen-sketched characters often are not—and very often for the reader, as for Geoffrey's sister, the light of his inward soul streams through the chinks of its roughly-moulded mortal dwelling-place. There is a description of a chapel of the angels, which ought to suggest a real chapel of the angels somewhere. In the story it belongs to "the golden-haired Pendragons" of a Cornish castle, who, having kept the ancient faith through all losses of fortune, are found at the beginning of the tale still loyal in days of misfortune, with no possessions left but the time-worn keep and the household shrine, where family tradition tells them the lamp of the sanctuary was never extinguished. An old prophecy says that their fortunes should be restored when the heir is peasant-born with angel name and angel face; and, as the family has preserved its traditional devotion to the holy angels, the restoration of their chapel becomes the occasion of the fulfilment of the prophecy and the restoration of

their happiness. The design is highly original, and all that relates to the Seven Spirits throws a charming light about the story.

Pierre Olivaint. From the French of PAUL FÉVAL. London: Burns & Oates. 1883.

THESE few leaves are a novelist's opinion of a modern martyr. Paul Féval, in reviewing Père Clair's biography of Père Olivaint, tells us his own recollections of the Jesuit priest, "the Apostle of Martyrs," as he was called by the physician of the Mazas. Paul Féval saw Père Olivaint for the first time when he went to Vaugirard to place his son there at the suggestion of a friend, in the days before the novelist's conversion.

I was at last ushered into a parlour hung with engravings in which Chinese and Tartars were seen at war, and where stood a priest in conversation with a lady in deep mourning. The impression made on my mind by the Rector in this interval of waiting was that he was the thinnest man I had ever seen. His face was very pale, and there was a want of symmetry in his features which annoyed me, and his expression, at one and the same time humble and penetrating, set me thinking. I gained my living by studying men in order to make them figure in my books, and I occupied myself with studying this priest according to the rules of my profession of word-painter. I found, however, that none of my rules helped me to account for the contradictory symptoms I noted. The character stamped on his countenance, so noble and yet so gentle, so commanding and yet so self-contained, was an unknown tongue to me. To my mind, the unutterable daring of his glance gave the lie to the tender and timid humility which also entered into its composition. I could not reconcile so much majesty with so much simplicity.

When the "lady in deep mourning" was gone, the Père Olivaint approached and asked his business. "He smiled, and his smile gave a charming light to his countenance." However, the novelist left the college that day, resolving that no son of his should ever enter at Vaugirard—a resolution for which he accounts by saying that, if every man has a share of the peacock in him, an author's share is double, and the Rector had not flattered him by any surprise at his coming. Nevertheless, he writes :—

A month later, however, I was driving along that same road once more to visit my boy, who had "entered Vaugirard" in spite of all, and who passed there all the happy years of youth. But it did not take all those years to open my eyes. It was as early as the occasion of my second interview that I gained a revelation of the elevation and sweetness of mind of Père Olivaint. True, I did not so soon learn to know him fully, for it needed nothing less than his death to unveil the mystery of charity which made up his life; but even at that early stage I learned to bow with the respectful interest of an amateur before his rare character, in composing which grace had selected and put together in perfect harmony all the choicest gifts known to the soul of man.

1. *Missale Romanum*. Editio typica.
2. *Rituale Romanum*. Editio typica.
3. *Missale Defunctorum*. Editio typica.
4. *Horae Diurnae*. Editio typica.
5. *Benedictionale Romanum*. Editio tertia.
6. *Missale pro Caecutientibus*.
7. *Missale Romanum*. 4to.
8. *Epistolae et Evangelia totius anni*. Ratisbon : Pustet. 1884.

PUSTET'S Missal in folio (27 by 25 centimètres) is not simply a new edition, but the attention of the clergy is called to it, as being the "editio typica," since the Congregation of the Rites has declared this edition to be the standard of future Latin Missals. The publisher therefore, and rightly, marks these editions, not by numbers, but by the distinction of "typica" given by authority to his recent liturgical publications. The new Missal is to be considered "typical" principally as regards the plain chant, as here corrected by the Congregation of Rites. The old Missals, indeed, were not abrogated by the recent step of the Roman authorities ; but, on the other hand, it is obvious that the new typical Missal is designed to be a vigorous means towards establishing the long-sighed-after unity in holy rites, and, above all, in plain chant. I scarcely need observe that Pustet's Missal exactly presents in the respective places the changes made by Leo XIII. through his recent decrees about the simple commemoration of feasts inferior to double minors, and votive offices. What, however, is really noteworthy and important is that each proof-sheet of the "typical" Missal has been submitted to, examined, and approved of by the Congregation of Rites. Leo XIII., by his decree regarding the Missal, has so highly deserved of Church liturgy that he ranks with Pius V., Clement VIII., and Urban VIII., and therefore Pustet's Missal bears the new title : "*Missale Romanum Clementis VIII, Urbani VIII et Leonis XIII auctoritate recognitum.*"

The "typical" Missal is followed by the "typical Ritual." There is no doubt but that this fine new edition of the "*Rituale Romanum*" will ere long supersede former editions of this to the clergy indispensably necessary book. In the first place, it enjoys the same prerogative as the typical Missal, each proof-sheet having been carefully revised and approved by the Congregation. Besides this, it not only contains the text of the ritual, now for the first time divided into "titles," but also a large quantity of benedictions, the "*Collectio benedictionum et instructionum*" occupying not less than 245 out of a total of 645 pages. Missionary priests more particularly will scarcely be able to do without this book. A sequel to the "typical" edition of the Roman Ritual is the "*Benedictionale Romanum*," a volume of 369 pages, giving all the benedictions approved by the Congregation of Rites. We likewise recommend the "typical" "*Missale pro Defunctis*" and the "*Missale ad usum sacerdotum caecutientium.*" This latter Missal appears for the first time, and by its merits no

doubt will be welcomed by priests suffering from their eyes. Besides the mass of the Blessed Virgin, it contains the mass for the dead, and the type is thirteen millimètres in size. The folio editions of the "Epistolæ et Evangelia totius anni," contain text and plain chant as approved by the Congregation of Rites. The books are of a high standard too as regards excellence of paper, print, &c. In noticing also Pustet's new Missal in quarto (32 by 29 centimètres), I may be allowed to point out that the "English Proprium" to the Missal, edited by the Catholic hierarchy, and after careful revision approved of by the Congregation of Rites, is now ready, and may be had through any bookseller, whilst those to Breviary and Diurnal are being printed. Last, but not least, may be mentioned the "typical" edition of the "Diurnal" in 32mo, for which a Proprium is also at press. It is only some months ago that Mr. Pustet brought out a new, correct, and complete edition of Gavantus' Octavarium enriched by those lections required by the ritual decrees of Leo XIII.

BELLESHEIM.

Short Easy Mass for Small Choirs. By ALPHONSE CARY. For unison, or two, three, or four voices.

Six Easy Litany Tunes. Same Composer. Newbury: Alphonse Cary. 1884.

WE can speak very highly of the little Mass named above. The music is thoroughly good, and free from the weaknesses that too often characterize the "easy" Mass. At the same time no choir need be afraid of the task of attempting Mr. Cary's mass. We are glad to see the author introduce a little simple chant into the *Credo*. The advantages of this treatment are many and obvious. The Litany chants are of the ordinary type; but they are very tuneful, and ought to be acceptable to choirs on the look-out for a change. We feel sure that Mr. Cary's music only requires to be known to make its way amongst us. His enterprise in publishing so cheaply deserves to be noted.

Die Quellen des Dekameron. Von MARCUS LANDAU. Zweite, sehr vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage. Stuttgart. 1884.

DR. LANDAU has, perhaps, done wisely in attaching to the celebrated name of Boccaccio the vast amount of information which he has collected and compressed relative to the sources of mediæval fiction, and especially the Italian tales. He has brought together stories of which the fundamental idea is identical, from the most diverse and widely separated sources, but, though the book extends to 340 pages, the condensation practised is such as to render it rather a manual of reference for the student who is inquiring into the development of popular fiction than a readable volume upon the subject. The want of an index is on this very account only the more regrettable. Doubtless the immense number of names occurring in the text would

necessitate an index of portentous extent compared with the size of the book ; nevertheless it would double its usefulness. The want, too, of clear divisions in the work, and the difficulty, perhaps, of making them, is another reason in favour of an index. Indeed, as there is in many instances scarcely the briefest abstract of the stories and their numberless variants, there should be some means of finding at once any particular legend. The only aid of this kind is at present, however, the list of the Decameron stories prefixed to the work, and, even if these are all remembered, they will not always enable one to find much that is contained in the book.

Even a cursory examination of the work before us shows that modern criticism and research into the descent of fiction has penetrated far deeper than even Huet, the learned Bishop of Avranches, when he dedicated his erudite work on the origin of romances to M. Ségrais, could have divined.

The same spirit of investigation which has in quite recent years corroborated St. John Damascene's assertion that he had received his Tale of Barlaam and Josaphat from Eastern Sages, and refuted the opinion that he had, following a not uncommon fashion in literature, intended to pass off an original work under the guise of a translation, has also thrown a vast deal of light upon the short tales so popular in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We find in Boccaccio and most of the other novelists who succeeded him a large proportion of stories marked by the levity and immorality ascribed to religious or clerics, which would have been looked on a few generations ago, if not as actual records of particular occurrences, at least as indictments fully warranted by the general contemporary state of religion. Nor is this view, unhappily, wholly without foundation. It must be remembered that the seat of the Church's authority had been transferred from Italy to Avignon about half a century before the Decameron was composed: and, as is notorious, Italy, but especially Rome, in the absence of the Sovereign Pontiffs, lapsed into the utmost disorder, and was even excommunicated in 1327. Petrarch calls it—

Gia Roma, or Babilonia falsa e ria.

The plague, too, seems to have had the effect of relaxing the moral rein to a fearful extent.

Boccaccio's satire, however, is not directed against the Church. Faith was then too universal for that to be possible. It is rather the religious orders, especially the mendicant friars, upon whom he, with Chaucer and Piers Plowman, throws mud.

Boccaccio, too, it must not be forgotten, in later years expressed his sorrow for the scandal he had given by these compositions. With every allowance for the coarseness of the age and the prevalent practice of calling a spade a spade, a large proportion of the tales are of directly immoral tendency. It is therefore not a thankless task to point out, as is done in such a work as Landau's, that they are, however in favour with the society of the age in which they were written, not its direct outcome or portrait, but merely themes handed down from

remoter times and invested with contemporary surroundings, just as the painter of the same epoch depicted the personages of the Bible in the costume of the knights or burghers with whom he was in daily contact. In such adaptation to season and circumstance Boccaccio stands a supreme figure in Italian literature. The traditions that still lived in the mouths of the people or were preserved in antiquated repertories, or in the fabliaux of France, his master pen could invest with grace and sparkle, and endow with lasting popularity. The more the pity that he should have so often chosen husks before pearls, and that the same hand which has given us Patient Grissel should have gilt so much that is unworthy.

We are not afraid in this place of being mistaken as apologists for the alas! too extensive bad side of Boccaccio. Nothing, of course, is farther from our thoughts than either to extenuate his immorality, or underrate the mischievous tendency of too many of his tales, for these are considerations of practical importance sufficient to exclude the Decameron unexpurgated from the domestic bookshelf. But we must give even the Devil his due; and to do this it is necessary to realize as far as possible the vast difference in manners between one age and another. The grossness of the middle ages would be utterly intolerable to us at the present day, just as much as the ornate and studied impudicity of the Roman decadence; perhaps more so. Yet the latter is hopelessly vicious and corrupt, pregnant with the very seed of dissolution and decay, while the bald and blunt outrightness of the middle ages is merely the honest fault of a rough time. On any other supposition, indeed, it seems utterly impossible to conceive that such a collection of tales as the Heptameron of Margaret of Navarre, which surpasses Boccaccio's novels in grossness, could be openly recited by the queen of a Christian Court. The renaissance is of course responsible to a large extent for the fashionable laxity of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but it will scarcely suffice to explain such phases of social *mores* as the instance just cited. Indeed, the recreation books of the earlier middle age before the pagan revival had set in, are sufficient evidence of a frankness of expression in conversation, and in what light literature then existed, although not in pictorial art, that would astonish us at the present day.

These considerations, we think, are not out of place in reference to Boccaccio's work. The Decameron has become one of the Italian classics, and it will therefore not be practicable to withhold it altogether from the cultured public. The Church herself, the patron and preserver even of pagan literature during the stormy times of the later Roman Empire, has tolerated many of the Greek and Roman classics from the same regard even for secular culture which led her to sanction the preservation of the nameless abominations of late Roman sculpture preserved in the closed rooms of the Vatican galleries, and deterred the Council of Trent from placing Petronius Arbiter's "*Cena Trimalchionis*" on the Index, "*latinitatis causa*."

These more general remarks have scarcely left us space to point out above one or two of the numerous instances where Dr. Landau

clearly shows the Decameron stories to be derived from a number of very various sources, despite their contemporary garb.

Many of the legends adapted by Boccaccio, far from being made worse in his hands, have been refined and corrected. Thus, for instance, the fourth tale of the first day, taken apparently from a much earlier poem by one of those very "loose fish," the *trouvères*, is far less offensive and blasphemous than the source from which the Italians seem to have derived the tale.

The same may be said of the paramour in the barrel, almost certainly derived from the fabliau of the *cuvier*, which is essentially the same as a tale in one of the ancient Sanskrit repertoires.

Many of the stories which seem to contain a sneer against the Christian religion came, as Dunlop remarks, from the Jews and Arabians who had settled in Spain.

In the tenth story of the sixth day of the Decameron, Frate Cipolla finds, to his dismay, on opening a reliquary to expose a feather from the Angel Gabriel's wing to the devotion of the faithful, that a wag had played him a trick by abstracting the relic and substituting a cinder. This is, through whatever channel it may have reached Boccaccio, no other than the Sanskrit story of the envoy sent to present a casket of costly gems to a king, and who, when the casket was opened and disclosed to the view of the indignant prince only mould or ashes (with which its original contents had been replaced by robbers), had the readiness to say, in almost the same words as Frate Cipolla, that they were holy sin-purging ashes of great efficacy.

Again, the story of the Abbess (IX. 2) is merely an adaptation of the story about St. Jerome in the "*Legenda Aurea*," cap. 141.

And so on with nearly all Boccaccio's stories. Dr. Landau's researches show very clearly that few, if any, were the author's own inventions, and almost equally few had any serious historical foundation. Most were stories that the *trouvères* or *troubadours* had versified long before, or were traditions floating about in the mouths of the people, many clearly traceable to remote Aryan sources. Boccaccio, with supreme skill, invested them with those contemporary accessories which always render fiction more popular with the majority of people, probably because they can realize with least effort characters and situations which are depicted as resembling those with which they are every day in contact.

Military Italy. By CHARLES MARTEL. London: Macmillan & Co. 1884.

THIS volume is of considerable value to the student of the modern military system of Europe, and is calculated to give the British public some idea of the inner workings of the stupendous machinery of a Continental army. The incessant round of drills, marches, manœuvres, and military exercises by which the raw conscripts are year after year ground into soldiers imposes on the officers in time of

peace duties so severe that those of actual war seem light by comparison, and make a soldier's life at all times an arduous one.

In the Italian army the most characteristic corps is that of the Bersaglieri, whose sombre battalions dash by like a tempest, their plumes waving in the breeze. Specially chosen for vigorous health and ample chest-measurement, their powers of marching are almost incredible, and the present author narrates an instance of their endurance which General della Marmora loved to recount :—

On one occasion, this General, the father of the Bersaglieri, mounted on a celebrated Arab charger, drew up a battalion to salute the late king, Victor Emanuel, on his leaving Genoa. The king travelled forty miles with English post-horses, changing horses four times. At the end of his journey what was his surprise to find an almost unrecognizable battalion of travel-stained Bersaglieri, with General della Marmora on the same favourite white Arab at their head. They were the same troops who had travelled at great speed over hills and valleys, fording rivers and streams, and taking a direct line to the town the king was making for by the high road.

One of the principal difficulties that Italian military organization has to contend with is the absence of a sufficient supply of horses in the country, and the writer, laying it down as an axiom that "victory in modern warfare is the product of weight multiplied by velocity," dwells earnestly on the danger to the country from this deficiency, and the necessity for more energetic measures to remedy it.

A Sketch of the Modern Languages of Africa, accompanied by a Language-Map. By ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST. 2 vols. (Trübner's Oriental Series.) London: Trübner & Co.

MR. CUST, whose book on the Modern Languages of the East Indies, published some years ago by Messrs. Trübner, has been so favourably received by savants, here essays a similar work on behalf of Africa. "Vous avez donc changé votre Continent," a French scholar laughingly observed to him. Our author replied, "Yes: that is true." And if one asks, he tells us, the reason for this intellectual migration, it was this: that there was a work in respect of the modern African languages to be done which somebody ought to do who had money, leisure, industry, and diligence, and that he appeared to be that somebody. An old and approved servant of the Crown in India, Mr. Cust possesses just the qualifications needed for the very difficult task to which he has set himself in these volumes; and his official training in order and method, his strong will and love for steady work, have been of the greatest service to him in executing it. One foot he has firmly planted, as he says, upon geographical facts; the other upon such a statement of linguistic facts as seemed to his judgment sufficient. And the great merit of his work is that he has refused to

go a hair's breadth beyond the facts, in the appreciation of which his power of weighing evidence, derived from many years largely spent in magisterial duties, has been of the greatest help to him. Not the least of his difficulties is that which has arisen from the conflicting opinions of doubtful authorities. And when such conflict has been hopelessly irreconcilable, his rule has been "to omit a doubtful language, as the cartographers, at the beginning of this century, cleared the maps of doubtful entries." "It is far better," as he justly remarks, "to omit a score of shadowy languages, and allow them to be re-entered when a clearer light has fallen upon them, than to go on in the old misty way, of entering *unplaced* languages; for it is obvious that, if a language is unplaced, it is deficient in the first element of a genuine existence, as the vocabulary may be a forgery, or an *Argot*, or it may be extinct; in fact, it has no 'locus standi.'" Mr. Cust's work is eminently one of pioneering; and, notwithstanding all his care and labour, much of it cannot pretend to be more than approximately correct. But this does not diminish the debt under which, in executing it, he has laid all who are interested in his extremely important and interesting subject.

The Saddharma-Pundarika; or, Lotus of the True Law. Translated by H. KERN. (Being Volume XXI. of "The Sacred Books of the East.") Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.

THIS volume is an important contribution to our knowledge of Nepalese Buddhism. It is one of the nine *Dharmas* to which worship is offered, and affords striking illustration of many points of the ordinary doctrine and discipline of the Northern Church, conveyed by way of "example and anecdote, interspersed with occasional examples of dogmatic instruction." It differs from the *Lalita-Vistara*, another of these sacred *Dharmas*, and the best known of them, in this particular, that while that composition has the character of a real epic, this has not. It bears rather "the character of a dramatic performance, an unfinished mystery play, in which the chief interlocutor, not the only one, is Sakya-Muni, the Lord." M. Kern's reputation as an Orientalist is a sufficient guarantee for the manner in which his translation is executed, while the value of his very learned Introduction of thirty-nine pages will be evident to every competent student.

Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation. By ROBERT CHAMBERS, LL.D. Twelfth Edition. With an Introduction by A. IRELAND. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers. 1884.

QUITE the greatest literary surprise of the day is the announcement of the authorship of the "Vestiges of Creation." Never was literary secret better kept or more eagerly searched for, and Mr.

Ireland, in his Introduction, gives us an interesting account of the whole affair. It would seem that Robert Chambers quailed before the *odium theologicum*, that his work aroused, and our countrymen north of the Tweed are apt to "nurse their wrath to keep it warm" when once theological rancour is aroused. But it is a happy thing that these conditions of society are in our days considerably modified, and the latest readers of the work will be puzzled to discover what it was that brought down the arm of Professor Sedgwick so heavily upon it.

We are glad that a new interest has been lent to the work, and brought it under the notice of a younger generation. Some of the details may be a little antiquated, and even incorrect; some of the examples a little worn; still there is no work like the "Vestiges" for giving a clear, bold, and fascinating grasp of the great facts of natural history. It is a brave and earnest attempt to bring the whole series of geological and biological truths within the grasp of one grand law. Throughout we are charmed with the reverent and religious feeling that animates almost every page, and these qualities are unfortunately too rare in the scientific works of our own day. R. Chambers's object is to draw attention to the indications of progressive development that is written in the geologic record. He does not attempt to show the manner in which this has been accomplished; that has been left to Darwin and Spencer to put forward. He takes up the humbler and more scientific position of drawing up the facts as they stand. He points out that a development *has* taken place, but declines to consider the manner *how*. And it may be safely asserted that few who take up the book will find it dull reading; they will, in spite of themselves, be carried on by the interest and charm of the work until they have read it through. There are those who desire to learn the grounds and facts on which the new doctrines of evolution are based, but have no leisure or aptitude to study them in the works of the latest exponents of the theory. To such we can safely recommend no simpler, no better, introduction than the delightful "Vestiges of Creation."

The Old Religion; or, How shall we find Primitive Christianity?
 Edited by WILLIAM LOCKHART, B.A. Oxon. London: Burns
 & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society.

WHEN the chapters of this volume first appeared in *Catholic Opinion*, the late Rt. Rev. Dr. Brown, Bishop of Newport and Menevia, wrote to its author that it was a work "entertaining, convincing, adapted to our actual times, and altogether the most valuable work of dogmatic instruction for general readers which has issued from the press for many years." It speaks greatly for the value of the book that it now appears in a new edition. Linked together by a narrative, the conversations range over subjects with which Catholics ought to be familiar if they have much intercourse with Protestants.

The pages explaining the Catholic devotion to the saints are an

instance of the happy treatment of ordinary topics of discussion. The style of the conversations is everywhere bright, even in the deeper treatment of historical questions. Among the best passages are those identifying the worship and devotions of the Church at the present time with those of the Irish Church in the first centuries :—

There still exists an Irish Missal of the sixth century—for this is the antiquity attributed to the manuscript by Dr. Todd (the late Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and recent biographer of S. Patrick) in a paper on the subject read by him before the Royal Irish Academy in 1856. There is no essential difference between the Mass as there given and that which is now said in our churches: the Canon, as far as the Memento, is literally the same as the Canon of the Roman Missal. . . . Water was mixed with wine in the Chalice, and Communion under one kind was unknown. . . . Vestments of a special kind and of various colours were used at Mass; the priests wore the vestments (according to the words of an ancient treatise cited by the late Professor O'Curry) "when he went to offer the Body of Christ and His Blood on the holy altar."

A Marian Litany of the eighth century is also quoted, in which many of the Loreto titles occurred, and others as familiar to us. It carries back to that remote time the use of the words, Queen of Angels—Gate of Heaven—Comfort of the Afflicted—Star of the Sea, and many others suggested by the warm and poetical Celtic mind.

Conrad Vallenrod: an Historical Poem. By ADAM MITSKIÉVITCH. Translated from the Polish by MICHAEL H. DZIEWICKI. London: Thos. Richardson & Son. 1883.

"CONRAD VALLENROD" is one of the most famous poems in the Polish language. Its author, Mitskiévitch, ranks as first poet not only of Poland, but of all Slavonian countries. For his association with a society which was patriotic, but not advocating treachery, like many others at the time, he was exiled to St. Petersburg, and seems to have enjoyed a free and peaceful sojourn there for five years, from 1824 to 1829. There, to prove to Poland that he was not forgetful of her wrongs while his lot was cast happily among her oppressors, he wrote the poem of "Conrad Vallenrod." It was spread in his native country by every means; it was even given away in the streets of Warsaw. Its political allusions, and its praise of sacrifice and love of country, had an inner meaning that was well understood, and Mitskiévitch earned the name of the Minstrel of the Revolution. This poem and his Ode to the Youth of Poland are said to have fired the outbreak of 1830. His rank as a poet, and this historical fact, give to it a peculiar interest. The translator has given Polish names in approximate English spelling with the national form in foot-notes. He recognizes the difficulty of striking the golden mean between poetical and literal translation. On the whole, we should say it leans to the literal side; but it is a praiseworthy and enterprising contribu-

tion to English knowledge of the literature of the less-known European countries.

The Poetical Works of AUBREY DE VERE. Vols. I., II., and III. New Edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. 1884.

WE have three volumes of this new and uniform edition of Mr. de Vere's poems before us. There is nothing to indicate whether or not there is to be a fourth. The first volume contains the "Search after Proserpine," and a collection of miscellaneous poems, "Recollections of Greece," "The Year of Sorrow," and various sonnets. The second contains "The Legends of S. Patrick," "Oiseen the Bard and S. Patrick," "Antar and Zara," and "Legends of Ireland's Heroic Age," or "The Foray of Queen Meave." The third contains "Alexander the Great," "S. Thomas of Canterbury," and a collection of sonnets and other poems. It will be seen that the "Legends of the Saxon Saints" is not—at least yet—included, nor "The May Carols," and some other pieces. As the edition is a reprint, we need only welcome it as a boon to have Mr. de Vere's different pieces gathered into a set of volumes. It need hardly be added that the publishers leave nothing to be desired as regards external advantages; type, paper, and binding being all good. If more volumes are forthcoming, the value of the edition will be much enhanced.

Notes on Catholic Missions. By A. H. ATTERIDGE, S.J. (Reprinted from the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*.) London: St. Joseph's Library, 48, South Street, Grosvenor Square. 1884.

WE are glad to see that these chapters on the present status of Catholic missions through the world have been reprinted from the pages of the *Messenger*, and to bring them to the notice of our readers. Missions are a topic the details of which, spread over the world, are not easily mastered. But the author of these "Notes" is fully competent to summarize and judge, as, indeed, those will not need to be told who read his able article on the same topic in our last number.

The author begins by expressing his fear that most Catholics know very little of the mission work of the Church. We can only add (for we believe he is right) that they cannot do better than read these short "Notes," which give the information in a very readable style. After a chapter contrasting past and present missionary labour, and the organization of mission labour in the Church, the writer devotes chapters to the condition, the work, and prospects of missions in India, in Buddhist countries—Ceylon, Burmah, China, and Japan—in Mahommedan countries, in Africa, among the islands of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, and lastly of those in America. In the last chapter, on Help for Missions—an eloquent appeal for prayers and alms for all foreign missions—we read this assurance, which, coming

from the authority it does, we find comfort in accepting :—"We believe that if we except the all but miraculous successes of St. Francis Xavier, the missions of to-day can be well compared with those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, without any reason for discouragement being suggested by the comparison."

Jean de Witt, Grand Pensionnaire de Hollande. Par M. ANTONIN LEFÈVRE PONTALIS. (Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française, Prix Halphen.) 2 vols. Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1884.

THIS is a fine historical study of original sources which deserves attention as relating to a period in Dutch history, less dramatic than that with which Mr. Motley's pen was occupied but scarcely less interesting, about which we have not much information of easy access. Unfortunately, Mr. Geddes' "History of the Administration of John de Witt" has not yet got beyond its first volume, and breaks off at 1654. M. Lefèvre Pontalis has completed his task. The notice which his two volumes deserve asks for much more space than is unfortunately at our service this quarter. We must therefore be content to call attention to their appearance. The undoubted power of John de Witt, his abilities as a statesman, his equally undoubted patriotism, together with his sudden downfall and tragic end, make the story of his career at all times interesting, while it is eminently suggestive to the political student. M. Lefèvre Pontalis has drawn one very curious political conclusion from his studies, to which many will demur. It is equivalent to this, that a minister like de Witt is best for a republic until the danger of conquest menaces its independence, and then it needs the ægis of "une dynastie séculaire."

Life of Mademoiselle Le Gras (Louise de Marillac), Founder of the Sisters of Charity. Translated from the French by a Sister of Charity. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1884.

THIS is a translation of the work to the French original of which we devoted an article in July. We have nothing to add to the high opinion which we then expressed of this the only modern biography of Mademoiselle Le Gras. The translation has been done by a Sister of Charity, and we heartily wish her work success.

The History of Riots in London in the year 1780, commonly called the Gordon Riots. By the Rev. ALEXIUS J. F. MILLS. London : Lane & Son. 1883.

DICKENS'S account of the Gordon Riots, so vividly and graphically told in "Barnaby Rudge," will doubtless never be rivalled or equalled. It is very useful, however, to have in sober historic form some ready reference to that sad episode. This good service is done in the volume before us. We wish the little book a wide circulation.

BOOKS OF DEVOTION AND SPIRITUAL READING.

1. *Our Birthday Bouquet.* By ELEANOR C. DONNELLY. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1884.
2. *A Short Memoir of Esterina Antinori.* Translated from the Italian by LADY HERBERT. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.
3. *The Little Child's Prayer-Book.* Compiled by C. CARROLL. London: Richardson & Son.
4. *The Seraphic Guide.* A Manual for the Members of the Third Order of St. Francis. By a FRANCISCAN FATHER. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1884.
5. *Light from the Lowly; or, Lives of Persons who Sanctified themselves in Humble Positions.* By the Rev. FRANCIS BUTIÑA, S.J. Translated from the Spanish by the Rev. W. McDONALD, D.D. With Twelve Illustrations, by W. C. MILLS. 2 vols. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.
6. *Popular Life of St. Teresa of Jesus.* Translated from the French of l'Abbé MARIE JOSEPH, of the Order of Carmel, by ANNIE PORTER. New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1884.
7. *The Spirit of St. Teresa.* Translated and arranged by the author of the "Life of St. Teresa." London: Burns & Oates. 1884.
8. *From the Crib to the Cross.* Meditations for the Young. Translated from the French. London: Burns & Oates. 1884.
- 9, 10. *The Book of the Professed. Spiritual Direction.* By the author of "Golden Sands." Translated by Miss ELLA McMAHON, New York, &c.: Benziger Brothers. 1884.
11. *A Marvellous History; or, the Life of Jeanne de la Noue.* By the author of "Tyborne." London: Burns & Oates.
12. *Maxims and Counsels of St. Vincent de Paul.* By the late Most Rev. Dr. WALSH, Archbishop of Halifax. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1884.
13. *Vespers Book for the use of the Laity.* Richardson & Son. (Six-penny edition.)

1. This is a useful and attractive birthday book. There is a short life of a saint for every day of the year; there are a few lines of verse, more or less appropriate; and there is a "favourite practice." Mrs. Donnelly also contributes some verses of her own here and there in the volume. The citations from the poets are very varied, ranging from Dante to the late Father Burke, and from Shakespeare to Cardinal Wiseman. But all readers are fond of a neat or devout thought expressed in good or tolerable verse; and this little book, with its pretty cover, will be very acceptable as a birthday gift.

2. This edifying biography of a young Italian lady who died in the odour of sanctity before she was eighteen is carefully translated by Lady Herbert. It is interesting to know that Lady Herbert has done more than offer a mere translation; she has seen the nuns who superintended Esther's education, and her friends and intimates in the

school and in the world, and she has gathered together the impressions which the holy young girl has left. A pious girl's biography is not often very full of incident or variety, and it is not too much to say that this memoir would not have been written if its subject had not kept a diary. The little book before us is largely made up of transcripts from the child's diary, which, in their turn, are little more than echoes of the "exercises" given by the good Jesuit Fathers, whose retreats the pious child assiduously followed. But they are none the less edifying, and they will be found very useful as spiritual reading for the young.

3. The Bishop of Emmaus highly recommends in his brief Preface this little Prayer-book. It bears no date, and the copy sent us is perhaps a new edition. It is intended for children who have not made their first communion. It is a pity the woodcuts are so very poor.

4. The Franciscans of Cincinnati have sent out a useful Manual for the Third Order. It contains the history and description of the Third Order, the Rule as lately re-issued by the present Pope, a commentary on the Rule, a ceremonial, much devout reading, examples of the Saints, and numerous devotions—the whole forming a stout but not ugly little volume of nearly 600 pages. It bears the "imprimatur" of the Archbishop of Cincinnati.

5. In two handsome but handy volumes we have a work which will be pronounced by most readers interesting and useful. It is a series of biographical sketches, some sixty or seventy in number, of holy persons who have been in humble circumstances. The original Spanish, from which Dr. Macdonald translates, we have not seen; but the translation reads well. Father Butiña seems to have been one of those spiritual chroniclers who look rather to edification than to history. He has made free use of his imagination, composing speeches, imagining scenes, and mingling with his narrative a very large amount of devout reflection. Nevertheless, the book is excellent spiritual reading, containing as it does not only the devout history of so many servants of God, but also a great variety of admirable exhortation drawn from the great saints and masters of the spiritual life.

6. Père Marie Joseph's "Life of St. Teresa" is, as he calls it, a "popular" life. It is written in a very animated style, and divided into a variety of periods or "scenes," each of which is worked up with more or less eloquence. But we do not observe any exaggeration or false sentimentalism, and we can recommend it in this translation as a book likely to increase devotion to the Holy Mother, and to be profitable and attractive to the reader. The chapter entitled "St. Teresa and Meditation" is somewhat confusing, and does not read so well as the rest of the book, perhaps because the various technical terms have somewhat suffered in their transference from Spanish through French to English. The book is handsomely got up.

7. This is a neat duodecimo volume of 225 pages. It is divided into three parts. The first part is entitled "Exclamations of the Soul to God," and consists of the saint's outpourings before God after Holy

Communion. It was written, according to the Bollandists, in the year 1579. Those who know anything of the great seraphic soul of St. Teresa will know what to expect from her during those moments of ecstatic devotion when she had the God of love in her heart. The second and the longest part contains "Directions on Prayer, and on the Life of Prayer," extracted chiefly from "L'Esprit de Ste. Thérèse," which was published by M. Emery in 1775. M. Emery's work is a selection of such passages from the writings of St. Teresa as convey practical lessons to those who, whether in religion or in the world, aim at leading a life of close union with God. It is needless to say that these "Directions" are an epitome of the Saint's wonderful spiritual wisdom, prudence, and masculine sense. The third part consists of a Novena preparatory to the Feasts of St. Teresa, and is written by an unknown hand. It possesses a special interest in its being dedicated to "Madame Louise de France, Novice Carmélite," who, as the translator tells us, left in 1770 the brilliant and dissolute Court of her father, Louis XV., for the solitude of Carmel, and received his conversion as her reward. We need say nothing to recommend this golden little book, as it contains so much of the great, loving heart and of the strong, lofty intellect of St. Teresa.

8. It is well said by Father Purbrick, in his Preface to this little volume of "Meditations," that the "quick wit of childhood, raised and helped by grace, is easily interested in such a Person and life as that of Jesus, and, gazing on Him attentively and lovingly, thinks easy thoughts, but deep, about Him." The plan of the book is to present the scenes of the life of Our Saviour in simple but picturesque language, and to add reflections, prayers, and resolutions more or less suitable to childhood. This design is admirably carried out, and the work is excellently translated.

9, 10. Each of these books, by the author of "Golden Sands," is a useful addition to the spiritual library of a convent or a private home. The former is a small treatise on the advantages, duties, and obligations of the religious state; the second is a very complete instruction on the meaning of "direction," its necessity, its method, and its abuses. Both works seem to be written with great prudence, and are well translated.

11. A life of the heroic Jeanne de la Noue, foundress of a congregation of sisters of the poor and the orphan which has subsisted for two hundred years in Brittany and elsewhere, could not fail to be interesting and edifying. The authoress does not say where she gets her materials from, and, as there is a sort of "wicked priest" in the story in the shape of a Jansenist curé, some reference to authority might have been better, for there are conversations and scenes of which the details seem to be more or less imaginary.

12. A pretty little volume, containing a thought or maxim of St. Vincent de Paul for every day in the year, arranged by the late Archbishop Walsh, of Halifax.

13. We mention and recommend Messrs. Richardson's sixpenny Vesper Book. It is clearly printed, and more substantial than can be expected for the money.

INDEX.

- ABYSSINIA** and its People, 316; History of, 318; Geography of, 321; Flora and fauna of, 324; People of, 327; Religion and Churches of, 330; Government of, 333; Egyptian attempts on, 335; Gordon Pasha in, 338; Catholic missionaries in, 341.
Addis, Rev. W. E.; Notices by, 224, 442.
Adventures at Sea, *noticed*, 480.
Aeronautics, 417.
Allanson, Abbot, 70.
Allocutions on Liturgical Observances, *noticed*, 463.
Archbishop of Westminster, The Cardinal, Notice by, 198.
Arctic Exploration, 416.
Aristophanes, recent Editions of, 22; Motive of the "Birds" of, 27; Mr. Green's Edition of some plays of, 32; Mr. Blayde's Edition of, 36.
Arrian's Anabasis of Alexander. Chinnock's Translation, *noticed*, 244.
Asaph, S., succeeds S. Kentigern, 314.
Atteridge, A. H., S. J., The "Encyclopædia Britannica" on Missions, 109; Notes on Catholic missions, *noticed*, 492.

BARRY, Rev. W., D.D., The Battle of Theism, 270; notices by, 455, 473.
Béckett, Sir E., Review of Hume and Huxley on Miracles, *noticed*, 221.
Bellesheim, Dr. A., Notices by, 183, 219, 427, 450, 461, 483.
Berington's Middle Ages, 70.
Besson, Louis de, Les Forces Morales de la Société contemporaine, *noticed*, 215.
Blackie, J. S., The Wisdom of Goethe, *noticed*, 229.
Blampignon, Abbé, L'Épiscopat de Massillon, *noticed*, 457.
Blaydes, H. M., Edition of four plays of Aristophanes, 34.
Book of the Professed, Translation, *noticed*, 494.
Brewer, J. S., Reign of Henry VIII., *noticed*, 242.
British Association, Meeting of, 415.
Brogie, E. de, Fénelon à Cambrai, *noticed*, 217.
Butina, F., S. J., Light from the Lowly, *noticed*, 494.

CAMPBELL, L., Edition of Sophocles, 37.
Carnarvon, Lord, on the Pope's Condemnation of Freemasonry, 144.
Carrel, C., Little Child's Prayer book, *noticed*, 494.

- Cary, Alphonse, *Mass and Litanies: Music*, *noticed*, 484.
 Catholic Laity, How they may help Clergy, 84.
 Chambers, R., *Vestiges of Creation*, *noticed*, 489.
 Chantrel, J., *History of Church, Translation*, *noticed*, 213.
 Charity, the first Sisters of, 1.
 China, Catholic missions in, 138.
 Chinese, Primitive Religion of, 87; Original monotheism of, 88; Historical sketch of religion of, 89, *seq.*; Summary of doctrine of, 107.
 Christian Brothers at the Health Exhibition, 387; Testimony of Protestant Press to, 389; Status and work of, 391; Life of founder of, 394; Exhibits of, at Exhibition, 408.
 Christianity in Lancashire in Roman and Celtic times, 290 *seq.*
 Clerke, Miss E. M., *Abyssinia and its People*, 316.
 Cokes' Creeds of the Day, 83.
 Comedy, Remarks on Greek, 22.
 Conroy, Rt. Rev. G., *Occasional Sermons and Addresses*, *noticed*, 455.
 Conversion of England, 65; Present prospects of, 75.
 Conversion of England, A Reply, 358.
 Cook, F. C., *Origin of Religion and Language*, *noticed*, 472.
 Corluy, J., S. J., *Spicilegium Dogmatico-Biblicum*, *noticed*, 453.
 Crib to Cross, From, *noticed*, 494.
 Cust, R. N., *Modern Languages of Africa*, *noticed*, 488.
- DARWIN, and Darwinism, 270; Influence of, in Germany, 272.
 D'Avenal, Vicomte G., *Richelieu et la monarchie absolue*, *noticed*, 244.
 De'Nobili, Dr. Maclear on, 118; and the Madura Mission, 123.
 Devine, Rev. Pius, *Auxilium Prædicatorum*, *noticed*, 464.
 Διδαχὴ τῶν υἱῶν 'Αποστόλων, *noticed*, 442.
 Dillon, Mgr. G., *The Virgin Mother of Good Counsel*, *noticed*, 436.
 Donnelly, E. C., *Our Birthday Bouquet*, *noticed*, 494.
 Dryden, as a Hymnodist, 245; Power and versatility of, 247; Hymns, for which authorship of, is claimed, 249; Reasons for attributing them to, 252; as a Translator, 259; New Edition of Works of, 266.
 Dust-free Spaces, 181.
 Dyer, Rev. T. F. Thistleton, *Folk Lore of Shakespeare*, *noticed*, 237.
- EARTHQUAKE, The, 180.
 Edersheim, A., *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, *noticed*, 468.
 Edkins, J., *Religion in China*, *noticed*, 239.
 Emerson, R. Waldo, *Works of*, *noticed*, 243.
 Encyclopædia Britannica on Missions, 109.
 England, The Conversion of, 65; Providential purpose in growing power of, 68; French Revolution Refugees in, 69; Effects of Tractarian movement in, 71; Sympathy for Mediæval Church of, 78; The Conversion of: A Reply, 358; Was it to be expected? 362; God's purpose regarding, not easily interpreted, 364; Non-Conversion of, not matter of surprise, 366; effects of Tractarian movement in, 370; Ritualism in, 371; Clergy of

- Church of, sincerely Protestant, 376; Training of Clergy of, in way of Conversion of, 381.
- English, Speech, Diffusion of, 67; Church, revival of, 76; Ritual, for Catholics, 79; Catholics, Intellectual needs of, 81.
- FEVAL, PAUL, Pierre Olivant, *noticed*, 482.
- Fillion, M. L. Cl., *Essais d'Exégèse*, *noticed*, 451.
- Fleury, C. Rohault de, *La Messe*, Vol. II., *noticed*, 438.
- Freemasons, Pope Leo XIII. and the, 144; Can a Catholic belong to a Lodge of? 160.
- Freemasonry, Nature of, through Europe, 148; nature of, in England, 150; grades of, and initiation into, 153; Work of, on Continent, 159.
- Fullerton, Lady G., *Life of Lady Falkland*, *noticed*, 215.
- Furse, G. A., *Mobilization of an Army Corps*, *noticed*, 225.
- GACHARD, M., *Lettres de Philippe II.*, 429.
- Germany, The Church in, and the Secularization of 1803, 183; Catholic Seminaries in, 184.
- Girodon, P., *Exposé de la Doctrine Catholique*, *noticed*, 208.
- Gradwell, Mgr., *Christianity in Lancashire*, 290.
- Greek Stage, Remarks on, 22.
- Green, W. C., *Plays of Aristophanes*, by, 27.
- HANNAN, J., *Told in the Gloaming*, *noticed*, 480.
- Harlez, Mgr. C. de, *The Primitive Religion of the Chinese*, 87; Notice by, 472.
- Harnack, A., *Lehre der XII. Apostel*, *noticed*, 442.
- Harper, Thomas, S. J., *Metaphysics of the School*, *noticed*, 212.
- Harrod, H. D., Notice by, 241.
- Hartman's Philosophy of the Unconscious, Coupland's Translation, *noticed*, 240.
- Hellmuth, Right Rev. J., *Biblical Thesaurus*, *noticed*, 224.
- Herbert, Lady, *Short Memoir of E. Antinori*, *noticed*, 494.
- Hergenröther, Cardinal, *Leonis X. Regesta*, *noticed*, 219.
- Hickson, Miss, *Ireland in the Seventeenth Century*, *noticed*, 475.
- Hilgenfeld, A., *Doctrina XII. Apostolorum*, *noticed*, 442.
- Hitchcock & Brown's Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, *noticed*, 442.
- Humphrey, W., S.J., *The Religious State*, *noticed*, 207.
- Hydrophobia, Antidote for, 181.
- INDIA, *Missionary Results in*, 140.
- Irenæus Themistor, *noticed*, 183.
- JESUIT Missions, Dr. Maclear on, 117.
- Jungmann, F., S.J., *Æsthetik*, 429.
- B., *Dissertationes in Historiam Ecclesiasticam* *noticed*, 461.
- Jura Sacerdotum Vindicata*, *noticed*, 200.
- KENTIGERN, St., 305.

Kirk, Dr., 70.

Kyle, Bishop, 70.

LADY Glastonbury's Boudoir, *noticed*, 480.

Lancashire, Christianity in, 290; Roman Forts, &c., in, 291; State of, before and under Romans, 295; St. Patrick, and, 296; Celtic influence over, 299; Political and Ecclesiastical condition of, 301; St. Kentigern in, 307.

Landau, Marcus, Die Quellen des Dekameron, *noticed*, 484.

Le Gras, Mdle., 2; Character of, 9; Life of, *noticed*, 493.

Lehman, Dr., Preussen und die Kath. Kirche, *noticed*, 184.

Lehmkuhl, A., S.J., Theologia Moralis, *noticed*, 450.

Life of St. Mildred, *noticed*, 214; of Mdle. Le Gras, *noticed*, 493.

Lilly, W. S., Ancient Religions and Modern Thought, *noticed*, 210.

Little, Sydney H., Conversion of England, 358.

Lockhart, Rev. W., The Old Religion, *noticed*, 490.

Lost, and other Tales, *noticed*, 480.

MACKEY, H. B., St. Francis de Sales's On the Love of God, *noticed*, 193.

Maclear, Dr., on Missions, 109.

Major, H., How to Earn the Merit Grant, *noticed*, 221.

Malone, Very Rev. S., Vicissitudes of "Vigil," 345; Notice by, 475.

Marie Joseph, Abbé, Life of St. Teresa, *noticed*, 494.

Martel, C., Military Italy, *noticed*, 487.

Marvellous History, A, *noticed*, 494.

Max Müller, F., The Upanishads, *noticed*, 238.

Meteorology, 418.

Mills, Rev. A. J. F., History of Gordon Riots, *noticed*, 493.

Missions, The Encyclopædia Britannica on, 109; **Misleading statements** concerning, 111; Modern, 126; Value of Results of Protestant, 131; in New Zealand, 135; in Polynesia, 136; in China, 138; in India, 140.

Mitskievitch, A. Conrad Vallenrod, translated, *noticed*, 491.

Mivart, St. G., The Conversion of England, 65; Philosophical Catechism, *noticed*, 430.

Moriarty, Bishop, Allocutions and Pastorals, *noticed*, 460.

New Zealand, Missions in, 135.

Norrenberg, Dr., Allgemeine Literaturgeschichte, *noticed*, 185.

O'CONNOR, H., S. J., Evidence concerning Luther, *noticed*, 454.

Oliver, Dr., 69.

——— Lætitia, Father Placid, *noticed*, 478; Rose Fortesque, *noticed*, *ibid.*

PALMIERI, D. G., Ad Vaticani Archivi Regesta manu ductio, *noticed*, 217.

Paris in the Seventeenth Century, 3; Poverty, &c., of, 5.

Patrick, St., in Strathclyde, 296.

Pennell, M. A., Maud Hamilton, *noticed*, 478.

Periodicals *noticed*, French, 191, 420; German, 183, 427; Italian, 186, 423.

- Pisch, T., S.J., *Die Grossen Welträthsel*, 270.
 Phayre, Sir A. P., *History of Burma*, *noticed*, 235.
 Pitra, Cardinal, *Analecta Sacra*, *noticed*, 465.
 Pontalis A. Lefèvre, Jean de Witt, *noticed*, 493.
 Pope Leo XIII. on Freemasons, 144, Encyclical on Freemasonry, 166 ;
 Encyclical on Rosary, 412.
 Portuguese Missions, Dr. Maclear on, 112.
 Potter, Rev. T. J., *Sacred Eloquence*, *noticed*, 474.
 Prehistoric Finds, 182, 418.
 Prester John, 316.
 Prudentius, an Historian, 191 ; describes Rome, 420.
 Pustet's *Editio typica* of Liturgical Books, *noticed*, 483.
- RICARD, Mgr., *Montalembert*, *noticed*, 463.
 Rimmer, A., *Stonyhurst Illustrated*, *noticed*, 453.
 Rock, Dr., 70.
- SADDHARMA-PUNDARĪKA, translated, *noticed*, 489.
 Salle Vendela, 394.
 Science Notices, 180, 415.
 ——— Desirableness of, for Priests, 81, 288 ; Modern, and Theism, 274 ;
 Modern, the declared Enemy of God, 285.
 Sepp, Dr. B., *Maria Stuart*, *noticed*, 473.
 Seraphic Guide, *noticed*, 494.
 Shipley, Orby, *Dryden as a Hymnodist*, 245.
 Sisters of Charity, The first, 1 ; Characteristics of their origin, 2 ; First
 novitiate of, 16 ; First Hospital Service by, 17 ; Orphanage work of, 18 ;
 First Service on Battlefields, 19 ; see *Le Gras*, Mdle.
 Smedt, Ch., S.J., *Revelations of S. Teresa*, 193.
 Sophocles, Recent Editions of, 22.
 Spanish Missions, Dr. Maclear on, 114.
 Spinoza's *Ethic*, W. H. White's Translation, *noticed*, 233.
 Spirit of S. Teresa, *noticed*, 494.
 Staratsky, G. V., *Ivan Tourguénief*, 46.
 Sun's Corona, Photographs of the, 180.
- THEISM, The Battle of, 270 ; with Science, 274 ; with "culture," 277 ; with
 Phenonism, 279 ; with Darwinism, 282 ; must be fought with weapon of
 Reason, 287.
 Thring, Rev. E., *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, *noticed*, 222.
 Tierney, Dr., 70.
 Tourguénief, Ivan, 46 ; Character of Writings of, 47 ; Admiration of, for
 Western Civilization, 49, 62 ; introduces term "Nihilism," 51 ; Works
 of, little known in England, 52 ; Sympathies of, with serf, 56 ; his Works,
 57.
- UHLHORN, Dr. G., *Christian Charity in Ancient Church*, *noticed*, 232.
 Uriel, *noticed*, 480.

- VAMBÉRY, Arminius, *noticed*, 230.
 Vere, Rev. Langton G., For Better not for Worse, *noticed*, 430.
 — Aubrey de, Poetical Works of, *noticed*, 492.
 Verres, Dr. J., Luther, *noticed*, 459.
 Vesper Book for Laity, *noticed*, 494.
 Vicissitudes of "Vigil," 345.
 Vigil, Latin use of, 346; Jewish use of, 347; Apostolic use of, 351; used
 for Fast and for Prayer, 353; Irish use of, for Festival, 354.
 Village Lily, The, *noticed*, 478.
 Vossian, Young and Fair, *noticed*, 478.
- WALSH, Archbishop, Maxims of St. Vincent de Paul, *noticed*, 494.
 Ward, Dr. W. G., Essays on the Philosophy of Theism, *noticed*, 194.
 Weiss, Dr. B., Biblical Theology of New Testament, translated, *noticed*, 230;
 Life of Christ, *noticed*, 468.
 Westcott, B. Foss, Epistles of St. John, *noticed*, 235.
 What to do, and How to do it, *noticed*, 241.
 Wilson, H. Schütz, Studies in History, Legend and Literature, *noticed*, 228.
 Wordsworth, J., Gospel according to St. Matthew, *noticed*, 471.
 Wünsche, Dr. A., Lehre der XII. Apostel, *noticed*, 442.

END OF VOL. XII